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Henrik Birnbaum (Ed.) et al.

ASPECTS OF THE BALKANS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

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ASPECTS OF THE BALKANS

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969

edited by
HENRIK BIRNBAUM
and
SPEROS VRYONIS, Jr.

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PREFATORY NOTE

Most of the twenty papers contained in this volume were first presented and discussed at the International Conference "Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change", arranged by the Russian and East European Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and held on the UCLA campus and at the University of California Conference Center at Lake Arrowhead, October 23-28, 1969. Only two papers (by Professors Kostanick and Williams) were not read at the Conference due to their authors' inability to attend. They too, however, were prepared with a view to this Conference. By kind agreement, Professor İnalcık's paper was presented by his professional colleague, Professor Stanford Shaw of the UCLA Department of History, thus allowing for a brief discussion also of this contribution. In addition to the participants contributing papers, the Conference was attended by a number of invited scholars from the United States and Europe; moreover, the sessions held on the UCLA campus were open to the public. Before being submitted for publication, all papers actually read at the Conference were revised in the light of the discussion following each presentation.

In preparing this volume for publication, the editors have not aimed at giving the various contributions a uniform format as regards spelling, transliteration, bibliographical references, etc. On the other hand, an effort was made to achieve maximum formal consistency within each paper. Presentations in other than English appear in the original language.

When planning the Conference the tangible results of which are herewith presented to the scholarly community, the editors (who also acted as the organizing committee) strove for a broad range of topics feasible within the scope of a conference with limited participation. In particular, as expounded in some detail in Professor Vryonis' concluding

remarks (see Epilogue), the Conference was conceived as primarily focusing on some of the main junctures in Balkan history and, in doing so, adopting an approach in terms of topical rather than ethnic divisions. Yet the editors are keenly aware that certain geographic areas of the Balkans, notably Rumania and Albania, have received relatively less attention than what might seem justified by their role in Balkan history. This slight imbalance is due to difficulties in securing the participation of first-rate scholars in the special fields of Rumanian and Albanian studies rather than to any implicit prejudice. It is nonetheless hoped that the overall coverage of this volume will be deemed impressive in scope and significant in substance.

Our sincere thanks go to a number of persons who have been helpful in making arrangements for the UCLA Conference as well as in preparing the publication of this volume. In particular, the editors wish to express their appreciation to Mrs. Lucille Liets, Administrative Assistant of the Russian and East European Studies Center, UCLA, and her staff.

Two grants, from the James B. Duke Endowment Fund and the Committee on International and Comparative Studies, made available to the Center by the UCLA Administration toward defraying the costs of the Conference and the publication of its proceedings, are herewith gratefully acknowledged.

Henrik Birnbaum, Director
Russian and East European
Studies Center, UCLA

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MARIJA GIMBUTAS

THE NEOLITHIC CULTURES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

INTRODUCTION

Neolithic Europe can be roughly subdivided into five main cultural areas: 1) Southeastern or Balkan Peninsula including the lower Danube region; 2) Pontic; 3) Central; 4) Western; and 5) Northern. Southeastern Europe is the hub of Neolithic research: here a food-producing economy was established about one thousand years earlier than in central Europe and almost two thousand years earlier than in western and northern Europe. Throughout the duration of Neolithic culture the Balkan Peninsula was linked with Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean area and was an integral part of Old World civilization. Ironically, until very recently it was archaeologically less well explored than many other regions of Europe and the little information that does exist awaits satisfactory synthesis.

As early as the sixth millennium B.C. the people of the Balkan Peninsula produced a pottery as thin and hard as porcelain and created a most peculiar figurine art. Man in this part of Europe between 6000 and 3000 B.C. was a civilized farmer living in smaller and larger villages, some of which can be called small townships. He cultivated wheat, barley, vetch, lentils, peas, beans and flax, using stone, wood or antler hoes, antler ploughs, and sickles set with flint teeth. In the southern part of the Peninsula he exploited figs and grapes from the fifth millennium B.C. onwards. In addition to prolific use of bone, wood and stone he discovered possibilities of using metals (copper and gold) for ornaments and tools: metallurgical activities are evidenced from the sixth millennium B.C. in Transylvania and the lower Danube region. His houses were substantially constructed, usually of wattle, daub, split planks and reed thatch, with windows and painted wall plaster decoration. And it

appears that already at this early date he employed a rudimentary script.

Our present knowledge of the earliest Neolithic culture of southeastern Europe indicates that it was not a remote province of Near Eastern culture but an autonomous entity. Though the floral and faunal bases of the new economy had to be introduced from the east they were well established over the whole of the Balkan Peninsula by the seventh millennium B.C.; and the domestication of cattle and pig was achieved locally in southeastern Europe, preceding its counterpart development in the Near East. During the succeeding millennia this part of the world, though retaining contacts with the east, created a unique cultural pattern which reached a climax around 4000 B.C.

CHRONOLOGY

The chronological framework of modern research is built upon all available methods of relative and absolute dating; but one technique, that of radiocarbon analysis, implemented since about 1950, has revolutionized earlier conceptions of Neolithic chronology. Fifteen years ago archaeological evidence was used to support a theory of the diffusion of agriculture and pottery from the Near East to Europe during the fourth millennium B.C.; but since then the radiocarbon dates have extended the span of the Neolithic period by some three thousand years, the most significant discovery of recent prehistoric research.

Unfortunately the radiocarbon method is not perfect: there is a serious divergence between radiocarbon and true age which has been hypothetically attributed to variations in the intensity of the geomagnetic field or, more convincingly, to climatic fluctuation following the development of post-glacial conditions. Radiocarbon analysis of dendrochronologically dated wood samples first identified these errors and with the accumulation of sufficient analyses was able to supply curves and tables of conversion. This has demonstrated that within the fourth and fifth millennia B.C. radiocarbon age is 500-850 years younger than true calendrical age.[1] Until this correlation of radiocarbon and dendro-

[1] H. E. Suess, "Bristlecone pine calibration of the radiocarbon time scale from 4100 B.C. to 1500 B.C.", *Radioactive Dating and Methods of Low Level Counting* (International Atom. Ener. Agency, Vienna, 1967), pp. 143-151; E. K. Ralph and H. N. Michael, "University of Pennsylvania Radiocarbon Dates XII", *Radiocarbon*, vol 11, 2 (1969), pp. 469ff.; H. E. Suess, "Die Eichung der Radiokarbonuhr", *Bild der Wissenschaft* I (1969), 121-127; *id.* "Bristlecone pine calibration of the radiocarbon time scale 5300 B.C. to the present", unpublished article; *id.* "Calibrated radiocarbon dates for the neolithic site of Auvernier, Switzerland", *Antiquity* (1970).

chronological dating can be expanded sufficiently to provide accurate conversion, Neolithic chronology must remain relative.

Radiocarbon dates known from sites in various parts of the Balkan Peninsula are harmonious with stratigraphical and typological data; they are a reliable indicator to a relative or 'working' chronology. Most useful are those analyses that come in series from sites having thick cultural deposits: for illustration here are radiocarbon dates (using the conventional 5568 half life) from several stratified Neolithic sites in southeastern Europe.

Radiocarbon analysis of materials excavated by Markevich at Soroki II, an Early Neolithic site in the Dniester basin, Soviet Moldavia, has supplied a chronological guide to the period of earliest animal and plant domestication in this part of Europe:

3) 4880 ± 150 b.c.*	Soroki II, layer 1	Pottery present; evidence of domestication of cattle and pig, and of wheat.
2) 5470 ± 120 b.c.	Soroki II, layer 2	No pottery; evidence of domestication of cattle and pig.
1) 5570 ± 120 b.c.	Soroki II, layer 3 (lowest layer)	No pottery; evidence of domestication of pig and dog.

Archaeological evidence from the Soroki II site indicated that the phases 1) and 2) were chronologically consecutive occupations; but that 2) and 3) were separated by a considerable time gap. Assemblages from other settlements of the Dniester-Bug culture are correlated to this sequence on the basis of stratigraphical and typological data.

A series of dates obtained by radiocarbon analysis of remains collected from the Early Neolithic settlement of Elateia (excavated by Saul Weinberg: see note 11) in central Greece proved to be consistent with the depths from which the samples were taken:

4) Floor level at 2.30 m. 5090 ± 130 b.c.
3) Floor level at 2.55 m. 5250 ± 100 b.c.
2) Floor level at 2.70 m. 5410 ± 90 b.c.
1) Floor level at 3.10 m. 5530 ± 70 b.c.

* Since radiocarbon dates do not indicate a true calendrical age, b.c. is not capitalized.

Radiocarbon dates for materials from the Early Neolithic levels at the bottom of the huge tell of Azmak near Stara Zagora in central Bulgaria (excavated by G. Georgiev during the 1950's) yielded a reliable relative chronology (see notes 10 and 22). Charcoal samples were collected from five floor levels within the deep deposit.

5th floor level: 4329 ± 120 b.c.
4th floor level: 4533 ± 100 b.c.; 4476 ± 150 b.c.
3rd floor level: 4725 ± 100 b.c.; 4590 ± 100 b.c.
2nd floor level: 4829 ± 100 b.c.; 4770 ± 100 b.c.
1st floor level: 5353 ± 150 b.c.; 5208 ± 150 b.c.; 4930 ± 100 b.c.

The true age of these levels is between *ca.* 6000 (or earlier) and *ca.* 5000 B.C.

The food-producing economy was distributed to some regions of Europe by new settlers, to others by trade and a local adaptation to new ideas. Continuity from local Mesolithic occupation can by no means be observed everywhere, but in some areas, such as the Black Sea region, a development having roots wholly within the native Mesolithic culture can be traced.

The major routes of diffusion were the Mediterranean, Aegean and Adriatic Seas, and the rivers of continental Europe. By way of the latter a Neolithic culture closely related in its general form to the Anatolian Neolithic spread from the northern Aegean to the central Balkans by way of the Vardar-Morava and Danube river valleys; its distribution was delimited ecologically, by factors of climate and topography. The coastal sea routes distributed a similarly homogeneous *circum*-Mediterranean and *circum*-Adriatic cultural complex; the western Greek and Yugoslav coast, isolated from the influence of central Balkan culture by the Dinaric Alps and the Pindus Mountains, was a part of this complex.

The Neolithic era of the Balkan Peninsula can be subdivided into:

A. 'Aceramic Neolithic', commencing its development sometime during the eighth millennium B.C. and continuing to *ca.* 6500 B.C.*
B. Early Neolithic, from *ca.* 6500 to *ca.* 5500 B.C.
C. Advanced Neolithic or Chalcolithic (Copper-stone) when metal was already used but had not supplanted stone tools; from *ca.* 5500 to *ca.* 3500 B.C.

* These are corrected dates approximating true calendrical age; B.C. consequently remains capitalized.

A. *Aceramic-Neolithic, ca. 8000/7500 to ca. 6500 B.C.*

When Early Neolithic sites containing painted pottery appeared in Thessaly and Macedonia they possessed a fully developed Neolithic culture with an advanced stone and ceramic industry, and contacts, possibly through trade, with Anatolia and the east Mediterranean area. This cultural complex must have been the product of a considerable previous development.

Traces of an earlier more primitive Neolithic culture with evidence of plant cultivation and animal domestication have been discovered in several widely separated areas.

1) In Greece several settlements have been shown to precede the 'full' Neolithic (Proto-Sesklo) culture of the sixth millennium B.C. The earliest cultural deposits with evidence of plant and animal domesticates either lack remains of baked pottery entirely or contain forms simpler than the succeeding 'Proto-Sesklo' assemblage; this earliest phase has been uncovered in the Thessalian mounds of Argissa, Ghediki, Sesklo and Soufli.[2] Sickles and grindstones; remains of wheat, barley, spelt, millet, peas, beans and lentils; the bones of domesticates, sheep and dog, occasionally cattle and pig — together these confirm the existence of a well-established farming economy. The presence of trade contact over considerable distances is attested by the abundant occurrence of obsidian derived from the Cycladic Island of Melos.

A radiocarbon date obtained from the earliest horizon of Neolithic culture in the cave of Franchthi in the Peloponnese, and another for the preceding Late Mesolithic occupation, place the transition from food-gathering to Neolithic food-production between the mid-eighth and seventh millennium B.C. within the Aegean area.[3] On Crete the aceramic Neolithic deposit discovered at Knossos yielded a date of 6100 b.c.[3a]

2) Around the Iron Gate of the lower Danube region the so-called 'Romanello-Azilian' sites may show a gradual transition from Mesolithic food-gathering to a food-producing stage in about the seventh millennium B.C. since in their inventories are numerous polished antler axes,

[2] V. Milojčić, J. Boessneck and M. Hopf, *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Argissa Maghula in Thesalien. I. Das Präkeramische Neolithikum sowie die Tier- und Pflanzenreste* (Bonn, 1962). The site of Ghediki was excavated by D. Theoharis: *Thessalika A* (Volos, 1962), p. 73ff. Cereal grain and seeds were analyzed by Jane Renfrew: "A report on recent finds of carbonized cereal grains and seeds from prehistoric Thessaly", *Thessalika*, vol. 5 (Volos, 1966), p. 22ff.

[3] Thomas W. Jacobsen, "The Frangthi Cave", *Archaeology*, 22 (1969), p. 4-9.

[3a] The true age should be *ca.* 7000 B.C. Aceramic Argissa also yielded two calibrated dates around 7200 and 7000 B. C. (UCLA, 1657 A.D.).

one-edged hoes and perforated tools which could have been used for soil cultivation. No evidence of animal domestication has yet been found.[4] The now famous Lepena settlement (the early period of the Lepenski Vir site) on the bank of the Danube in northern Yugoslavia, which yielded remarkable monumental sculptures,[5] may have belonged to the Proto-Neolithic era; but its inhabitants were primarily fishermen and hunters.

Some palaeo-zoologists claim to have found very early remains of domesticated sheep and cattle in several stratified cave sites at the location called 'Adam' in Dobruja;[6] but the archaeological date of these layers is not certain.

3) The most substantial evidence for the gradual and local development of an eastern European Neolithic culture comes from Moldavia and the western Ukraine, from the Dniester and Southern Bug basins. Here several settlements on low river terraces revealed at least three successive phases which were without ceramics. Domestication of pig and dog is indicated in the initial phase, and of cattle in the subsequent phases. Radiocarbon dates for these sites fall within the sixth millennium B.C. (see above, p. 10). Later assemblages contained pottery and evidence of plant cultivation.[7] The whole sequence is well defined by a gradual development in the microlithic flint industry.

The early domestication of pig and dog was recently evidenced in a number of stratified sites in the Crimean Peninsula hitherto presumed to be of Mesolithic type.

B. *Early Neolithic, from ca. 6500 to ca. 5500 B.C.*

The emergence of exquisite pottery during the Early Neolithic stage in the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula does not appear to have been a completely independent development. Red slipped and white painted pottery, figurines, stone pins or pendants — 'ear plugs' — and clay seals have analogies in the Çatal Hüyük culture of the central Anatolian plain and in Syro-Cilicia, suggesting that communication through the eastern

[4] The site of Ostrovul Banului, unpublished as yet; materials in the Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, Rumania.

[5] D. Srejović, *Illustrated London News*, February 3, 1968; *id.*, *Lepenski Vir* (Belgrade, 1969).

[6] C. Radulesco and P. Samson, "Sur un centre de domestication du mouton dans le Mesolithique de la Grotte 'La Adam' en Dobrogea", *Zeitschrift für Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologie*, 76 (1962).

[7] V. Danilenko, "Arkheologicheskoe issledovanija v zonakh stroitelstva GES na Juzhnom Buge", *KSIA* (Kiev, 1962). V. I. Markevich, "Issledovanija neolita na srednem Dnestre", *KSIIMK* 105 (Moscow 1965), pp. 85-90.

Mediterranean and across the Aegean may have provided the impetus toward a more advanced Neolithic culture.

A Neolithic complex of related character diffused widely throughout mainland Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria and southern Yugoslavia (Fig. 1). In the Aegean area all sites of this period are either on or close to the coast or in river valleys easily accessible from the coast. The Axios (Vardar), Southern Morava and Velika Morava in southern Yugoslavia, Struma and Iskar in Bulgaria and other waterways as far as the Körös River in southeastern Hungary were routes of contact and sites of settlement.

The Pottery Neolithic culture in the Balkan Peninsula is known by a number of names: 'Proto-Sesklo' and 'Pre-Sesklo' in Greece, 'Starčevo' in Yugoslavia, 'Körös' in Hungary, 'Criş' in Rumania, 'Karanovo' in Bulgaria. This multiplicity is due to the history of discovery and to isolated research in each country as much as to the existence and discernment of cultural variants.

For about fifty years it was believed that the earliest Neolithic culture in the Aegean area was the Sesklo culture, so-called after the Thessalian site of Sesklo, which was excavated in 1901. But when many other Neolithic settlements with earlier materials were discovered, a new name, 'Proto-Sesklo', was introduced in order to relate the new materials to the existing terminology; it is now used as a generalized term for Early Neolithic culture in Greece. The Early Neolithic culture in Yugoslavia is known as the Starčevo culture, deriving its name from the site near Pančevo on the Danube not far from Belgrade.[8] The Starčevo equivalents in southern Hungary and Rumania are named 'Körös' and 'Criş' respectively from their location in the Körös (Hungarian) - Criş (Rumanian) river basin.[9] In Bulgaria a related cultural complex was discovered

[8] A short report appeared in English by V. Fewkes, H. Goldman and R. Ehrich in the *Bulletin of the American School of Prehistoric Research*, 9 (1933). Other surveys on the Starčevo culture: D. Arandjelović-Garašanin, *Starčevacka kultura* (1954); M. V. Garašanin, "Neolithikum und Bronzezeit in Serbien und Makedonien", 39. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (BRGK) (1958), pp. 4-12, 110-112.

[9] I. Bognár-Kutzián, *The Körös Culture* (1947); N. Kalicz, "Siedlungsgeschichtliche Probleme der Körös- und der Theiss-Kultur", *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica* (1965), pp. 27-40; O. Trogmayer, "A Körös-csoport lakbázáról", *Archeologiai Értesitö*, 93 (1966), pp. 235-240; E. Zaharia, "Considerations sur la civilisation de Criş à la lumière des sondages de Leţ", *Dacia*, N.S. VI (1962), pp. 5-51; [same title], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche* XV (1964), pp. 19-44; M. Petrescu-Dimboviţa, "Contributions au problème de la culture Criş en Moldavie", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 9, (1958), pp. 53-68; V. Todorescu, "Cultura Criş in centrul Munteniei" (La civilisation Criş dans le Valachie centrale), *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche* XIV (1963), pp. 251-274.

during the important excavation of the mound of Karanovo near Stara Zagora;[10] there the earliest cultural layers also belong to the Early Neolithic period, and prehistorians subsequently applied this site-name to the Early Neolithic culture of central Bulgaria.

Tell formation, the accumulation of conspicuously deep deposits of cultural detritus, is a product of permanent and long-continued occupation of a single site by a compact farming community. Since the body of the mound is formed by the repeated collapse, levelling and reconstruction of essentially mud-built houses, the development of tells is restricted to regions possessing the hot summers and moderately dry winters that permit this type of architecture. Similarly, the surrounding environment must be sufficiently fertile and the climate sufficiently damp to support a stable subsistence economy; rotation of crops with the inclusion of lentils to restore nitrogen to the depleted earth was an essential element in the maintenance of this ecological equilibrium.

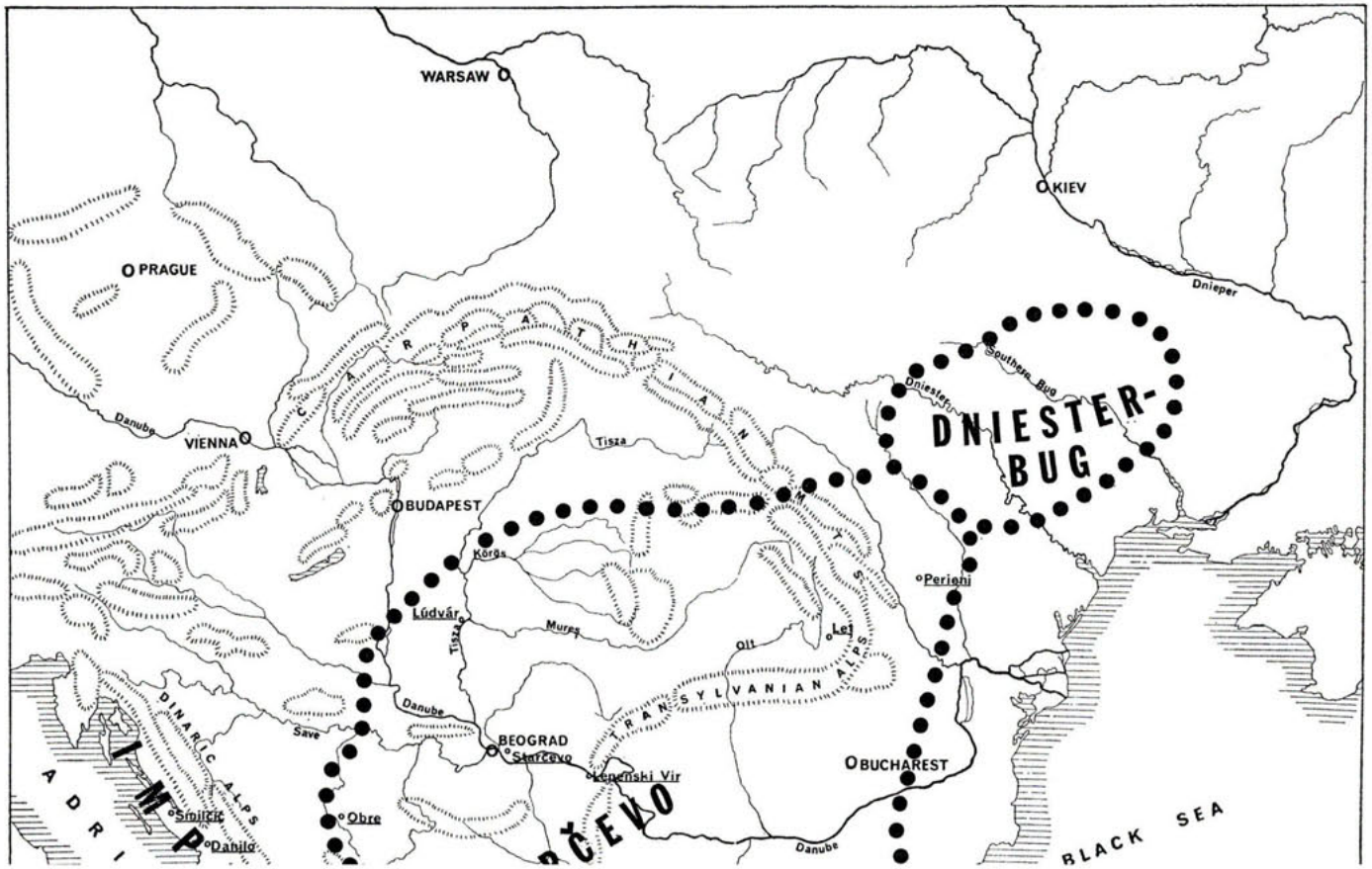
Governed by these conditions the distribution of tells was confined to the plains and valleys of the Near East and the Balkan Peninsula; their northern limit is the Danube between the Iron Gate and Baja, the Baja-Szeged-Szolnok line and the valleys of the Körös and Berettyö rivers in Hungary. It seems that small groups of people spread along the network of rivers and settled permanently in areas suitable for agriculture, avoiding sandy lands and extremely cold or dry climatic conditions. The Adriatic and Black Sea coasts, isolated geographically from the central Balkan region, were not penetrated by the same influences or peoples.

a. *The Proto-Sesklo Complex in Greece and Macedonia*

Radiocarbon dates and stratified deposits as much as two meters deep indicate a long development of the Early Pottery Neolithic culture in Greece, continuing from approximately the second half of the seventh to the second half of the sixth millennium B.C.[11]

[10] V. Mikov, "The prehistoric mound of Karanovo", *Archaeology* XII, no. 2 (1959), pp. 88-97; G. I. Georgiev, "Kulturgruppen der Jungstein- und der Kupferzeit in der Ebene von Thrazien (Südbulgarien)", *L'Europe à la fin de l'âge de la pièrre* (1961), pp. 45-100.

[11] The Elateia site with eight successive floor levels: S. S. Weinberg, "Excavations at prehistoric Elateia", *Hesperia* XXXI, 2 (1962). Most information for the reconstruction of village life during this period comes from excavations at Nea Nikomedeia: R. J. Rodden, "Excavations at the Early Neolithic site at Nea Nikomedeia, Greek Macedonia", *Proceedings of Prehistoric Society*, vol. 28 (1962), pp. 267-288. Other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CARPATHIAN MTS
Southern Bug
Dniestr
DNIESTER-
BUG
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Körös
Lúdvár
Tisza
Mureş
Olt
Lej
Perieni
TRANSYLVANIAN ALPS
Danube
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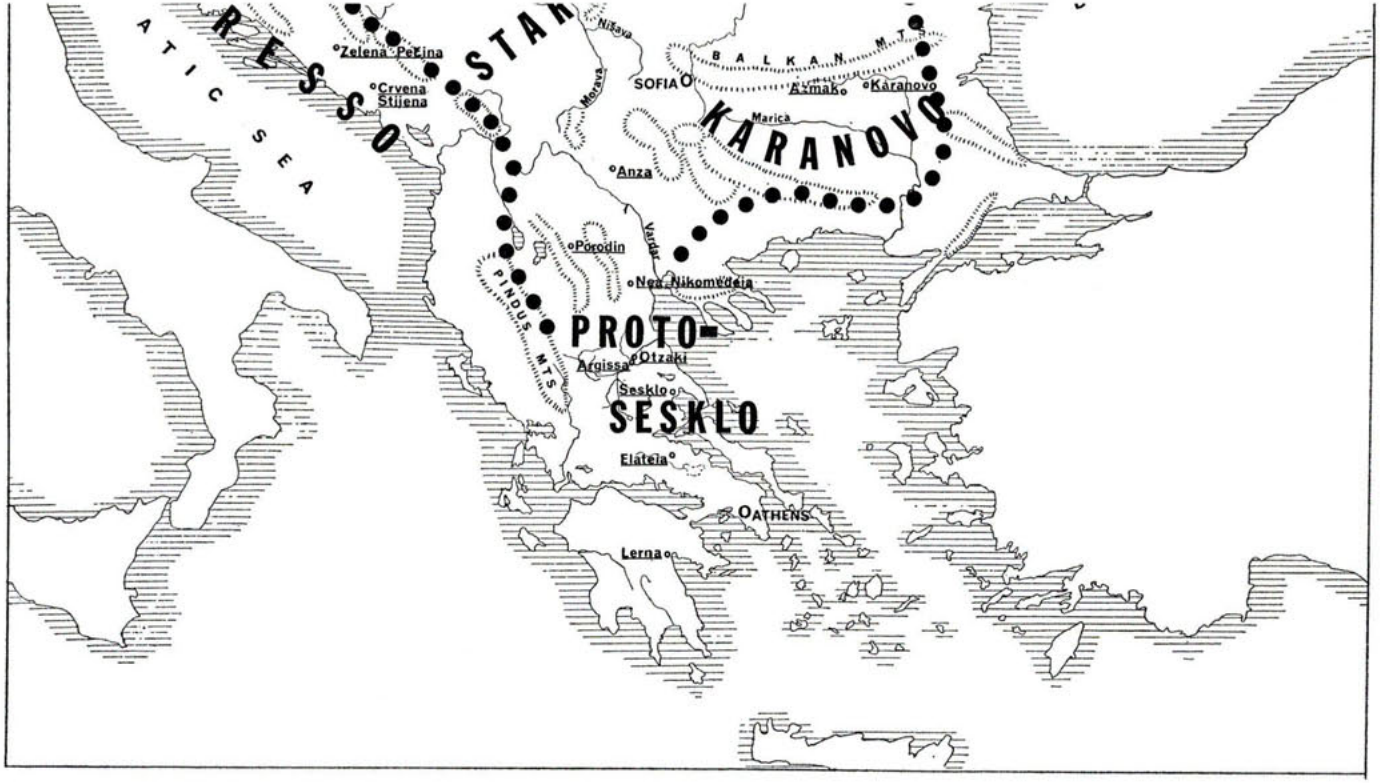

Fig. 1. The distribution of Early Neolithic cultures in the Balkan Peninsula: IMPRESSO in the west; CENTRAL BALKAN (Proto-Sesklo, Karanovo and Starčevo complexes); DNIESTER-BUG in Moldavia and the western Ukraine, *ca.* 6500-5500 B.C.

Proto-Sesklo in Greece should be roughly contemporary with the later phases of the Early Neolithic at Çatal Hüyük and the succeeding sequence at Hacilar. Painted pottery from the initial occupation of Nea Nikomedeia, a site near Verroia in Macedonia, has affinities with the wares of Hacilar levels V-II; radiocarbon dates from Hacilar, and in Greece from Nea Nikomedeia, Argissa and Elateia (see above, p. 11), falling between about 5500 and 5000 B.C., confirm the possibility that the Greek and Anatolian developments are related.[12]

Early Neolithic villages were set on or near the banks of rivers and streams, sometimes on prominent ridges as at Sesklo. Small pit houses occur, but more typical are surface dwellings of about 4×5 meters with a simple stamped earth floor, internal hearth area, and superstructure of wattle and daub on a post framework. During this period mud-brick and pisé construction both developed, and the latter became the commonest method of walling in the latest habitation horizons of the Early Neolithic period at Argissa. Stone foundations have been found at Nea Makri and Lerna, rectangular and supporting mud-brick structures. At Nea Makri, during the later stages of the Early Neolithic, pebble floors co-existed with the usual stamped earth surfaces, and one semi-circular hearth was bordered by standing stones.

The most recent extensive excavation of an Early Neolithic site was at Nea Nikomedeia, which is situated inconspicuously on a low knoll that bordered the marshes of the former Yiannitsa Lake. Here two phases of construction were distinguished: of the first, seven structures were recovered, six of them square, about 8 m to a side, clustered within two to five meters of each other around a larger central building measuring about 12 m square. Saplings sunk at regular intervals provided a framework within which mud and clay plastered reed walling was constructed. The large building was tripartite, and at least two of the other dwellings were divided by a postframed partition into a larger and a smaller room. In the subsidiary room of one a storage bin and hearth basin were discovered sunk into a raised clay platform. In another house a wooden

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important sites are Lerna and Pyrasos in the Peloponnese and Nea Makri in Attica: D. R. Theohares. "Nea Makri: eine grosse neolithische Siedlung in der Nähe von Marathon", *Athenische Mitteilungen*, vol. 71 (1956), pp. 1-29; *id.*, "Pyrasos", *Thessalika*, vol. 2 (1959), pp. 29-68. In Yugoslav Macedonia analogous cultural deposits came to light at the lowest level of the Anza site near Sv. Nikole: UCLA-Štip Museum excavations in 1969-1970.

[12] S. S. Weinberg, "The Relative Chronology of the Aegean in the Stone and Early Bronze Ages", in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (1965), p. 291; R. J. Rodden, "An Early Neolithic Village in Greece", *Scientific American* 212, no. 18 (1965), p. 82-88.

floor had been raised on posts; but flooring was more usually of mud-plastered reed and grass matting.

This settlement was ringed on its landward side by concentric walls which were replaced by a ditch during the second building phase. In this latter period were excavated the remains of two ovens, cylindrical and probably open-topped.

During the Early Neolithic, as in the preceding 'aceramic' period, wheat, barley, lentils and peas were cultivated, and acorns and pistachio nuts utilised. Numerous flint sickle blades and milling-stones attest the harvesting and grinding of the grass crops; and bone spoons their preparation for food. Sheep and goat were predominant among the domesticated animals, supplemented by cattle and pig, both of which had probably been domesticated locally.

Remarkable achievements occur within the basic Neolithic crafts. In addition to beautifully polished and painted pottery there were vases carved of marble or prophyry; finely worked in greenstone were tiny profiled pendants and, from Nea Nikomedeia, miniature frog figurines; beads were fashioned of bone and available stones. Seals of steatite and clay bore incised meandroid, spiraloid, triangular or zig-zag motifs. Larger tools — celts, axes, adzes and chisels — were finely finished in hard stones. Fishing hooks and harpoon points were manufactured of bone.

The Proto-Sesklo pottery was exquisite. Globular jars and bowls, standing on round or oval flat bases, were white slipped and decorated with red paint applied in bands to produce zig-zag, hanging triangle, garland and rhomboid motifs. The whole of the surface was finely polished. Even schematic human figures were employed in decorative design. Monochrome pottery, well polished and thin walled, varied in color from dark brownish-red to light brown or buff; occasionally human figures were modeled upon the surface. Small sculptures of female figures most typically possessed an entirely schematic head and fat body with exaggerated buttocks.

A cruder pottery, decorated with fingertip and fingernail impressions, appears alongside the fine and monochrome pottery in Thessalian and Macedonian sites; its distribution is most extensive in the north, in the Starčevo complex, and its occurrence in an Aegean context is the most obvious indicator of the very close relationships that existed between Thessaly, Macedonia and the central Balkans as far north as southeastern Hungary. This whole area belonged to one cultural block in the Early Neolithic; regional differences increased subsequently, a reflection of demographic stability. In Greece the Sesklo-proper culture developed.

b. *The Sesklo Complex in Greece*

This culture, named after its type site in Thessaly following excavation in 1901, remained for some time the earliest known Neolithic occupation of Greece.[13] However, the stratigraphies of the sites of Argissa, Otzaki, and the re-excavated Sesklo revealed the considerable extent of previous occupation and re-defined Sesklo as a relatively late and long-lived culture in the Neolithic sequence.[14] Sites containing its identifying materials have been discovered throughout Greece; many of them were newly founded settlements, implying an increase in population density during or at the beginning of this period. Aegean archaeologists consider the appearance of the Sesklo culture a product of renewed Anatolian and Mesopotamian stimuli on the east Greek coast; and generalized stylistic ties are discerned throughout the sixth millennium B.C.[15]

The site of Otzaki, in Thessaly, yielded eight Sesklo habitation horizons, almost four meters of deposit. Here the ceramics disclosed a three phase development within the Sesklo period; and architectural remains were sufficient to be informative of the settlement's lay-out: two close standing rows of square or megaron houses, sometimes with internal buttresses, were uncovered (Fig. 2). Construction, duplicated at Sesklo itself during this period, was of rectangular mud-bricks, frequently upon a stone foundation.

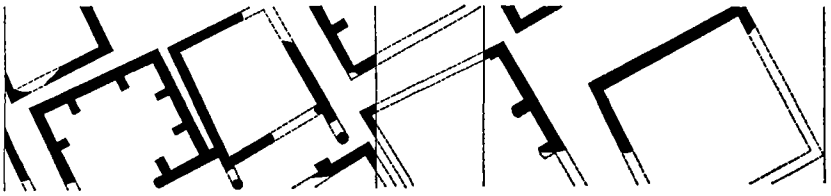


Fig. 2. A partial village plan showing rectangular houses standing in rows along a narrow street; from the Sesklo period in the tell of Otzaki in Thessaly. (After Milojčić, 1960, BRGK.)

The beginning of the Sesklo phase is distinguished by the appearance of pottery covered with a fine white slip and decorated with flame and stair designs in dark red. The previously prevalent monochrome and

[13] C. Tsountas, *Ai proistorikai akropoleis Dimeniou kai Sesklou* (1908).
[14] V. Milojčić, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf der Otzaki-Magula, 1954", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1955), pp. 157-182.
[15] Weinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

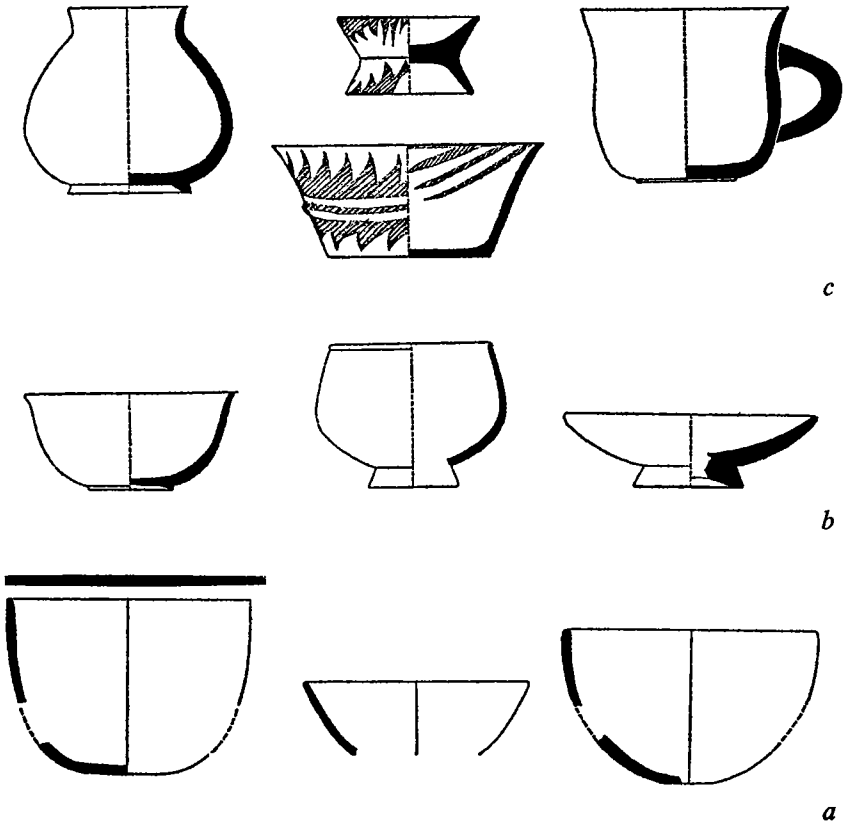


Fig. 3. Evolution of pottery forms in neolithic Thessaly and Macedonia: *a.* simple ceramics; *b.* Proto-Sesklo; *c.* Sesklo.

impressed pottery continued to be made, but in both the decorated and undecorated wares forms were more evolved and variable (Fig. 3): globular necked pots; footed bowls, some with funnel necks; straight walled bowls; and cups and jugs with handles. "Steatopygous" female figurines were as much in evidence as during the Proto-Sesklo period, and zoomorphic figurines, representing rams and birds, were produced. Other distinctive constituents of the Sesklo assemblage are bracelets fashioned of *Spondylus* shell, clay seals, and small clay vessels comprising a shallow bowl sunk into a tabular platform which stands on four legs. These so-called 'altars', were probably designed to function as lamps or served as votive offerings.

c. *The Starčevo (Körös-Criş) Complex in the Central Part of the Balkan Peninsula*

The Early Pottery Neolithic period is well represented in Yugoslavia, Rumania and eastern Hungary by the Starčevo (Körös-Criş) complex (Fig. 1). It appeared no later than the first half of the sixth millennium B.C. and its cultural content seems to be closely related to that of Thessaly and Macedonia. The Axios (Vardar) and Morava rivers and their tributaries must have been used for the transportation of people and goods, and with them cultural values.

A number of settlements have yielded radiocarbon dates which range from the late sixth millennium to the mid-fifth millennium b.c. The true age is from *ca.* 6000 to *ca.* 5500 B.C. The best dated sites are Anza, Divostin, Obre and Lepenski Vir.

No single Starčevo village has yet been fully excavated; but at many sites a village of huts or houses has been partially uncovered. Architectural techniques were diverse. The earliest settlement horizon of the Vinča mound, on the Danube near Belgrade, consisted of semi-subterranean huts arranged in a circle around one larger central house of similar construction; sixteen irregularly shaped hut floors were defined in this level. The second Starčevo village at Vinča had variously proportioned rectangular houses fronted by an open space.[16] Architectural remains in a number of other sites indicate that houses were lined in rows, methods of construction including semi-subterranean huts in which there was no trace of timber posts; surface dwellings with wattle and daub walling supported by a heavier timber framework; large retcangular or trapezoidal surface houses on stone foundations (Gladnice near Priština, Obre I near Kakanj in Bosnia). Walls were usually clay daubed and floors clay plastered. Ludvár, at Röszke, a Körös site in southeastern Hungary, yielded a small clay model (Fig. 4), providing archaeologists with a portrayal of how a complete house of the sixth millennium B.C. might appear. The building is quadrangular, with ascending walls strengthened by poles, a gabled roof and a schematic animal head, perhaps that of a bull, on the ridge board.[17]

Wheat, barley, spelt and vetch were grown, and among the domesticated animals sheep and goat predominated as they did in the warmer and drier conditions around the Aegean; from their skull remains it is

[16] Blaženka Stalio, "Habitats et habitations de la periode Neolithique", *Les regions centrales des Balkans à l'époque Neolithique* (Belgrade, 1968), pp. 77-106.

[17] O. Trogmayer, "Ein neolithisches Hausmodellfragment von Röszke", *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica* X (1966), pp. 11-26.

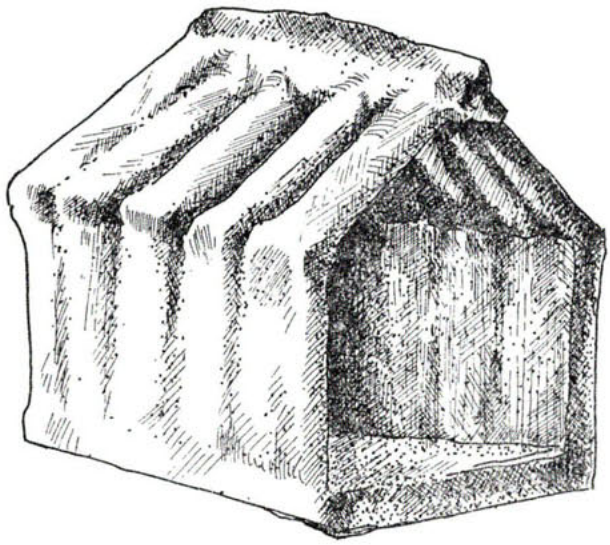


Fig. 4. Clay model of a house (reconstructed) found in a refuse pit of a settlement of the Starčevo (Körös) complex at Ludvár near Röszke, southeastern Hungary. Sixth millennium B.C. (After O. Trogmayer, "Ein neolithisches Hausmodellfragment von Röszke", *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica* X, Szeged.)

inferred that hornless sheep were being raised long before the appearance of woolly sheep. A large species of cattle similar to the type found in the Aegean area was next in importance among the domesticated fauna; pig and dog were also kept. The climate was warmer than today's: one piece of supporting evidence for this was the presence of the warmth-loving *asinus hydruntinus*, a wild donkey now extinct.[18]

Although the basic economic pattern was faithfully transferred from the south to the middle Danube basin, the immigrant economy in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania had to adapt to somewhat different natural conditions. Here there were many more rivers, lakes and forests; fishing and hunting consequently played a more important role in the Neolithic economy than they had in Greece. Antler harpoons, bone fish-hooks, clay sinkers, fish bones and thick layers of river shells are found within the villages, as well as the more frequent remains of the forest animals that were hunted, including wild deer, goats, aurochs, boar, bear, fox, badger and birds. Bone was utilized not only for awls, polishers, points, fish-hooks and spoons (Fig. 5) but also for more

[18] S. Bökönyi, "The vertebrate fauna of the Neolithic settlement at Maroslele-Pana", *Archeologiai Értesitö* 91, no. 1 (1964), p. 93.

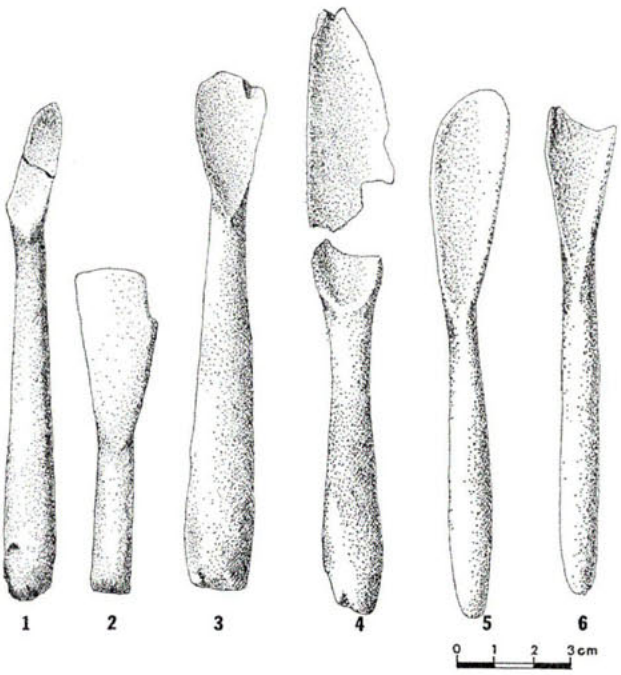


Fig. 5. Bone spoons of the Starčevo complex. Sixth millennium B.C.: 1, 2 — Starčevo site, Yugoslavia; 3, 4 — Kopáncs-Zsoldostanya, southeastern Hungary; 5, 6 — Kozluk near Vršac, Yugoslavia.

aesthetic objects such as buckles and pendants; while *Spondylus* shell was used to manufacture bracelets, rings and beads. A variety of hard stones, including flint and, rarely, obsidian, were used to fashion microliths, blades, scrapers, burins, points, large and small axes and adzes, and pendants. Stone perforation was not yet employed.

Pottery ranged from 'barbotine' and fingernail decorated thick-walled kitchen-ware and storage vessels to extremely fine, thin-walled painted ware (Fig. 6). Hemispherical and globular shapes were predominant but footed bowls and dishes, anthropomorphic vessels and square or triangular footed lamps also occur. Horned animal figures modeled in relief were frequent decorative elements on large pots. Female or hermaphroditic figurines were "steatopygous" and had cylindrical necks and schematized heads with coffee-bean-shaped eyes; in simplified versions the figures possessed only the extended neck, with a bump for the nose and incised indication of slanted eyes and hair (Fig. 7). These cylinders were modeled independently and set into prepared torsos. Some figurines

Fig. 6. Black on red painted vases of the Starčevo complex from the site of Tečić near Svetozarevo, Serbia, Yugoslavia. Sixth millennium B.C. (After R. Galović, 1964, *Bericht der Römisch-Germ. Kom.*, 43-44.)

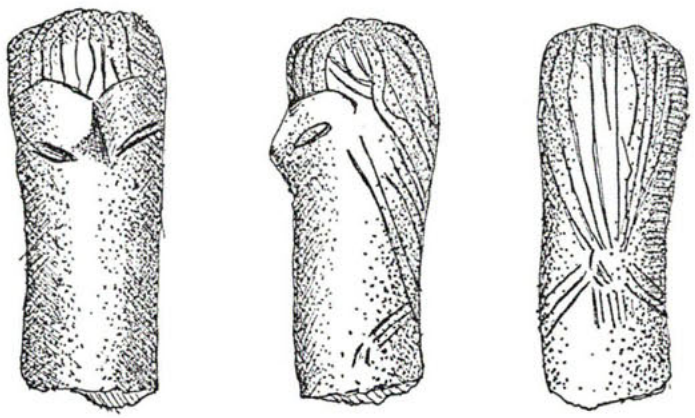


Fig. 7. A typical figurine of the Starčevo complex with slanted incised eyes, crude bump nose, no mouth and ample indication of hair. Pavlovac, southern Serbia, Yugoslavia. (After Srejović, 1968, *Neolit. Centr. Balkana*)

comprised only exaggerated buttocks in combination with this characteristic neck; others were bird-like abstractions: buttocks replaced a bird's body but a beak and occasionally small wings were present. Apparently the Starčevo people were fascinated by birds; their goddesses may have been incarnated in them. The mask of a goddess-like creature was also modeled in relief upon the necks of large vases (Plate 1). Seals, having complicated geometric designs, possibly of symbolic character, were universally used (Fig. 8).

Cemeteries are not known from this period; people were buried in a flexed position within their settlements, duplicating the procedure of the Proto-Sesklo villagers. Grave offerings other than meat were unusual: only in a few cases were painted vases and axes found as grave furnishings.

Plate 1. Representation of the mask of a deity on the neck of a Starčevo vase of the sixth millennium B.C. From Gladnice settlement at Gračanica near Priština, southern Yugoslavia. Height: 10.4 cm. Prišstina Museum.

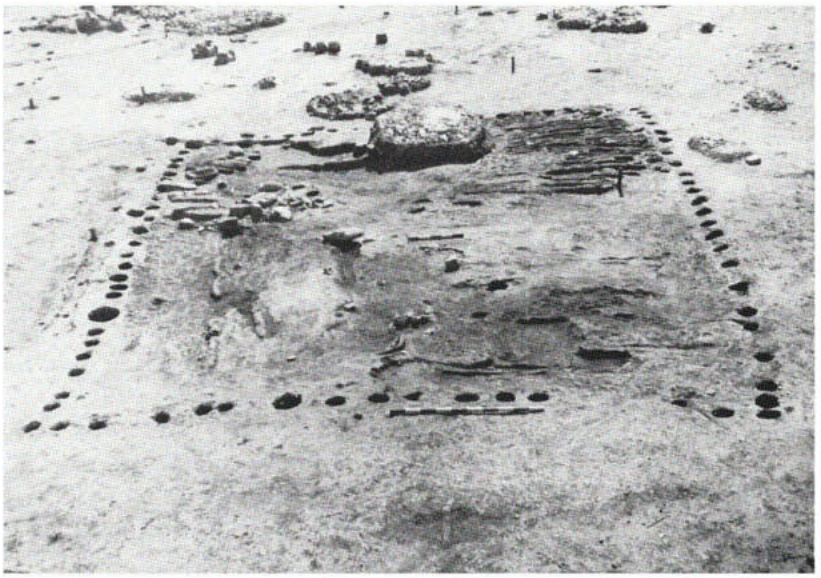


Fig. 9. Recovery of a Karanovo house plan with remains of split plank flooring (right rear); an oven (centre rear); stone tools; and antler sickles, their flint teeth *in situ*, lying within the house area. House dimensions: 5.15 m by 6.95 m. Located in level 10 of the Kazanlik mound, Central Bulgaria; excavated by R. Katinčarov (1969).

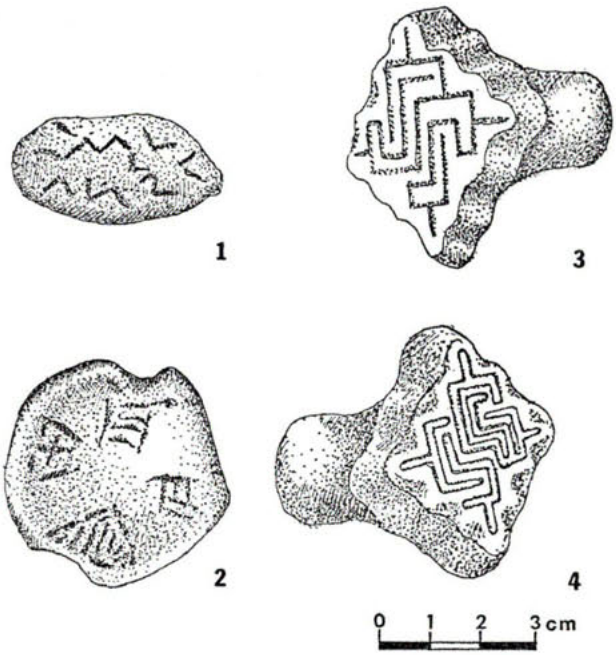


Fig. 8. Clay seals from sites of the Starčevo complex: 1, 2 — from Kotacpart near Hódmesövásárhely in southeastern Hungary; 3, 4 — from Tečić near Svetozarevo, Serbia, Yugoslavia. (1, 2 — after Kutzián, 1947; 3, 4 — after Galović.)

In southeastern Hungary an anthropomorphic vessel filled with grain and the calcined bones of a newborn baby was discovered.[19] Of five skeletons unearthed in the Starčevo levels of the Obre I site in Bosnia none had grave goods, with the possible exception of one adult which lay in a twisted flexed position with a milling stone over its feet and a flint blade wedged between its vertebrae; the latter was probably intrusive. About a meter northwest of its feet a red painted vessel was found.

The absence of large Starčevo cemeteries limits the investigation of physical characteristics and the ethnic implications that might be drawn from it; but from the meager number of skeletons that have been analyzed it appears that there was no pure Starčevo physical type. Both local Upper Palaeolithic-Mesolithic Proto-European types and eastern ele-

[19] At Ocsöd near Hódmezövásárhely: G. Gasdapusztai, *Archeologiai Értesítö* (1957), p. 12-13, Taf. I, 3; I. Bognár-Kutzián, "Das Neolithikum in Ungarn", *Archaeologia Austriaca*, 40 (1966), p. 251.

ments having Anatolian parallels were present in a population which was already a mélange.[20]

The criteria for determining the demise of this complex include: 1) the presence within the Danube basin of new Macedonian and Bulgarian elements, specifically biconical black-polished vases and more variable sculptural styles; 2) the arrival of distinctive Adriatic elements inland as far as Bosnia;[21] and 3) evidence of assimilation of the Starčevo people of Hungary and Rumania by the local Early Neolithic Alföld group.

d. *The Karanovo Complex in Bulgaria*

The mound of Karanovo near Stara Zagora in central Bulgaria provides a fine example of a 'tell' settlement. It contains seven main phases of occupation, the debris of which forms a mound over forty feet high.[22] Phases I-III represent Neolithic occupation. All the houses found within the habitation horizons of these phases consisted of a single room six to seven meters square, which had been constructed of a frame of thin wood poles supporting a lattice of branches that were thickly coated with clay daub. The floors and some of the court-yards were covered with carefully aligned wooden planks (Fig. 9). Each house had a hearth near one of the inner walls; and at one outside corner, attached to the house, was a small building which served for food storage. The houses stood in parallel rows.

The presence of movable mill-stones, sickles of deer antler inset with flint teeth (Fig. 10), and identified remains of carbonized wheat and lentils affirm the economic role of agriculture. In the Early (Karanovo I)

[20] Information obtained by Dr. J. Nemeskéri in 1966. See also: O. Necrasov and M. Cristescu, "Données anthropologiques sur les populations de l'âge de la pièrre en Roumanie", *Homo*, Bd. 16, H.3 (1965), pp. 131-134.

[21] Obre I, the Starčevo site in Bosnia excavated in 1967 and 1968 by a joint UCLA-Sarajevo Zemaljski Museum team, revealed a culture which developed local provincial idiosyncrasies during its long period of existence. The lowest stratum of the Obre I settlement contained only classical Starčevo elements, but was succeeded by four levels containing Starčevo elements mixed with Adriatic coast Danilo ingredients. The Kakanj site, excavated in 1954 and situated five kilometers west of Obre I, yielded similar materials and, consequently, gave its name to a Bosnian variant of the Starčevo culture. The 1967-1968 Obre I excavations clarified the assumption that the Kakanj culture had its roots in the Starčevo group. Therefore, there is no need to use the term Kakanj culture; it represents a late phase of the Starčevo period. Cf. M. Gimbutas, "Obre, Yugoslavia. Two neolithic sites", Archaeology, vol 23, 4 (1970).

[22] Excavated between 1946 and 1957 by V. Mikov and G. I. Georgiev. Preliminary reports: V. Mikov, "The Prehistoric Mound of Karanovo", *Archaeology*, 12, no. 2 (1959); G. I. Georgiev, "Kulturgruppen der Jungsteinzeit und der Kupferzeit in der Ebene von Thrazien (Südbulgarien)", *L'Europe à la fin de l'âge de la pièrre* (1961); *ibid.*, *Archaeologia Austriaca* (1967).

Fig. 10. A flint bladed antler sickle from Karanovo I (Starčevo complex), Central Bulgaria. (After G. Georgiev, 1961.)

Neolithic the cereal grasses, Einkorn and Emmer, and lentils were distinguished; in Karanovo III, Einkorn, Emmer, barley, vetch and peas.

Pottery was finely made and included interesting hollow-based tulip-shaped vases with black or white geometric designs painted upon a red slip. One-handled cups make their first appearance in this part of Europe. Triangular shaped pieces standing on three legs of the same genre as the Starčevo and Sesklo 'oil lamps' also occur here; female figurines similarly resemble those of the Starčevo and Sesklo areas.

Understanding of the cultural sequence first exposed at Karanovo was amplified by the subsequent excavation of the Azmak mound, situated like Karanovo near Stara Zagora, and Tell Dipsis (or Ezero) near Nova Zagora. At Azmak the Early Neolithic strata were three meters deep and have yielded probably the finest series of radiocarbon dates that exists for a prehistoric site (see above, p. 12).[23]

More recently, archaeologists have been excavating two other tells containing materials whose preservation and abundance are unique to these Bulgarian mound sites: a tell at Kazanlik with eight meters of Neolithic deposit;[24] and another at Čavdar, east of Sofia, with deposits analogous to those of Karanovo I-III.[25] The 'Veselinovo complex', a name used in archaeological literature for the culture succeeding the Karanovo Early Neolithic, is stratigraphically well evidenced in Karanovo, Azmak and Dipsis, where it is definitively a continuation of the same Karanovo cultural variant. One radiocarbon date of 4410 $\pm$ 100 b.c. exists for the Veselinovo phase at the Karanovo site itself (Karanovo III).

The Veselinovo pottery typically displays a dark or lustrous black surface, only rarely decorated with plastic bands and knobs, or linear

[23] G. Georgiev, "Azmashkata mogila kraj Stara Zagora", *Arkheologija* IV, 1 (1962), pp. 59-65; *id.*, "Fuoilles du tell de Dipsis pres du village Ezero en 1964-1965", *Arkheologija* VIII, 3 (1966).

[24] Excavation by G. Georgiev and R. Katincharov started in 1967 and 1968; two meters from the top were completed in excavation with extraordinarily rich materials of Karanovo II and III types.

[25] Excavation by G. Georgiev in 1968 and 1969.

incision. The most diagnostic forms are the cylindrical and pear-shaped vases possessing single handles characteristically topped by a vertically projecting cylindrical or 'button' knob, and the equally distinctive flat dishes, supported on four cylindrical legs. Other components are, on the one hand, a new entirely stylized ceramic figurine; on the other, miniature figurines in marble, from Kazanlik, exhibiting fine naturalistic detail. Ornaments of clay and *Spondylus* shell occur and a variety of ceramic 'lamps', evolved from those of the preceding Early Neolithic phase: some are zoomorphic, representing a four-legged standing animal, the bowl sunk shallowly into its back (Fig. 11); others are simply tabular, decorated

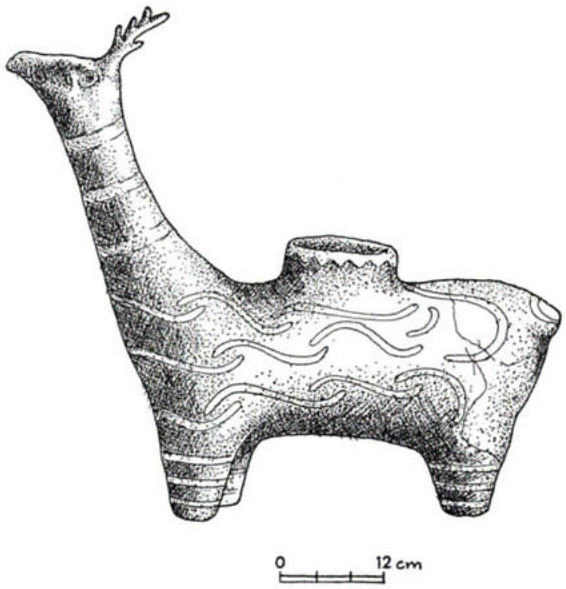


Fig. 11. A pottery lamp in the form of a deer from Mouldava, a Karanovo III settlement at Plovdiv, Central Bulgaria. (After P. Detev, 1968.)

with incised geometric checkering or painted spiral motifs. This transitional period between the Early and Advanced Neolithic is marked by the intensification of trade contact and the extension of Karanovo influence over the central Balkans and the Danube region.

e. *The Dniester-Bug Complex*

The discovery and investigation of Dniester-Bug sites during the last decade has disclosed a long-lived Early Neolithic occupation which

developed independently from Mesolithic culture on the fertile black earth of Moldavia northwest of the Black Sea. No detailed publications of excavated materials have yet appeared; the finds are in the Archaeological Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev and in the Archaeological Museum of the Institute of History in Kishinev, Soviet Moldavia.

The stratified Dniester-Bug sites, yielding productive materials for radiocarbon dating and floral and faunal analysis, have revealed a long developmental sequence of stone and bone-working industries and of animal and plant domestication. The earliest Aceramic Neolithic levels were overlaid by a Pottery Neolithic which was subject to influences deriving from the Starčevo culture, during the latter part of the sixth millennium B.C. In the late phases of the Dniester-Bug culture Starčevo elements were superseded successively by influences from the northeast characteristic of the Dnieper-Donets culture, by those of the central European Linear Pottery culture, and finally by southern elements typical of the Boian complex. This rich black soil region was probably coveted by all neighbouring groups. It was the Linear Pottery and Boian groups which assimilated the Dniester-Bug culture in the latter part of the fifth millennium B.C., terminating its independent character but creating in the amalgam the beginnings of the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture.

The assemblages of the Dniester-Bug sites disclose a gradual development from the Mesolithic (or Upper Palaeolithic) stage into the Neolithic. Early villages occupied flood plain terraces of the river, formed during the warmer climate of the Post-glacial (Boreal) period; while in later phases settlements were located on higher ground indicating a fluctuation to damper conditions.

Dwellings were predominantly semi-subterranean; some were large long houses, others smaller, containing more stone in their construction. A village on Baskov Island in the Bug River included, within an area of three hundred square meters, two larger and nine smaller houses standing in a single row with their long axes oriented to the river. Above-ground house structures were discovered in phase 4 of the Pottery Neolithic period. Several settlements in the Dniester basin were stratified and demonstrate a long occupation (Soroki Ia and b; Soroki II, layer 3 and layer 2); whether they were settled seasonally, as spring-summer fishing camps, is not known.

A gradual microlithization of flint tools can be observed in the development of trapezes, which were to be set in bone or antler handles, of round and end scrapers, knife-like blades, burins, and perforators. Flint cores

were roughly rectangular in the Soroki sites of the Dniester valley, while in the Bug area pencil-like cores typical of the North Pontic area were found.

The abundance of fish, some growing up to two meters in length in local rivers, probably impelled groups of food-gatherers toward semi-sedentism and later to settlement in permanent villages. Tremendous amounts of fish bone are found, including the remains of salmon, pike, sturgeon, carp, lake herring, bloater, bream, sheatfish, chub, perch and shiner, as well as shells of river oyster and grape snail. Fishing was most prevalent in the Aceramic and earliest Pottery Neolithic phases.

The analysis of grass seeds obtained from the site of Soroki II, layer 1,[26] indicates the harvesting of wild grasses for edible seeds, a pursuit that may have led to plant cultivation. *Aegilops cylindrica*, grass weed from which wheat could have developed, still grows in Moldavia today and is evidenced in Early Neolithic deposits. *Triticum monococcum*, the Einkorn single grain wheat, was found in the early Pottery Neolithic phases but not in the Pre-Pottery period. Flints and sand-stone pestles which could have served, respectively, for harvesting and preparing grain and seeds, wild or domesticated, were found in the Aceramic layers.

Hunting continued to be of economic importance throughout the entire period; the wild fauna identified in settlement midden includes aurochs, boar, stag, deer, goat, fox and wolf. Domestic pig, cattle and dog appeared in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic phases and pig and cattle continued to be the predominant domesticated animals during the entire period in this region; there were no sheep, goat or horse bones found in any of the Pre- or Early Pottery Neolithic sites.

The ceramic Neolithic can be subdivided into at least five phases. Whether or not the earliest pottery was of local origin in the Dniester-Bug area has not been ascertained. When pottery was uncovered in the earliest levels the major portion of it was assumed to be of local design: large pots with pointed or flat bases, their clay tempered liberally with vegetable matter and powdered shell. However, southwestern influences were reflected by the presence of pinched potsherds of Starčevo type; and well-polished monochrome and painted footed dishes found in phases 2 and 3 of the Pottery Neolithic affirm an increasing Starčevo influence. But since the massive vessels with pointed or flat bases were decorated with incised linear designs, usually covering the whole pot (Fig. 12), an ornamentation foreign to Starčevo ceramics, they can be regarded as a product of the Dniester-Bug people. Drastic changes in pottery shape

[26] Information by Markevich, Kishinev, 1968.

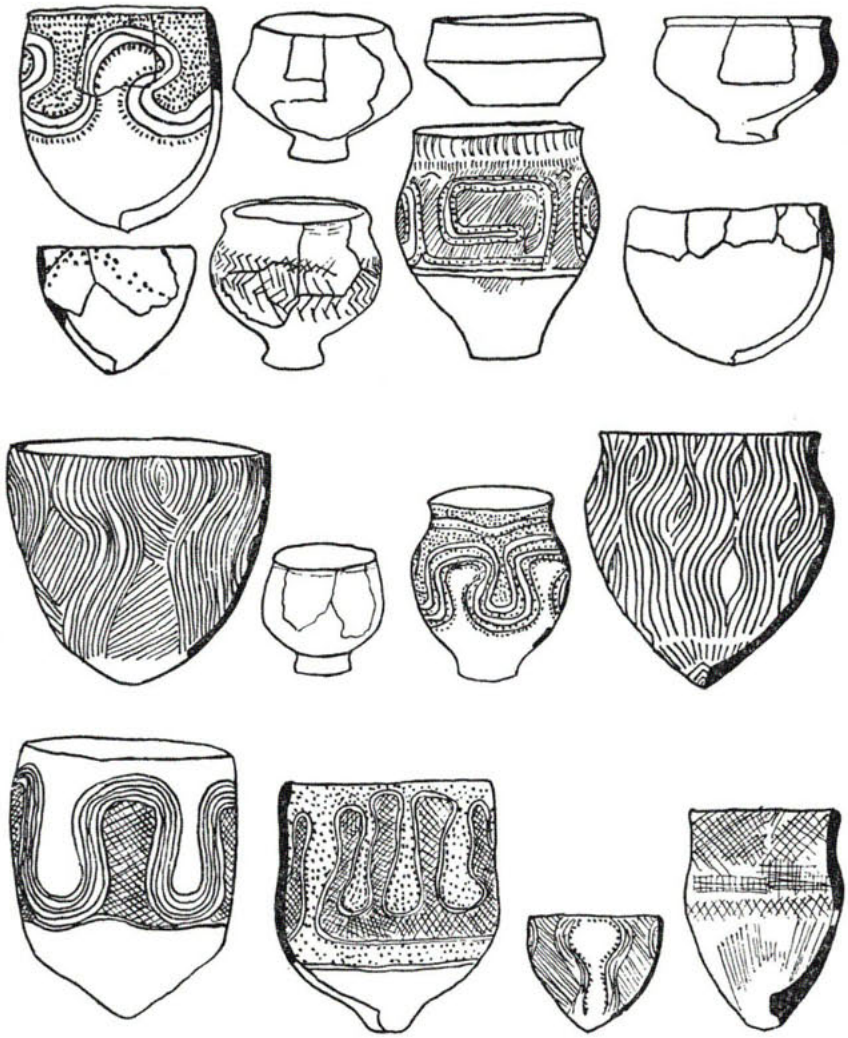


Fig. 12. Ceramic styles of the earliest Pottery Neolithic sites in the Southern Bug valley. Three consecutive phases are illustrated: 1 — Skibinets; 2 — Sokolets; 3 — Pechera. (After Danilenko, unpublished MS, 1969.)

and decoration appeared in phase 4 when Starčevo elements were replaced by northern, Dnieper-Donets, influences; a round-based type of pottery decorated with comb-like stamp impressions became dominant. Finally, Starčevo influence reasserted itself in phase 5, only to be replaced when the infiltration of central European Linear Pottery elements into Moldavia and the western Ukraine occurred.

f. *The Impressed Ware and Danilo Complexes on the Adriatic Coast*

A second major current of Neolithic diffusion, not necessarily an ethnic migration, spread westward through the Mediterranean and up the Atlantic coast. The entire Mediterranean area is typified by an evergreen vegetation and so forms an extension of the ecological area in which the basic discovery of food-production was made.

In most of the Mediterranean the earliest traces of Neolithic development are associated with impressed ceramics, rough pottery decorated before firing with impressions or incisions applied with the edge of *Cardium Edule* and other shells, fingers, finger-nails or pointed instruments. Impressed ware has been found along the Adriatic coast; on the islands of Sicily, Levkas, Corfu, Tremiti, Malta, Lipari, Elba and Corsica; and in Liguria, southern France, Catalonia, Valencia, southern Spain and central Portugal. A similar pottery occurs along the African coast and even in the Sudan. This extensive and rapidly established coastal distribution is striking evidence of the development of sea navigation at this early period. Pioneer seafarers probably remained close to the coast, reaching the islands which were within visibility of the mainland and its coastal waters.

The earliest known manufacture of impressed pottery was in southeastern Anatolia where there is a supporting radiocarbon date of about 6100 b.c. from Mersin, Cilicia; there and throughout the Near East it usually underlies painted pottery of Halaf type. In Italy, Adriatic Yugoslavia and almost all western Mediterranean areas it appears as the earliest Neolithic in the lowest layers of stratified sites; only on the island of Corfu is there a preceding Neolithic assemblage, a stratum typified by plain and incised pottery and dated by radiocarbon to 5720 $\pm$ 120 b.c.[27] The impressed wares were long-lived, persisting in the Near East, southern Italy and the Adriatic coast in spite of the subsequent arrival and development of painted pottery traditions, and enduring until the third millennium in parts of the western Mediterranean.

On the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia, in the mountainous republics of Hercegovina and Montenegro, two stratified cave sites, CRVENA STIJENA and ZELENA PEČINA, have yielded cultural deposits ranging from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age.[28] Crvena Stijena contained eight meters of material dating from the middle Palaeolithic through the Pottery Neo-

[27] A. Sordinas, "Prehistoric investigations on the Island of Corfu during 1966", *Kerkyraika Chronika*, 14 (1968), pp. 77-83.

[28] A. Benac, *Studien zur Stein- und Kupferzeit in nordwestlichen Balkan* (Berlin, 1962). Also in *Glasnik* (1957, 1958).

lithic; Stratum III included wares impressed by cardial shells and toothed stamps. Neither domesticated animals nor evidence for agriculture were recovered; only the bones of wild fauna, including deer, boar, chamois and wild cat.

The most extensively excavated of the numerous impressed ware sites on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast is the open settlement of Smilčić, east of Zadar in northern Dalmatia, where rich Impresso pottery layers were succeeded by a Middle Neolithic settlement containing painted pottery of Danilo type.[29] The Early and Middle Neolithic settlements, occupying an area of about 10,500 square meters, were clearly distinguished stratigraphically in the two to three meters of cultural deposit. The village was situated near a brook and was encircled by a ditch two meters deep. Houses were not preserved but fragments of clay with imprints of twigs revealed their construction and concentrations of artifacts in isolated circles may have been related to hearth areas in houses. Animal remains were not analyzed: sheep/goat and cattle seemed to predominate, and numerous shells suggested that the snail was of nutritional importance. Among stone tools there were flint knives and scrapers, and grindstones and whetstones.

Pottery from the village at Smilčić consisted of conical or biconical dishes with flat, or somewhat hollowed or ring bases; and semi-globular and oval bowls (Fig. 13). They were usually monochrome with a yellow or dark brown slip, poorly baked and tempered with large amounts of gravel. Ornamentation was applied before firing with the use of bone or wooden stabbing implements and indented or non-indented shells — *Cardium, Pectunculus, Mytilus, Arca Noe,* and others. Decoration was applied randomly or in banded patterns of shell 'rocker-stamp' and stabbed motifs; finger-print impression was rare.

The Impresso culture in Dalmatia has parallels in southeastern Italy, and trading contact across the narrow Adriatic Sea is suggested by the presence in Dalmatia of obsidian from the Lipari Islands, north of Sicily. Wary navigators must have crossed the Adriatic by way of the islands, on several of which — Hvar, Pelagosa, Pianoso, Tremiti — Impresso sites have been identified. On the Italian mainland sites are known on and to the south of the Gargano Peninsula.

In the central Mediterranean, including Adriatic Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia, southern Italy, the Aeolian Islands, Sicily and Malta, the impressed ware complex was succeeded by a horizon characterized by

[29] Šime Batović, "Neolitsko nalezište u Smilčicu", *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru,* Vol. X (1963), pp. 83-138.

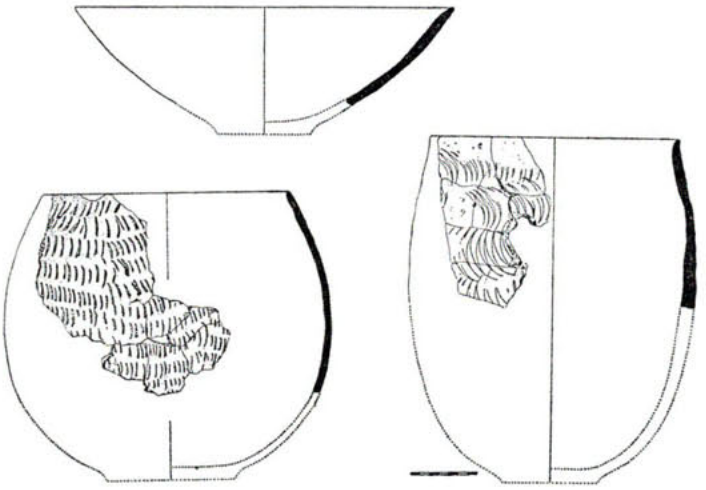


Fig. 13. Impresso pottery forms from the settlement of Smilčić, near Zadar, Dalmatia. (After Š. Batović, 1966.)

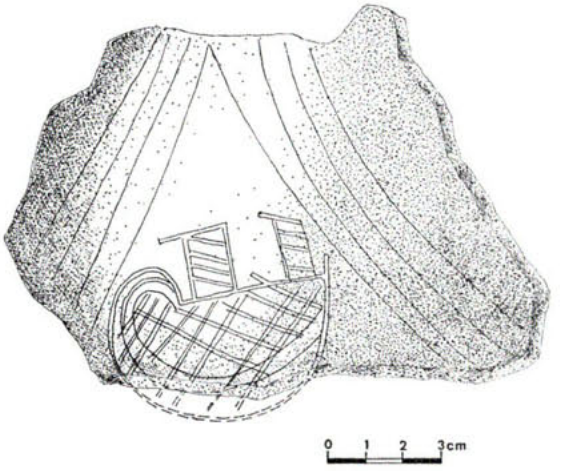


Fig. 14. A potsherd with the incised representation of a sail boat. From Grabak, Lesina Island, off the Dalmatian coast, Yugoslavia. Fourth millennium B.C. (After G. Novak, 1955.)

painted pottery, a development further confirming the existence of close cultural relationships throughout the Adriatic. The production of this thin-walled smoothly polished pottery, painted in red or orange on a white or buff ground, marks a distinct refinement in ceramic technology

and cultural taste, and its rapid diffusion reflects intensifying communication. Although actual boat remains have not been discovered, engravings of sail-boats on pottery, such as one from the Grabak cave on Lesina Island in the Adriatic, offer mute evidence that this may have been the result of improving techniques of construction and navigation (Fig. 14).

The appearance of painted pottery so markedly different from the prevalent Impresso ware has sometimes been attributed to the arrival of immigrants from further east. However, analysis of materials from the settlements located around Matera and Foggia in southern Italy and on the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia demonstrates a local development and enrichment of the Impresso culture, probably provoked by contact with the Sesklo culture of Thessaly. The painted pots were perhaps used for important feasts or cult ceremonies, the cruder impressed pottery meeting everyday purposes. Through time the impressed ware itself evolved a greater variety in motif design and techniques of application.

This period is represented on the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia by the exquisite painted wares of the Danilo complex, which at Smilčić and other sites overlies impressed ware strata. It is here that the influence of Greek Middle Neolithic groups, especially Sesklo, can be most clearly recognized in decorative motifs; and it is inferred that the rapid development of the Danilo ceramics was instigated by this contact. A conclusively diagnostic form, a peculiar fourlegged 'cult' vase, scoop-like with a high circular handle, has been found both in central Greece and Thessaly and abundantly within the Danilo complex (Fig. 15).

The complex, known all over the Dalmatian coast between Croatia and Montenegro in Yugoslavia, takes its name from a stratified settlement near Šibenik, 18 km from the Adriatic Sea.[30] The rich site of Smilčić, southwest of Zadar, also contains stratified Danilo materials.[31]

The Danilo pottery was decorated with geometric motifs — triangular, rhomboid, checkerboard, zig-zag — applied in brown, red or white paint previous to firing. A technique of incision with red and white incrustation was also used, in which the most frequent design was the spiral. Forms included rounded bowls, tureens, foot-based vases, amphorae with cylindrical necks, and the 'rhytons' already described (Fig. 15).

The Danilo people were stock-breeders, hunters, and small-scale farmers. Some sites yielded only the bones of domesticated animals — cattle, goat/sheep, and dog; while in others an exclusively wild fauna was

[30] J. Korošec, "The Neolithic settlement at Danilo Bitinj", *Acad. Scient. et Artium Jugosl.*, Class. Philos. (1958).

[31] Š. Batović, *Sredniji Neolit Dalmaciji*, (Archaeological Museum Zadar, 1966).

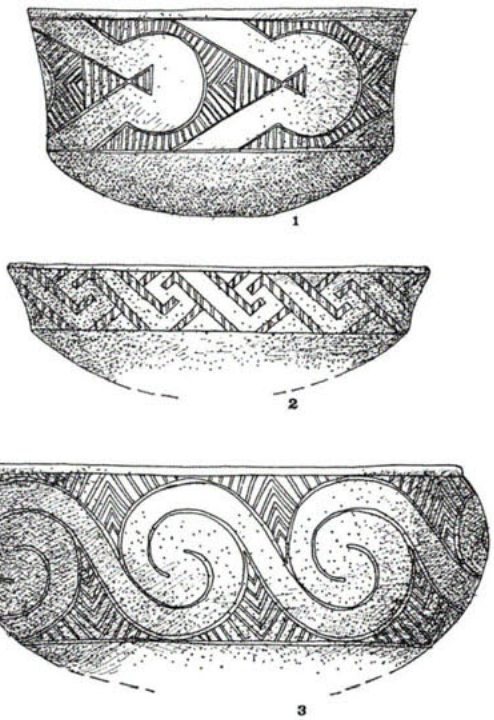


Fig. 15. Painted vases of the Danilo culture, from the site of Danilo near Šibenik, Dalmatia. Scale 1, 2: 1/2; 3: 1/1. (After Korošec, 1964.)

discovered, a variability that may have been the product of differing environments. Along the Adriatic coast there are also a number of cave sites which have strata containing Danilo material. Systematically excavated caves include one in Skarin Samograd, east of the Danilo site; the Markus cave on Hvar Island; and on the Pelješac peninsula, the Gudnja cave which has yielded the most sophisticatedly decorated ceramics known from a Danilo site. People may have inhabited these caves throughout the year rather than just during the hunting season: evidence of small-scale agriculture has been remarked in the flatter areas near the caves and impressions of wheat and rye on pottery substantiate other indications of farming. The abundant shell remains of sea mussel and snail indicate that they were exploited as a food source.

No cemeteries are known; only individual skeletons buried in a contracted position have been found. Skulls and lower jaws, mostly of small children, occur within the habitation area, possibly indicating a custom of child offerings.

Female figurines were conspicuous by their absence from the Danilo assemblage; but numerous incised and red painted phalli of baked clay were discovered.

C. *The Advanced Neolithic and Chalcolithic from ca. 5500 to ca. 3500 B.C.*

During the fifth millennium B.C. remarkably rapid changes in the Neolithic culture of the Balkans and East Central Europe produced several new and more distinctly differentiated assemblages distinguished primarily by their pottery and art styles (Fig. 16). The regional variants of Balkan Advanced Neolithic culture are considered separate cultural entities, each having its own particular name in the archaeological literature.

1) The cultural complexes of the Aegean area during this period are collectively termed AEGEAN LATE NEOLITHIC. At present the Late Neolithic culture of the islands of Crete, Antiparos and Keos is better understood than that of mainland Greece.[32] To the north, in Thessaly, the successive cultural phases of the Late Neolithic are designated DIMINI, LARISA and RAKHMANI.[33]

2) The eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula was occupied by several neighbouring cultural groups: the MARICA-BOIAN[34] complex appeared in the valleys of the Marica River and the lower Danube, developing gradually to form the extensive GUMELNIŢA culture in the latter part of

[32] J. L. Caskey, "Excavations at Keos 1960-1961", *Hesperia* XXXI (1962), p. 263ff.; *id.*, "Excavations at Keos 1963", *Hesperia* XXXIII (1964), p. 314ff.; *id.*, "Excavations at Keos", *Archaeology*, 16, no. 4 (1963), pp. 284-285; *ibid.*, 17, no. 4 (1964), pp. 277-280; J. D. Evans, "Excavations in the Neolithic settlement of Knossos 1957-1960; Part I", *Annals of the British School at Athens* [*BSA*] lix (1964), p. 132ff.; J. D. Evans and A. C. Renfrew, *Excavations at Saliagos* (1968).

[33] A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (Cambridge, 1912); H. Hauptmann, "Zum Neolithikum in Makedonien", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Band 17 (1967); Ch. Tsountas, *Ai proistorikai akropoleis Dimeniou kai Sesklou* (Athens, 1908); S. Weinberg, "Relative Chronology of the Aegean", *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, R. Ehrich ed. (1965), pp. 285-320.

[34] D. Berciu, "Săpăturile Arheologice de la Tangîru", *Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice* V (1959), pp. 143-154; *id.*, *Romania* (1967); Gh. Cantacuzino, "Le nécropole préhistorique de Cernica et sa place dans le néolithique de Roumanie et d'Europe dans le cadre des dernières découvertes archéologiques", *Studi şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche* [*SCIV*], Tom. 18, 3, (1967); Gh. Cantacuzino and S. Morintz, "Die jungsteinzeitlichen Funde in Cernica, Bukarest", *Dacia* NS VII (1963), pp. 27-90; S. Morintz, "O asezare Boian fortificata", *SCIV*, Anul XIV, 2, (1963), pp. 275-283; V. Christescu, "Les stations préhistoriques du Lac de Boian", *Dacia* II (1925), pp. 249-303; E. Comşa, *The Boian Culture*, unpublished dissertation; H. Vajsová, "Stand der Jungsteinzeitforschung in Bulgarien", *Slovenská Archeologia* XIV, I (1966), pp. 5-48.

the fifth millennium B.C.[35] The HAMANGIA group, exhibiting Anatolian characteristics, appeared in Dobruja on the Black Sea coast, eastward of the Boian distribution;[36] it was superseded by the expansive Gumelniţa culture. In Moldavia and the western Ukraine the CUCUTENI culture (named TRIPOLYE in Russian) quickly matured.[37]

3) The central part of the Balkan Peninsula, extending through the Vardar-Morava valleys as far as the Danube basin in Yugoslavia and western Rumania, and into Bosnia in the west, was occupied by settlements of the VINČA culture.[38]

4) On the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia the HVAR culture, named after a site on the island of Hvar, was the fourth millennium continuation of

[35] D. Berciu, *Romania* (1967); V. Dumitrescu, "New discoveries at Gumelnitza", *Archaeology* XIX, no. 3 (1963), pp. 162-172; *id.*, "Gumelniţa sondajul stratigrafic din 1960", *SCIV* 17, I (1966), pp. 51-99; D. Galbenu, "Asezarea neolitica de la Hirşova", *SCIV*, Anul XIII 2 (1962), pp. 285-306; J. H. Gaul, "The neolithic period in Bulgaria: early food producing cultures in Eastern Europe", *American School of Prehistoric Research*, Bulletin 16 (1948); G. Georgiev and N. Angelov, "Razkopi na selistrata mogila do Ruse prez 1948-1949 godina", Bŭlgarska Akad. na Naukite, Arkheol. Inst., *Izvestija* [*IAI*] XVIII (1952), pp. 119-194; *id.*, "Razkopi na selistrata mogila do Ruse prez 1950-1953 godina", *IAI* (1957), pp. 41-127; R. Popov, "Kodža Dermenskata mogila pri gr. Šumen", *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto Arkheologičesko Družestvo* [*IBAD*] VI (1918), pp. 71-155; D. Rosetti, "Steinkupferzeitliche Plastik aus einem Wohnhügel bei Bukarest", *Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst, IPEK*, Band 12 (1938), pp. 29-50.

[36] D. Berciu, *Cultura Hamangia* (Bucharest, 1966); *id.*, "Manifestation d'art néolithique en Roumanie. 'Le couple' de Cernavoda", *IPEK*, 21 (1966), pp. 42-45.

[37] V. Dumitrescu, *La station préhistorique de Traian: fouilles de 1936, 1938 et 1940*, reprinted from *Dacia*, No. IX-X (1941-1944); *id.*, *Habaşeşti* (Bucharest, 1954); *id.*, "La civilisation de Cucuteni", *Berichten van de rijksdienst voor het oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek, overdruk uit Jaargang* 9 (1959), pp. 7-48; *id.*, *L'art néolithique en Roumanie*, (Bucharest, 1968); T. S. Passek, "La céramique tripolienne", *Bulletin de l'Academie de l'Histoire de la Culture Matérielle* (1935); *id.*, "Periodizatsija tripol'skikh poselenij", *Materialy i Issledovanija po Arkheologii SSSR*, No. 10 (1949); M. Petrescu-Dimboviţa, *Cucuteni* (Bucharest, 1966); H. Schmidt, *Cucuteni in der oberen Moldau, Rumänien. Die befestigte Siedlung mit bemalter Keramik von der Steinkupferzeit bis in die vollentwickelte Bronzezeit* (Berlin, 1932); R. Vulpe, *Izvoare: Săpăturile din 1936-1948* (Bucharest, 1957) (*Biblioteca Arheologica* I).

[38] R. Galović, *Predionica: Neolitsko naselje kod Prištine* (full German translation: *Predionica: Äneolithische Ansiedlung bei Priština*) (Priština, 1959); J. Korošec, "Prehistorijska glinena plastika u Jugoslaviji", *Arheološki Radovi i Rasprave* I (1959), pp. 61-117; J. Nandris "Lepenski Vir", *Science Journal* (January, 1968), pp. 64-70; D. Srejović, "Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines from Yugoslavia", *IPEK*, 21 (1964-1965), pp. 28-41; *id.*, "Neolitska plastika Centralnobalkanskog područja" (French summary), *Neolit Centralnog Balkana* (Belgrade, 1968), pp. 177-239; N. Tasić, "Praistorisko naselje kod Valača" (German summary), *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije* II (Priština, 1957); J. Todorović and A. Cermanović, *Banjica, naselje vinčanske kulture* (German summary) (Belgrade, 1961); M. Vasić, *Preistoriska Vinča* (Belgrade, 1932-1936).

the Danilo complex.[39] In Bosnia coastal Danilo-Hvar elements amalgamated with traits of the central Balkan Vinča culture to produce the hybrid BUTMIR culture.[40]

5) East Central Europe contained several cultural entities related to the Adriatic and central Balkan blocs: LENGYEL in the middle Danube basin (northern Serbia, Slavonia, western Hungary, Lower Austria, Moravia, western Slovakia and southern Poland)[41] and TISZA in the Tisza river valley.[42] The latter was superseded by the TISZAPOLGÁR-BODROGKERESZTÚR complex during the fourth millennium B.C.[43] Transylvania produced the PETREŞTI group, distinguished by its beautiful painted pottery.[44]

This appearance of many new traits at this time has led some scholars to assume that new tides of colonial migration burst through most of the Balkans either from Anatolia, the east Mediterranean or the Cyclades. However, in much of the Balkans it is certain that this cultural enrichment was the product of an essentially local development, provoked in part by the rapid growth of trade and associated interchange of ideas between the Balkan and Aegean-Anatolian peoples. The growth of individuality within the Balkan cultures, an unprecedented diversity and creativity in ceramic art, would not be the product anticipated of a

[39] Š. Batović, "Bibliografija Mladeg Kamenog Doba u Dalmaciji" (English summary), *Diadora*, vol. 3 (1965), pp. 221-252; G. Novak, *Prehistorijski Hvar* (English summary), (Zagreb, 1955).

[40] A. Benac, *Prehistorijsko naselje Nebo i problem Butmirske kulture* (French summary), (Sarajevo 1952); *id.*, *Neolitsko naselje u Lisičicima kod Konjica* (1958); V. Radimsky and M. Hoernes, *Die neolithische Station von Butmir*, Teil I (1895); Fr. Fiala and M. Hoernes, *Die neolithische Station von Butmir*, Teil II (1898); *id.*, "Excavations at Obre, preliminary report", *Archaeology* (Summer 1970).

[41] J. Dombay, *Die Siedlung und das Gräberfeld in Zengövárkony* (1960); B. Novotný, *Die Slowakei in der jüngeren Steinzeit* (Bratislava, 1958).

[42] I. Bognár-Kutzián, "Das Neolithikum in Ungarn", *Archaeologia Austriaca* 40 (1966); J. Csalog, *Archeologiai Értesitö* (1958), p. 82; J. Banner, *Das Tisza-, Maros-, Körös-Gebiet bis zur Entwicklung der Bronzezeit* (Szeged, 1942); *id.*, "Anthropomorphe Gefässe der Theisskultur von der Siedlung Kökénydomb bei Hódmezövásárhely", *Germania* 37 (1959); J. Korek, "Lebö-Halmi Ásatás 1950-ben", *Archeologia Értesitö* (1958), 2; F. Tompa, "25 Jahre Urgeschichtsforschung in Ungarn", *BRGK* 24-25 (1935-1936), p. 43.

[43] I. Bognár-Kutzián, "The Copper Age cemetery of Tiszapolgár-Basatanya", *Archaeologia Hungarica* NS XLII (1963) (Budapest); P. Patay, "A Bodrogkerestúri kultura temetöi" (German summary), *Régészeti Füzetek*, Magyar Nemzeti Múseum ser. II, 10. szam (1961). This monograph is comprised of information on nearly forty Bodrogkeresztúr cemeteries.

[44] D. Berciu, and I. Berciu, "Cercetări şi săpături arheologice in judetele Turda şi Alba", *Apulum* II (1943-1945), p. 53ff.; for more references to the Petreşti cultural group see H. Dumitrescu, "Cîteva probleme legate de cultura Petreşti", *SCIV* 17, 3 (1966), pp. 433-444.

substantial ethnic displacement. Colonization, on the contrary, would have resulted in a greater uniformity of culture.

The work done by Dr. Nemeskéri in this field has shown that the Lengyel, Tisza, Vinča and Cucuteni people were preponderantly gracile Mediterraneans closely analogous in physical type to the inhabitants of Khirokitia on Cyprus in *ca.* 6000 B.C.[45] However, this relationship was probably descendant from a previous period and from present evidence it does appear that the majority of the Neolithic population of the Balkan Peninsula must have persisted from earlier times. The most likely exception to this generalized rule is the sudden appearance of the Hamangia culture: its distribution and cultural content, as well as the lack of known local predecessors argue that it was the creation of new settlers arriving on the Black Sea coast. The development of the Lengyel and Tisza groups resulted from the conjunction of strongly diffused southern influences, perhaps involving ethnic movement, and substantial elements of the central European Linear Pottery and Alföld cultures.

Vinča, Lengyel and Cucuteni-Tripolye villages or townships were frequently larger than those of the preceding period: Varvarovka in the middle Southern Bug valley occupied an area of about 120 hectares; and at Vladimirovka, between the Dniester and Bug rivers, over four thousand house-plans have been distinguished by aerial photography.

Settlements were situated on wide low terraces overlooking the river valleys, often in locations notable for their natural beauty. Many had a circular or semicircular plan while others consisted of houses apparently constructed at random; frequently there is evidence of a protective palisade or ditch on the inland flank of the settlement (Figs. 17, 18). Dwellings were rectangular and of varying dimensions; their models in clay indicate a pitched roof sometimes with a bull's head attached to the gable, and painted walls. If these clay house models were a faithful imitation of actual structures they testify to the existence of two and even three storey buildings, possibly temples (Fig. 19). Models of furniture in clay speak for the use of tables and chairs (Fig. 20). From the Cucuteni group huge altar pieces are known, usually in life-size stylized form. And at the Vinča site, engraved upon a pithos, was found the representation of a temple façade indicating a door with staircases at either side; enclosing this entrance is an 'M' symbol above which presides an anthropomorphic design (Fig. 21).

The larger villages or townships were probably a result of population growth following advances in agricultural technique and animal domesti-

[45] J. Nemeskéri, personal communication, 1966.

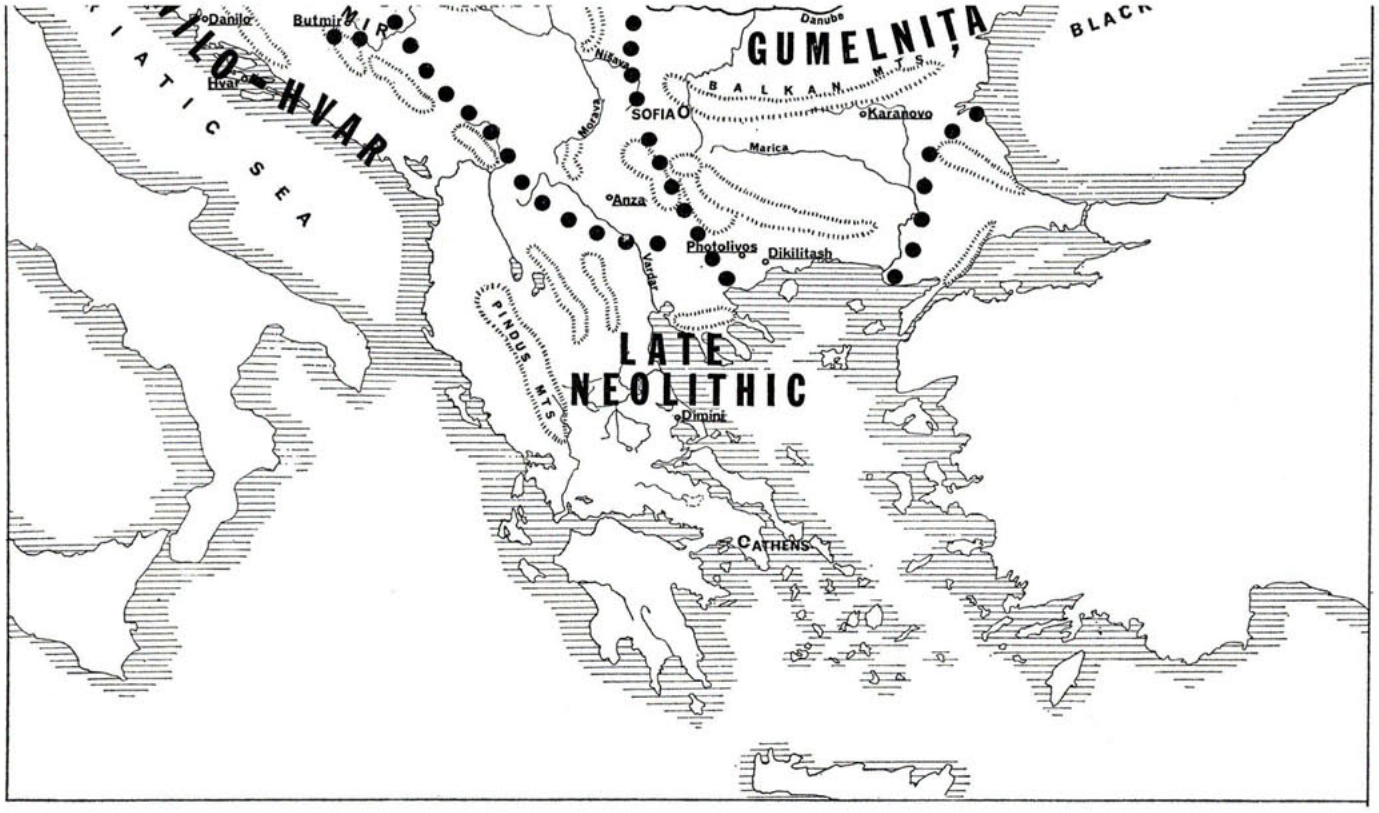
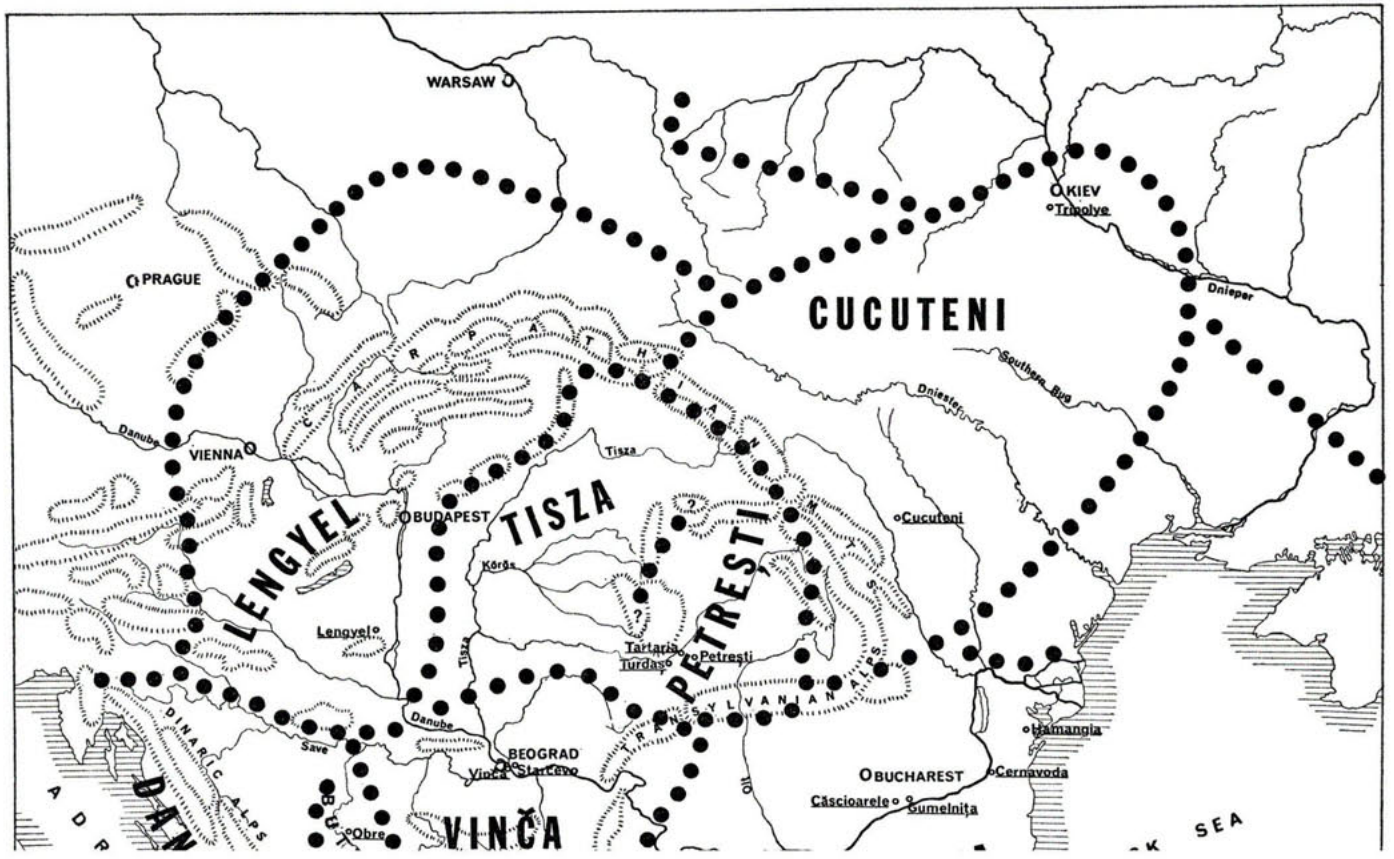


Fig. 16. Cultural groups during the Advanced Neolithic-Chalcolithic period. Fifth and fourth millennia B.C.


WARSAW
KIEV
Tripolye
PRAGUE
CUCUTENI
Dnieper
Southern Bug
Dniester
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Danube
VIENNA
Tisza
BUDAPEST
TISZA
LENGYEL
PETRESTI
Cucuteni
Körös
Lengyel
Tartaria
Turdaş
Petreşti
TRANSYLVANIAN ALPS
Danube
Tisza
Hamangia
Save
DINARIC ALPS
BEOGRAD
Vinča
Starčevo
BUCHAREST
Cernavoda
Căscioarele
Gumelniţa
Obre
VINČA
SEA

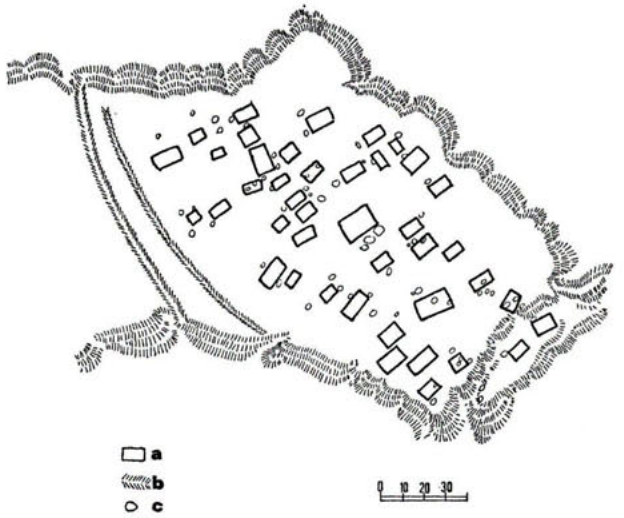


Fig. 17. Plan of the Cucuteni village of Hăbăşeşti, Moldavia, northeastern Rumania. Mid-fourth millennium in radiocarbon years; true age late fifth millennium B.C. (After V. Dumitrescu, 1954.) *a* — houses; *b* — ramparts; *c* — pits.

cation. Studies of faunal remains in the Danubian basin show an increased presence of wild elk and locally domesticated cattle and swine.[46] Specialization in ceramic and metallurgical crafts developed, the beginning of a division of labor.

The neolithic inhabitants of East Central Europe, utilizing the copper sources of the Carpathian foothills, were the first Europeans to develop metallurgy, copper artifacts appearing almost simultaneously during the fifth millennium B.C. in the Tisza group of central Hungary and the Boian group of Rumania. During the fifth and fourth millennia trade in copper and its ores expanded and both gold and copper artifacts were distributed along the Danube and its tributaries to central and northern Europe and around the Black Sea coast to Moldavia and the western Ukraine. A few hoards of copper ornaments and tools stored in pots and hidden in the earth have been discovered. One cache from Karbuna in the western Ukraine, buried in the mid-fifth millennium B.C., contained 444 copper pendants, beads and axes.[46a] Pendants, pins, bracelets, beads and small tools such as awls, needles and chisels were produced of copper, but it was too soft a material to replace stone in the manufacture of heavy duty or cutting tools; consequently two terms, 'Chalcolithic'

[46] S. Bökönyi, personal communication.

[46a] G. P. Sergeev "Rannetripol'skij klad u s. Karbuna", *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 1962-1, pp. 135-151.

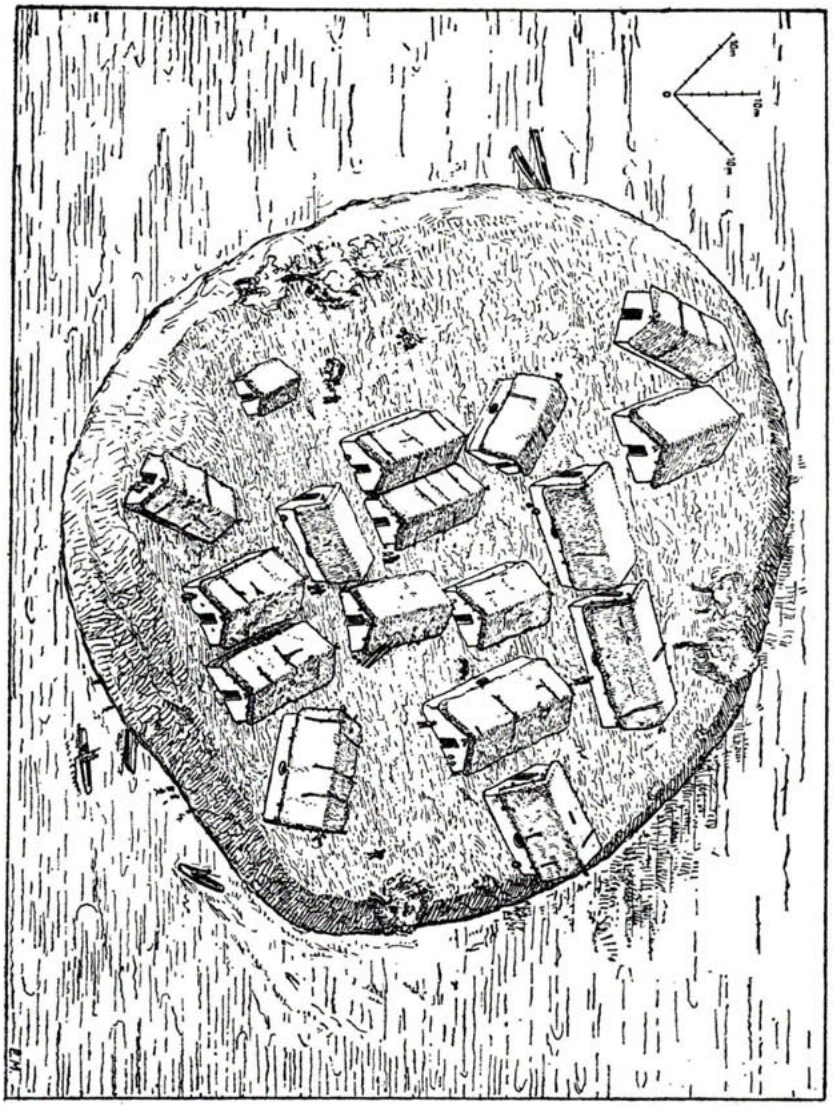


Fig. 18. The reconstruction of an island village of the Gumelniţa culture, Căscioarele in the lower Danube, Rumania. (After Dumitrescu, 1965.) Below this, an earlier village of the fifth millenium was discovered including a sanctuary with painted walls and pillars (Dacia XIV, 1970).

and 'Late Neolithic' are used synonymously to designate this period. Sometimes objects possessing religious symbolism or magical power were made of copper or gold. A large curved piece of copper, possibly

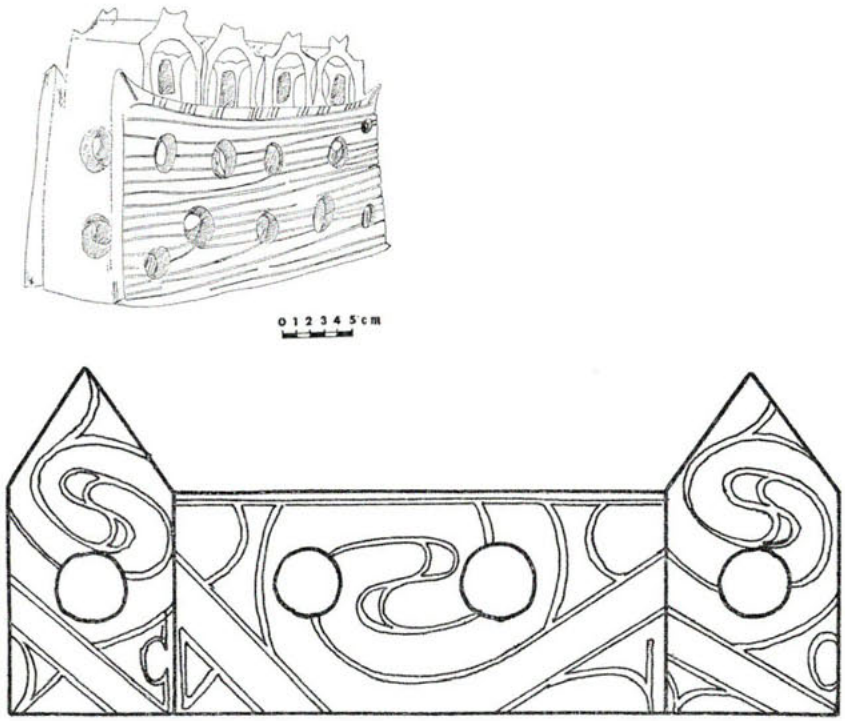


Fig. 19. House or temple models of the East Balkan Gumelniţa culture: 1 — from the island village of Căscioarele on the lower Danube, Rumania (after V. Dumitrescu, 1968); 2 — from the Kodža-Dermen settlement at Šumen, Central Bulgaria; (after R. Popov, 1911).

a symbol of magical power, was found at Szentes in Hungary, in the region occupied by the Tisza culture. Larger metal tools and weapons, such as perforated axes, were produced later, during the Tiszapolgár phase in Hungary and northwest Rumania.

In 1961, at Tartaria in Rumania, an archaeologist discovered three small clay tablets of the Vinča culture, inscribed with what appears to be a pictographic script. The tablets were found in a pit descending from the lowest of the three strata distinguished in the tell. Associated with them were twenty six schematic ceramic human idols with triangular heads that probably represent masks, two similar idols of alabaster and a bracelet of *Spondylus* shell (Fig. 22).[47] The latter suggest trade connections with theEast Mediterranean. The artifacts lay in a small

[47] N. Vlassa, "Chronology of the Neolithic in Transylvania, in the light of the Tartaria settlement's stratigraphy", *Dacia* NS VII (1963), 485-494.

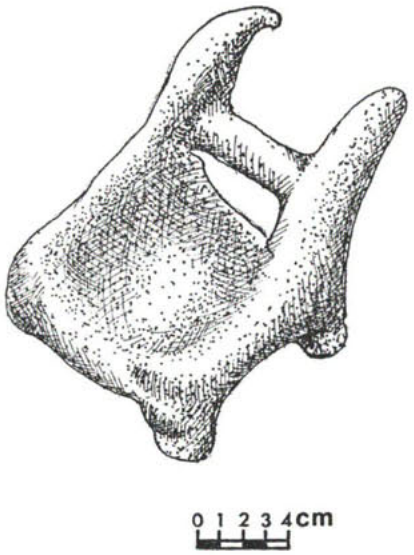


Fig. 20. Clay model of a chair from the Pre-Cucuteni site of Tirpeşti, Moldavia, Rumania. Fifth millennium B.C. (National Antiquities Museum, Bucharest.)

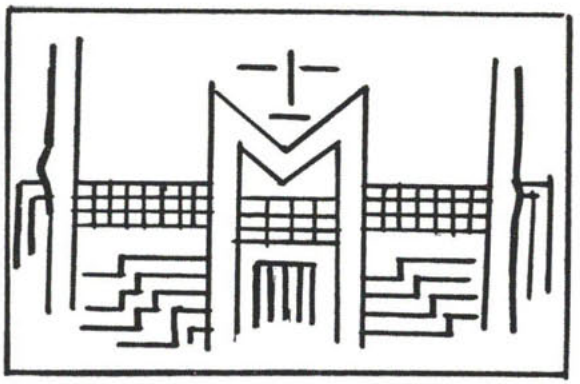


Fig. 21. Schematic depiction of a temple incised upon the surface of a large pithos from the Vinča settlement near Belgrade, Yugoslavia. A central gate is flanked by stairways and enclosed within an 'M' symbol; the image above this symbol may represent the Great Goddess. (After Popović, 1965.)

heap close to the scorched and disjointed bones of an individual about 35-40 years old. Dr. Vlassa, who excavated the tell of Tartaria, suggested that this might indicate a sacrifice accompanied by some form of ritual. Various characters of this same pictography have been found on

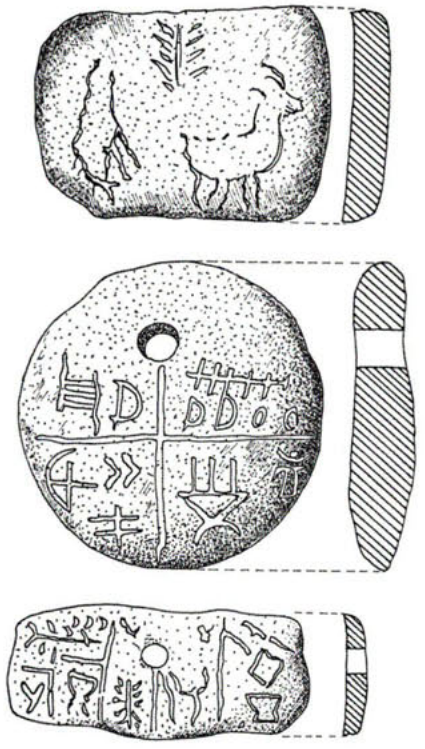


Fig. 22. The Tartaria Tablets; early Vinča culture, from the site of Tartaria, Rumania. (After Vlassa, 1963.)

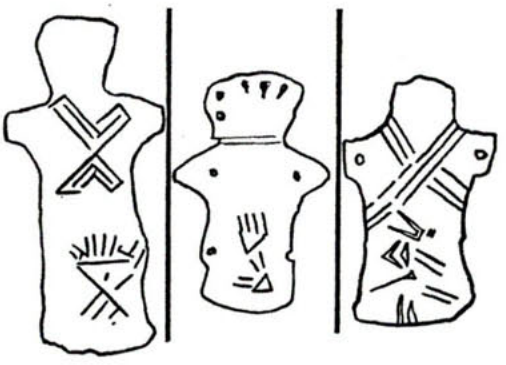


Fig. 23. Elements of pictographic script on clay (votive?) figurines of the Vinča culture; from the Vinča settlement. (After Popović, 1965.)

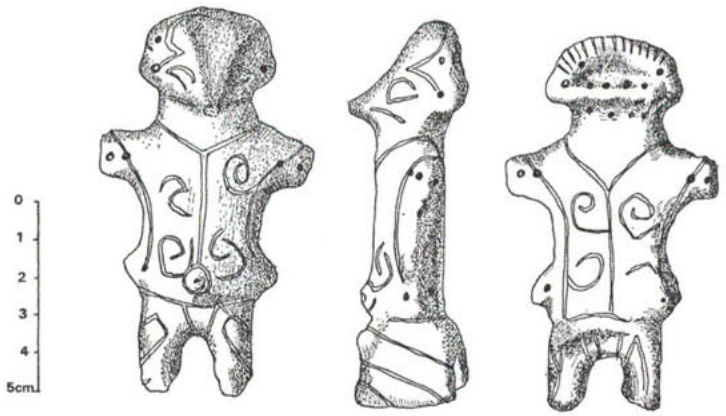


Fig. 24. A Vinća figurine seated on a stool and wearing an animal mask, perforated to carry head-dress or other attachments. The symbolic incisions of the body probably relate to the specific type goddess presented. (After Vasić, 1932.)

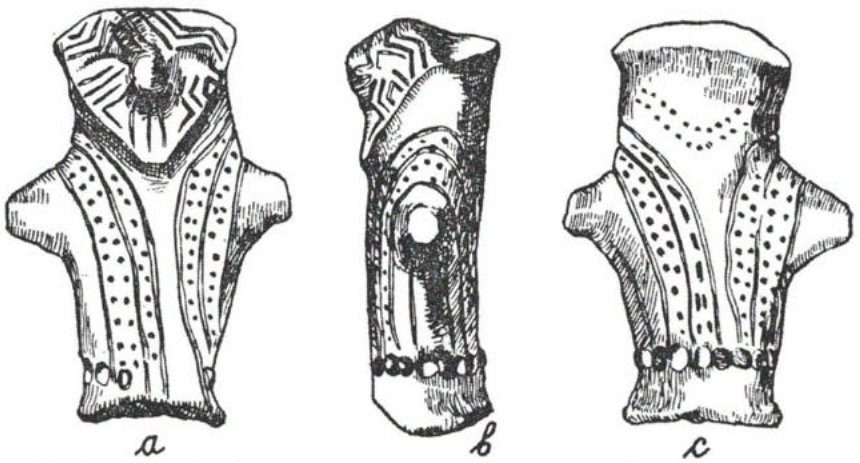


Fig. 25. A clay figurine wearing an incised mask; from the Vinča settlement (depth 5.20 m). Height: 5.5 cm. (After Vasić, 1932.)

pottery sherds, spidle whorls and figurines (Fig. 23); other markings are either symbols or ideograms of goddesses. (Figs. 24 and 25).

Analogies to the Vinča script occur in the earliest Sumerian writing of the Late Predynastic (Uruk III-Jemdet Nasr) period[48] and in signs of the

[48] A. Falkenstein, "Zu den Tontafeln aus Tartaria", *Germania* 43 (1965), pp. 269-273. Of 24 signs on the Tartaria tablets five correspond to signs from Mesopotamia. Falkenstein suggests that the best parallels for the tablets come from Uruk III B and belong to the same horizon as those from Jemdet Nasr. The date of Uruk III B is the end of the fourth millennium B.C.: E. Porada, in R. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (1965), pp. 156-159, 176.

Minoan script of Crete.[49] The ritual pit in the tell of Tartaria belongs not to the earliest phase of Vinča culture but to the beginning of its second stage, designated B_1. Its radiocarbon date must be in the region of 4000 B.C., a true age of *ca.* 4800-4600 B.C., 1500 years older than the earliest Sumerian script.

A similarity in shape exists between the tablets of Tartaria and some of the earliest clay tablets recovered in Crete, notably those from the so-called Hieroglyphic Deposit in the Palace of Knossos, dated to *ca.* 2000 B.C. Two of the Rumanian tablets possess 'string holes', which are a regular feature of the tablets of the Hieroglyphic Deposit and of other early tablets from Crete. The Cretan tablets, however, were manufactured very much later than those of Tartaria.

Evidence that the Vinča script had local roots is provided by symbols on seals of the sixth millennium B.C. from the Starčevo culture of southeastern Hungary (Fig. 8) and on the pottery and figurines of the fifth millennium B.C. throughout the lower Danube basin and the whole Balkan Peninsula. The number of characters must have increased through time, perhaps having initially served as the expression of religious formulae. Hundreds of Vinča figurines which wear peculiar facial masks representing mythical birds or other animal-like creatures were incised with signs which might have belonged to a rather elaborate religious vocabulary.

In the eastern Balkans various pictographic or magical signs appear on figurines and spindle whorls of the sixth millennim B.C. and continue through the succeeding millennium when definite traces of script are present. A seal from Karanovo VI, which belongs to the Gumelniţa culture, placed securely within the limits of the fourth millennium b.c. by numerous radiocarbon dates, bears similar signs to those found abundantly on Vinča figurines (Fig. 26);[50] and to a series inscribed on a spindle whorl from Dikilitash near Philipi in Greek Macedonia (Fig. 27), also from the Gumelniţa culture. The equivalent stratum in Gradešnica at Vraca in Western Bulgaria, yielded a shallow bowl engraved with signs of an analogous nature.[51]

For years discussions have continued among archaeologists concerning

[49] S. Hood, "The Tartaria tablets", *Antiquity* XLI, no. 162 (1967), pp. 99-113; A. Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, vol. I (1901), p. 144; F. Chapouthier, *Les écritures minoennes au Palais de Mallia* (1930), p. 20.

[50] V. I. Georgiev, "Un sceau inscrit de l'époque chalcolithic trouvé en Thrace", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, Fasc. 9 (Roma, 1969), pp. 32-35.

[51] V.I. Georgiev and B. Nikolov, "Débuts d'écriture du chalcolithique dans les terres bulgares", *Arkheologija* XII, 3 (1970), pp. 7-9.

the incompatible high and low chronologies of the Vinča culture. Some scholars completely ignore the evidence of radiocarbon analysis which indicates a life-span of from about the mid-sixth to the late fourth millennium B.C. They prefer to see this as a wholly third millennium culture and consider the Tartaria tablets later than Uruk V in Mesopotamia. Resistance to new information supplied by geophysical dating techniques and a number of well-excavated stratified settlements stems from a 'European inferiority complex' which may persist for some time.

Three millennia of an uninterrupted cultural growth and mutual exchange of ideas between southeastern Europe and the Near East produced a civilization which contributed its own discoveries to the world. The script may have been one of them.

The magnificent black burnished and painted pottery styles and expressive figurine art, produced in varying forms by the groups of the East Balkan Advanced Neolithic, indicate a heightened 'artistic' interest and religious awareness, functions of increased leisure time. Mythical images, perhaps even drama within a ritual or festival context, must have played an important part in life. Only one sculpture, a symbolic sphinx from Valač, a late Vinča site, is reproduced here to suggest the spiritual awareness of the farmers of 6000 years ago (Plate 2). Some of the more naturalistic figurines, though nevertheless usually masked, indicate sophisticated fashions of clothing and ornament matched only by the

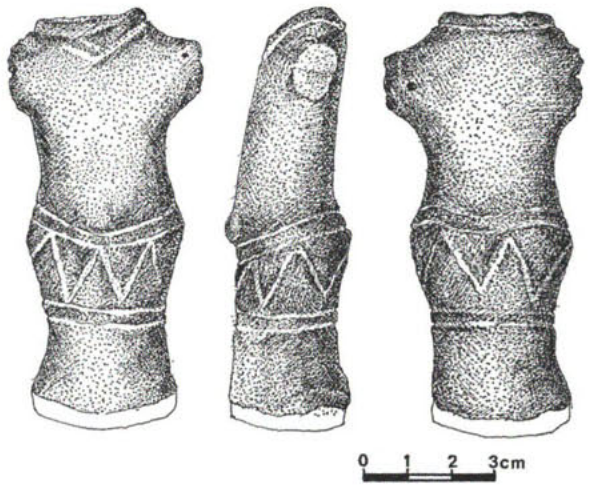


Fig. 28. Female fashion in the Vinča culture: a 'V' neck blouse and decorated 'bikini' skirt. (After M. Vasić, 1936.)

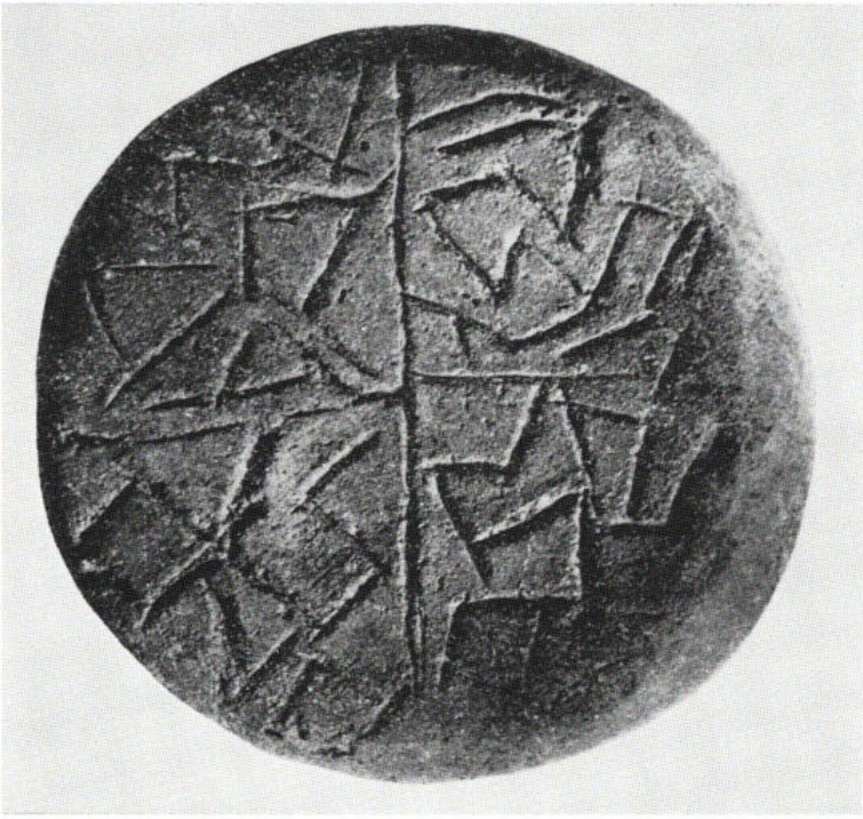


Fig. 26. An inscribed seal of the Gumelniţa culture, from period VI in the Karanovo tell, Central Bulgaria. Fourth millennium B.C. (After V. Georgiev, 1968.)

Fig. 27. An inscribed seal of the Gumelniţa culture from the mound of Dikilitash near Philipi in Greek Macedonia. Fourth millennium B.C. (After Deshayes, 1968.)

Plate 2. The sphinx of Valač, a peculiar combination of a bull's body and a human head; a clay statuette of fine brown fabric, height 10.5 cm., from a Late Vinča settlement near Kosovska Mitrovica, southern Yugoslavia. Priština Museum.

elegant taste of Minoan women during the early part of the second millennium B.C. (Fig. 28).

The disintegration of Balkan civilization was relatively abrupt and occurred in almost all of the Peninsula except for the Aegean area. The Aegean Early Bronze Age, related to that of Anatolia and the whole eastern Mediterranean, persisted until about 2300-2200 B.C. The Cucuteni, Gumelniţa, Petreşti, Vinča, Butmir, Hvar, Lengyel and Tiszapolgár-Bodrogkeresztúr groups disintegrated during the latter part of the fourth millennium B.C. leaving little cultural trace. At this time elements of the Kurgan, probably Proto-Indo-European, people appeared from the steppe and their postulated invasion is the most convincing explanation of this cultural discontinuity in the East Balkans.[52] *Sic transit* the glory of the European 'Morgenland'.

[52] M. Gimbutas "Proto-Indo-European culture: The Kargan culture during the fifth, fourth, and third millennia B.C.," *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (1970), pp. 155-195.

VLADIMIR I. GEORGIEV

THE EARLIEST ETHNOLOGICAL SITUATION OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA AS EVIDENCED BY LINGUISTIC AND ONOMASTIC DATA

I

About fifteen years ago we linguists, historians, and archaeologists distinguished three ethnic groups in antiquity in the territory of the Balkan Peninsula (Dacia and Pannonia included): Greeks in the south, Thracians in the east and Illyrians in the west. Also, even until today the view is widespread that prior to the above-mentioned three groups there was a single (homogeneous) pre-Indo-European substratum all over the territory of the Peninsula.

The considerable increase in the linguistic data on the ancient languages of the Balkan Peninsula during the last twenty years, the fundamental study of the toponymy and anthroponymy, both ancient and contemporary, particularly the decipherment of the syllabic script from Greece as well as the marked progress in the study of the ancient languages of neighboring Asia Minor, have brought about a radical change in our views on the ethnology of the Balkan Peninsula.

On the whole, after the decipherment of Hittite and the pertinent research in the thirties, IE linguistics entered its THIRD period of development. During the last thirty years our material has increased considerably in quantity, as well as in antiquity. Now we know many more IE languages than ever before.

The decipherment of Mycenaean constituted a real turning point in the previous views on the ethnogenesis of the Aegean region. The widespread *a priori* view that the texts of Linear B were written in some pre-IE language has been definitely superseded. On the other hand, the notion that a proto-Greek language, which had given rise to the Greek dialects of the classical epoch, must have existed in the second millennium B.C.

has also been eliminated. It has been established that the language of Linear B, tentatively named Mycenaean, is a particular Greek dialect, in many ways archaic, but in other respects more advanced in its development than the Dorian dialect of the classical epoch.

The determination of the place of the Mycenaean dialect among the Greek dialects of the classical epoch has met with essential difficulties: here, once again, transpired the inability of the Schleicherian linear theory to explain linguistic development.

Numerous place names, the Greek origin of a major part of which is obvious, are encountered in the Mycenaean texts. This fact shows that Greeks had inhabited Southern Greece much earlier than the recording of the texts themselves which date approximately from the 14th to the 12th century B.C.

II

A theory of the pre-IE origin of the pre-Greek population was advanced at the end of the 19th century; it imposed itself as the only view for more than half a century, remaining authoritative for certain historians and archaeologists even up to now. This theory was based chiefly on the numerous geographic names formed by the suffixes *nth* and *s(s)/tt*, e.g., *Arakynthos*, *Erymanthos*, *Korinthos* or *Amnisos*, *Kēphis(s)os*, *Hymēttos*.

The origin of individual geographic names is often obscure, but this cannot yet be an argument in favor of their pre-Greek origin, since it is difficult to etymologize geographic names. If, however, a WHOLE CATEGORY OR SYSTEM of place names cannot be explained from the standpoint of the Greek language, as is the case with the place names formed by means of the suffixes *nth* and *s(s)/tt*, then a pre-Greek substratum may be rightly posited. This has been supported by the fact that similar names, formed by the suffixes *nd* and *ss*, are often encountered in Asia Minor, e.g., *Arnabanda*, *Kadyanda*, *Karpasyanda* or *Halikarnas-(s)os*, *Kolbas(s)a*, *Pēdassa*. Since in the late 19th century and the early 20th century it was regarded as beyond any doubt that the Greeks had been the first Indo-Europeans in the Aegean region and that only pre-IE tribes and peoples had lived in Asia Minor until the end of the second millennium, anything that could not be explained on the basis of the Greek language was considered to be pre-IE. Thus generally emerged the notorious pre-IE theory of the Aegean region and Asia Minor, which for a long time remained a serious obstacle to the elucidation of the ethnogenesis of the peoples of this area.

The overcoming of this theory, which involved sharp polemics, proceeded slowly and in two directions. The suffixes *nth* and *s(s)* cannot, in point of fact, be of Greek origin: had it been Greek, the suffix *nth* should have been derived from IE *ndh*, but there is no such IE suffix; on the other hand, there is an IE suffix *s*, but in Greek the intervocalic *s* disappears, so that such place names as *Amnisos* cannot be explained as Greek.

If it is assumed, however, that prior to Greek another IE language was spoken in the Aegean region in which there was a consonant shift (*Lautverschiebung*) and the intervocalic *s* was preserved, then *nth* may well be derived from the frequent IE suffix *nt*, and *s* from IE *s*. On the basis of such considerations it has been established that prior to Greek another IE language, tentatively named 'Pelasgian', or pre-Greek Indo-European, was spoken in the Aegean region.

This 'Pelasgian' IE language has been reconstructed on the basis of a NEW APPLICATION of the comparative-historical method: on the basis of substratum words, preserved in the Greek vocabulary, a model of a coherent non-Greek but IE phonological system is determined by which the origin of the Pelasgian words is established. The following is one of the main examples of this new application of the comparative-historical method which makes it possible to establish the origin of the substratum. The Greek word *pyrgos* 'fortress, tower' is obviously related to the German word *Burg* 'fortress, tower', which comes from IE **bhṛgh-*. *Pyrgos*, however, cannot be derived from IE **bhṛgh-* on the basis of Greek phonological laws. *Pyrgos* is then determined as belonging to a substratum language in which the following phonological changes have taken place: dissimilation of aspiration (*bh-gh* > *b-gh*), shift of consonants (*b-gh* > *p-g*) and *ṛ* > *ur*. When such phonological laws are confirmed by other cases and, particularly, when a combination of two or three similar peculiar phonological regularities is found in the same word, the model has been checked and the substratum language has been established.

'Pelasgian' was the fundamental pre-Greek substratum. This situation, however, does not exclude the possibility of other languages having been spoken in individual places in the Aegean region. For instance, the *Odyssey* (XIX, 172ff.) speaks of two pre-Greek peoples on the Island of Crete: Pelasgians and Eteocretans. Archaeologists here also distinguish two different cultures, the representatives of which they denote as 'Neolithic' and 'Minoan'. Cretan toponymy also gives reason to identify two linguistic types here: 'Pelasgian', which is characterized by such toponyms as *Labyrinthos*, *Syrinthos*, *Zominthos*, *Amnisos*, *Knōs(s)os*,

Laris(s)a; and 'Hittite-Luwian' with such toponyms as *Minōa*, *Karnēsso-(polis)*, *Kytaion*, *Milātos*, and *Myrin(n)a*. On the basis of information from antiquity that Termilians had lived in Crete, the ethnic nature of the second pre-Greek population of the island may be determined more accurately. Termilian is the language of the Lycian inscriptions from the 6th to the 4th century B.C. This language is closely related to Luwian; it may even be assumed that Termilian-Lycian is a later stage in the development of Luwian or of one of its western dialects. Two languages, 'Pelasgian' and 'Luwian', were, therefore, spoken on the Island of Crete in the pre-Greek period.

The second line which led to the elimination of the pre-IE thesis was the establishment of the IE Hittite-Luwian origin of the ancient place names in Asia Minor with the suffixes *nd* and *ss*.

"Most of the old languages of Asia Minor, as Lydian, Carian, Lycian, are not IE but belong to a group ... which it is convenient to call Anatolian", wrote C. D. Buck in 1933 in his *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, and this was the general view at that time. Now we know that Lycian and Lydian are of IE origin and belong to the Hittite-Luwian group. Recently it was brilliantly proved by E. Laroche that Lycian is of Luwian origin; and O. Carruba further proved that Lydian is very closely related to Hittite. There are also very strong arguments in favor of Carian belonging to the same Hittite-Luwian group.

Gradually, after a prolonged polemic, it was established that the supposed pre-IE suffixes *nd* and *ss*, characteristic of numerous place names in Asia Minor (chiefly western, south-western and southern), are actually Hittite-Luwian, and of IE origin, e.g., *Haruanda* from *hari-* 'valley', *Myriandos* from *muri-* 'grapes', *Wiyanawanda* from *wiyana-* 'wine', *Harranassa* from *haran-* 'eagle', *Irhassa* from *irha-* 'boundary', and *Petassa* from *peda-* 'place'.

Besides, those place names from Greece in which the suffix *s(s)* alternating with *tt* (a typical phenomenon in the Greek dialects) appears, proved to be Greek; e.g., *Hymēttos/Hymēssos* originates from **hymat-yo-* 'rainy mountain', a derivative of *hyma*, *-atos* 'rain'.

The question then arises: If the basic arguments of the old thesis of the presence of a pre-IE language (or group of languages) in the Aegean region provided proof of a pre-Greek IE language, can it be claimed with certainty that a non-IE population had lived here before the Indo-Europeans?

III

Major changes have taken place also with respect to the ethnology of the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. The view that a sole IE language, Thracian, was spoken in that area has been abandoned. Above all, the thorough study of about 150 Phrygian inscriptions, dating approximately from the 7th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D., has shown that Phrygian is an IE language of its own, differing greatly from Thracian while being closer to Macedonian and Greek. The proto-Phrygians originally lived in Eastern and Northern Macedonia from where individual groups of proto-Phrygians gradually migrated to Asia Minor, passing through Southern Thrace. This migration occurred in the middle and during the second part of the second millennium B.C.[1]

Moreover, the characteristic features of the distribution of place names with the greatest frequency in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula clearly indicates that two IE languages, rather different from each other, were spoken here in antiquity: THRACIAN in Thrace, i.e., approximately in the area south of the Haemus, west of the Black Sea, east of the Struma River and north of the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara; and DACO-MYSIAN or simply DACIAN, in Dacia, Scythia Minor (the Dobrudža of today) and Northern Mysia.

The main arguments for the differentiation of Thracian and Dacian are as follows:

(a) In Thrace and in some adjacent regions there are about fifty toponyms formed as two-stem compound words with the term *para*, e.g., *Bessa-para*, *Keiri-para*, *Tranu-para*, but such names are not encountered north of the Danube. In Thrace there are some twenty toponyms formed as two-stem compound words with the term *bria* 'town', e.g., *Mesembria*, *Poltymbria*, *Selymbria*, but there are no such names outside Thrace. In Thrace there are about ten toponyms formed as two-stem compound words with the term *diza* 'fortress', e.g., *Bedizos*, *Orudiza*, *Tyrodiza*, but there are no such names in Mysia or Dacia.

On the other hand, in Dacia and Mysia there are about 50 toponyms formed as two-stem compound words with the term *dava* 'town', e.g., *Acidava*, *Buridava*, *Rusidava*, but such names are not encountered in Thrace.

(b) Thracian anthroponymy differs essentially from that of Dacian. Numerous personal names, formed by the suffixes *-ala*, *-ila* (from *-iyalla*)

[1] See below.

and *-ula* (from *-uw-alla-*) are characteristic of Thrace; e.g., *Eithis Eithialou* (with a Hellenized ending), *Alioupaibēs Zeipalai*, and *Soudiōi* (dat.) *Paibila*. We have to do here with a possessive suffix which has exact correspondences in Lydian and the other Hittite-Luwian languages, for instance, in Lydian *Atalis* from *Ata-*. There are no such anthroponyms in Dacia.

(c) The thorough study of the characteristic features of the Thracian and Dacian linguistic remnants has shown that these languages differ considerably in their respective phonological systems. Thus in Thracian there is a consonant shift, but no such phenomenon exists in Dacian; the IE syllabic *r̥* develops in Thracian into *o/ur*, and in Dacian into *ir/ri*, etc.

The linguistic material in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula is rather scanty, but here, again, there are marked changes. It was believed in the past that only the Illyrian language had been spoken throughout the area. However, on the basis of the distribution of anthroponymy, the Yugoslav linguist R. Katičić distinguished three or four linguistic zones in this region:

Illyrians, approximately in today's Albania and in a well-defined zone north of Albania.

Dalmatians in Dalmatia and Pannonians in Pannonia, whose linguistic differences are not well established, but which are probably closely related to the Dalmatians.

Liburnians and Istrians in the south-western part of the Peninsula, related to the Venetians in the area of today's Venice, to which they have given their name. Venetic is a peculiar IE language, closely related to Latin.

The Macedonians, whose ethnic affinity is strongly disputed, lived in the central part of the Peninsula, originally approximately in the area of the *Haliakmōn* River.[2]

IV

The main questions which at present are raised about the ethnology of the Balkan Peninsula in antiquity are as follows:

Are there data about the presence of a pre-IE substratum in the Balkan Peninsula?

[2] See below.

Where had the proto-Greeks lived before they occupied the Aegean region?

What was the old Macedonian language like?

What was the Phrygian language like and how was the migration of the Phrygians from Macedonia to Asia Minor carried out?

Where and how did the Albanian language emerge?

Where and how did the Rumanian language emerge?

When and how did the Slavs penetrate into the Balkan Peninsula?

These problems were examined in detail at an inter-disciplinary International Symposium, held in Plovdiv (Bulgaria) in April 1968, attended by archaeologists, linguists, and historians.[3] I can only deal briefly with these problems in this discussion.

Many are of the opinion that the IE tribes appeared very late in the Balkan Peninsula. In the newest history of Rumania it is claimed that the IE tribes appeared within the boundaries of today's Rumania only at the beginning of the Bronze Age, which is to say about the 18th or 17th century B.C., and that Thracians and Illyrians become finally differentiated only during the first half of the first millennium B.C.[4]

This view represents a residue of the concepts of the primitive home and the transmigration of the Indo-Europeans adhered to at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The thesis was then predominant that the Indo-Europeans, still undifferentiated, lived somewhere in Northern Germany and began to migrate from there at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. This thesis has already been changed in a definitive manner owing to the fact that written documents in Hittite, which is a differentiated IE language, were recorded in Asia Minor as early as the 19th century B.C. and that Hittite names are encountered in Near Eastern texts as early as the end of the third millennium B.C.

Hittite of the early second millennium, Greek of the same millenium, and proto-Indian of the same time (proto-Indian names and words are rendered in Near Eastern and Hittite documents of the second millennium B.C.) are three IE languages which differ essentially from each other, and to attain such great differentiation (which is far greater than that of the modern Romance or Slavic languages) an independent

[3] The reports and discussion at this Symposium are published in a volume entitled "L'ethnogenèse des peuples balkaniques".

[4] Cf. *Istoria Romîniei*, I (Bucureşti, 1960), p. 128ff. and 36, pl. V.

development from the common IE language for centuries and even millennia must be assumed.

Finally, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which reflect events of the end of the Bronze Age, approximately during the second half of the second millennium B.C., present the Thracians as a differentiated people: the Thracian personal and geographical names, transmitted here, are already of a differentiated Thracian character. Thracians and Illyrians were, consequently, linguistically differentiated much earlier than the first half of the first millennium B.C.

Lately, these facts have caused most of the linguists, archaeologists, and historians to refer the 'Indo-Europeanization' of the Balkan Peninsula to more distant times, e.g., the second half of the third millennium, its first half, or even the middle of the fourth millennium.

These dates were determined in the following manner. For the eastern and western parts of the Balkan Peninsula, Dacia included, the following cultures may be distinguished:

LATE PALAEOLITHIC, of which there are numerous remnants.

MESOLITHIC, from the 15th/12th to the 7th/6th millennium, which represents a natural continuation of the Late Palaeolithic period.

EARLY NEOLITHIC, which began in the 7th/6th millennium. The oldest Neolithic cultures were found in Karanovo I-II and Kremikovci I (Bulgaria), Starčevo I-III (Yugoslavia), Criş (Rumania), Körös (Hungary), Nea Nikomedeia (Macedonia), and Proto-Sesklo and Elatea (Northern Greece).

LATE NEOLITHIC of the 5th-4th millennium; main representatives: Karanovo III-IV = Vinča-Turdaš, Karanovo (Marica) = Vinča Pločnik, etc.

CHALCOLITHIC, which developed on the basis of the Neolithic cultures. The most characteristic Chalcolithic cultures are: Karanovo V-VI and Gniljane-Krivodol (Bulgaria), Boian-Gumelniţa, Sălcuţa, Cucuteni (Rumania), Bubanj-Hum Ia (Yugoslavia), and Larissa-Rachmani (Northern Greece).

BRONZE AGE, the earliest and most characteristic representatives of which are: Karanovo VII (Ezero), Mihalič (Bulgaria) = Troia I-V, Cernavoda, Glina III, Schneckenberg, Coţofeni, Folteşti I-II (Rumania), Bubanj-Hum Ib-III (Yugoslavia), and EH I-III (Greece).

IRON AGE, from the 11th-9th century B.C. onwards.

Taking into consideration these cultures, archaeologists are looking for a gap (hiatus) between them and determining the bearers of the new culture to be Indo-Europeans. They usually posit that the arrival of the

Indo-Europeans was connected with the beginning of the Bronze Age, assuming *a priori* that Indo-Europeans could not have inhabited the Balkan Peninsula and Western Asia Minor earlier, but that they had come from the region north of the Black Sea or from Northern Germany.

The fallacy of such claims can easily be demonstrated by the following two examples.

The end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Greece, approximately from the 12th to the 9th century, were characterized by a profound change of culture. This does not mean, however, that Greeks replaced some alien tribes, but that one Greek tribe, the Dorians, invaded and occupied the territory of another Greek tribe, the Mycenaeans.

A similar fundamental change took place at the same time in Thrace as well. The main tribes of the Iron Age here were the Bessians and Odrysians. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* do not know of these Thracian tribes, while other Thracian tribes, such as the Ciconians, for instance, which later completely disappeared from history, are mentioned there. It is again clear that in the replacement of one culture by another, it may be a question of the replacement of some tribes by others very closely related to them.

Moreover, the emergence of a new culture may be due also to changes in the material culture of the same people in connection with the discovery of new ways and means of production, e.g., the emergence of farming, the improvement of the art of pottery, the discovery or introduction of a new technology of copper, bronze, iron, etc.

The beginning of any of the archaeological cultures listed above cannot therefore be explained by setting non-Indo-Europeans against Indo-Europeans. These are linguistic concepts and the answer here must be provided chiefly on the basis of linguistic data.

Currently, half of all mankind speaks IE languages. These languages belong consequently to one of the main language families, the origin of which goes back to very remote epochs of prehistory. *Homo sapiens*, who appeared some 20-30,000 years ago, spoke, and one group of this human type must have been speaking the proto-IE language. This was in the Palaeolithic period and we have no information whatever to determine what territory was inhabited by this group of people. We cannot, therefore, determine where the primitive home of the proto-Indo-Europeans was located.

The formulation of the theory of the 'Indo-Europeanization' of the Balkan Peninsula dating it to the beginning of the Bronze Age or even

earlier is erroneous. Seven or eight thousand years, i.e., from the Neolithic period to our days, is a short period compared to the prehistory of mankind which lasted tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of years. In addition, already at the beginning of this period the sub-races in Europe[5] were to a large extent mixed so that no conclusions as to their language can be drawn on the basis of (secondary) racial features.

Information about the ethnic identity of the older tribes that had lived in a given territory can be obtained only from toponymy and particularly from hydronymy. Hydronyms, especially the names of large rivers, are very resistant to changes of the population and they may supply us with information about the older population of a particular region. For instance, studies on macrohydronymy in the extensive area from the Rhine and the Alps to the Don River, south of the North and Baltic Seas approximately from the Dvina River, to the South, including the Balkan Peninsula and Western Asia Minor, have so far revealed an IE origin. Consequently, IE tribes must have been living in that territory from fairly ancient times. Non-IE tribes also penetrated here but they were not numerous and have left no traces.

Concretely, the following may be said for the Balkan Peninsula: Within the boundaries of Greece the names with the suffixes *nth* and *s(s)* constitute the most ancient layer of place names. We have no information about a toponymic layer older than these names. It should at least refer to the population that lived here in the Neolithic period, when people began to turn to sedentary life and to form settlements.

This is valid also for Western Asia Minor where the oldest toponymic layer consists of numerous place names with the suffixes *nd* and *ss* which are of IE origin and are related to the pre-Greek place names with the suffixes *nth* and *s(s)*. In prehistoric Greece and in Western Asia Minor in the Neolithic period there lived tribes that spoke closely related IE dialects or languages.

The same consideration holds true also for the other regions of the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, in Thrace, for instance, we cannot discover toponymic layers older than what we determine as Thracian toponymy. Here, again, the most likely is the assumption that Thracians lived in Thrace at least at the time of the Neolithic culture. The same applies to Dacia, where the oldest toponymic layer is Dacian.

[5] Reference is made here to the Mediterranean, Dinaric, Alpine, Pontic and Northern sub-races which belong to the White (European) race.

V

Another important problem of the ethnogenesis of the Balkan Peninsula relates to the question where the proto-Greeks had lived before invading the Aegean region. It is usually assumed that they came from the area of today's Hungary or from lands situated still farther to the North, and that this occurred at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. This is an *a priori* assumption based on the supposition that northern Germany was the primitive IE homeland and that the division of the Indo-Europeans started about the beginning of the second millennium. This view is not based on any serious data.

The Greeks gradually occupied the Aegean territory from the end of the third or the beginning of the second millennium B.C. But formerly it was not clear where they dwelt before this invasion, or, in other words, where the proto-Greek region lay.

Study of toponyms shows clearly that this region was approximately in north-western Greece. The proof is as follows: (a) Here the typical pre-Greek toponyms formed by the suffixes *nth* and *s(s)* are lacking. (b) Almost all toponyms, especially the most important ones from this region, are of Greek origin and they often show archaic Greek features — toponyms: *Epeiros*, *Thesprōtia*, *Kammania*; *Argos*, *Bouchetos*, *Gonnos*, *Ogchesmos*, *Tekmōn*, etc.; hydronyms: *Acherōn*, *Kōkytos*, *Pēneios*; oronyms: *Keraunia*, *Pindos*. (c) The two common Greek denominations *Hellēnes* and *Graikoi* originate from Epiros. (d) The most characteristic toponym here is *Argos* which occurs in this region four times; it means '(the) white (town)' and is of Greek origin. Here the proto-Greeks were neighbors with the proto-Macedonians and proto-Phrygians.

The original region of the ancient Macedonians was the basin of the river *Haliakmōn*. The oldest toponyms here are very similar to the Greek ones, e.g., *Edessa* PN from **wedes-yə*, cf. Gk. *hydos* n. 'water', *Dindrymē* PN = *Din* 'Zeus' and *drymē*, cf. Gk. *drymos* 'forest', *Rhoedias* (river), cf. Gk. *rhoibdos* 'noise', etc. Numerous isoglosses connect the Macedonian language with different Greek dialects. This fact testifies to the genetic identity of Macedonian and Greek.

However, there is an essential difference between Macedonian and all other Greek dialects. This is the change of IE *mediae aspiratae* into *tenues aspiratae* in Greek which was completed before the period of the Mycenaean documents. In Macedonian IE *mediae aspiratae* changed into *mediae*. This difference which separates Macedonian from all other Greek dialects is therefore very old. There are also other differences.

In the present writer's opinion, ancient Macedonian was closely related to Greek, and Macedonian and Greek descended from a common Greek-Macedonian language that was spoken until about the second half of the third millennium B.C.

From the 4th century on began the Hellenization of ancient Macedonian.

Classical authors inform us that the Phrygians dwelt formerly in Macedonia (*Bryges*) and eastern Illyria. The original region, i.e., the primitive habitat of the Phrygians, was probably the basin of the river *Erigōn*, today Černa (or Crna) in northern Macedonia.

After the recent studies of the Phrygian inscriptions of Asia Minor by O. Haas and R. Gusmani it is clear that Phrygian was closely akin to Greek.

In my opinion, Greek, Macedonian, and Phrygian, in the fourth millennium B.C., were one language. But when the Phrygians in about the second half of the second millennium B.C. passed gradually through southern Thrace into the north-western part of Asia Minor, their language was influenced by Thracian and Mysian.

In the first half of the first millennium B.C., the Greek colonization began, embracing mainly the eastern and south-eastern shores of the Peninsula. In the first millennium A.D. ancient Thrace became more and more Hellenized.

Toward the end of the first millennium B.C., the Roman conquest of the Balkan Peninsula began, gradually resulting in a partial Romanization of the northern and north-western regions of the Peninsula. The so-called Jireček line, running from northern Albania (Lesh) to Serdica (today Sofia) and north of the Balkan Mountains all the way to the Black Sea, separates the two spheres of Roman and Greek influence, respectively. In the northeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, especially in the area of what is now Rumania, invasions of certain Iranian tribes occurred at different times from the 7th century B.C. on. After the 3rd century A.D. continuous invasions of the Goths began, followed by the Slavs as well as by various Turkic tribes. Between the 6th and the 8th centuries A.D., Slavs occupied large parts of the northern part of the Peninsula, and penetrated also into some of its southern regions.

VI

Finally, I would like to touch briefly upon two very much disputed problems, namely, the origin of the Albanians and the Rumanians.

Whether the Albanians are the successors of the Illyrians or of the Thracians is a problem that has long been debated. Today the Albanians dwell in a region that was known in antiquity as Illyria. For that reason the Albanians have often been regarded as the successors of the ancient Illyrians, although there are no other data supporting such a claim. In the same way, the Bulgarians might be considered Thracians had the other Slavic peoples and languages not been known.

But many linguists and historians, e.g., H. Hirt, V. Pârvan, Th. Capidan, A. Philippide, N. Jokl, G. Weigand, P. Skok, D. Detschew, H. Barić, I. Şiadbei, etc., have put forward very important considerations indicating that the Albanians cannot be autochthonic in present-day Albania; that their original home was the eastern part of Mysia Superior, or approximately Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea, i.e., the northern central region of the Balkan Peninsula, and part of Dacia.

However, since it has become clear that Daco-Mysian and Thracian represent two different IE languages, the problem of the origin of the Albanian language and the Albanians themselves appears in a new light. The most important facts and considerations for determining the origin and original habitat of the Albanians are the following:

(a) The Illyrian toponyms known from antiquity, e.g., *Shkodër* from the ancient *Scodra* (Livius), *Tomor* from *Tomaros* (Strabo, Pliny, etc.), have not been directly inherited in Albanian: the contemporary forms of these names do not correspond to the phonological laws of Albanian. The same also applies to the ancient toponyms of Latin origin in this region.

(b) The most ancient loanwords from Latin in Albanian have the phonetic form of Eastern Balkan Latin, i.e., of proto-Rumanian, and not of Western Balkan Latin, i.e., of Old Dalmatian Latin. Albanian, therefore, did not take its borrowings from Vulgar Latin as spoken in Illyria.

(c) The Adriatic coast was not part of the original homeland of the Albanians because the maritime terminology of Albanian is not their own but is borrowed from different languages.

(d) Another indication against local Albanian origin is the insignificant number of ancient Greek loanwords in Albanian. If the earliest habitat of the Albanians had been Albania itself, the Albanian language would have to have many more ancient Greek loanwords.

(e) The *Urheimat* of the Albanians must have been near that of the proto-Rumanians. The oldest Latin elements in Albanian come from proto-Rumanian, i.e., Eastern Balkan Latin, and not from Dalmatian, i.e., Western Balkan Latin that was spoken in Illyria. Compare the

phonetic development of the following words: Vulgar Latin *caballum* 'horse', *cubitum* 'elbow', *lucta* 'struggle, fight' > Rum. *cal, cot, luptă* (Arum. *luftă*) = Alb. *kal, kut, luftë*. Therefore, the formation of Albanian did not take place in Illyria. The agreement in the treatment of Latin words in Rumanian and in Albanian shows that Albanian developed from the 4th to the 6th century in a region where proto-Rumanian was taking shape.

(f) Rumanian possesses about a hundred words which have their correspondences only in Albanian. The form of these Rumanian words is so peculiar (e.g., Rum. *mazăre* = Alb. *modhullë* 'pea(s)') that they cannot be explained as borrowings from Albanian. This reflects the Dacian substratum in Rumanian, whereas the Albanian correspondences are inherited from Daco-Mysian.

The above arguments are well known, but they have not been regarded as sufficient for a definitive solution of the problem. The most important fact revealed has been the separation of Daco-Mysian from Thracian. It has thus been established that the phonological system of Albanian derived directly from Daco-Mysian.

Let us consider some examples. The most typical features of the historical phonology of Albanian are attested in Daco-Mysian. Moreover, in Daco-Mysian there also appear the intermediate phonetic changes that explain the peculiar phonetic development of Albanian. Here are some instances:

IE *e* > D.-M. *ie* = Alb *je*: a Dacian tribe is named *Biessoi*, but a Thracian one *Bessoi*; Dacian PN *Diegis* from IE * *dheg*^{w}*wh-*; Dacian river name *Hierasos* from IE **erəs-*; Dacian word *dielina* 'Bilsenkraut' from IE **dhel-*.

IE *ē* > D.-M. *ē* > *ā* > *o* = Alb *o*: IE **dhēvā* > D.-M. *dēva* > *dava* > *dova*; cf. *Pulpu-deva* (4th c. B.C.), *Buri-dava* (1st c. A.D.), *Pelen-dova* (after the 4th c. A.D.).

IE *ō* > D.-M. *oi* > *ö* > *e* = Alb *e*: *Salmor-ude* 'Salt Water', a salt lake in Scythia Minor, in Greek called *Halmyris* 'Salt (Lake)', Latin *palus Salameir*; Dacian *ude* from IE **udō(r)* 'water'; *Polon-da(ua)* (2nd c. A.D.) > *Pelendova* (after the 4th c. A.D.) from **pōl-ōm* **dhēwā* 'Stuttgart', cf. Alb. *pelë* 'mare'.

IE *ū* > D.-M. *oi* (= *ü*) > *ü* > (*i*): *Mysoi* > *Moisoi, Moesi, Mysi.*

In this way it has been definitively proved that Albanian is derived from Daco-Mysian. Therefore, the primitive homeland of Albanian must be a Daco-Mysian area, probably Mysia Superior (Dardania, Dacia Mediterranea) or western Dacia. This fact enables us to explain

the numerous typical agreements between Albanian and Rumanian. Rumanian and Albanian were formed in the Daco-Mysian region; Rumanian represents a completely Romanized, Albanian a semi-Romanized Daco-Mysian.

We are, of course, still unable to determine exactly the beginning of the proto-Albanian infiltration into ancient Illyria. The gradual movement into the boundaries of ancient Illyria may have begun as early as the second millennium B.C., and the last waves were probably in the middle of the first millennium B.C. On the other hand, Albanian contains also an Illyrian substratum.

The problem of the ethnogenesis of the Albanians is closely connected with the question of the place of emergence of the Rumanian people. Further questions arise, such as that of the penetration of the Slavs into the Balkan Peninsula, of the initial occupation of the Peninsula by the Turks, etc. However, these problems are beyond the scope of this brief report, the purpose of which was to give only a bird's-eye view of the most important problems of the earliest ethnological situation of the Balkan Peninsula as evidenced by linguistic data.

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BALKAN SLAVIC MIGRATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF SOUTH SLAVIC DIALECTOLOGY

The topic of this brief report embraces two vast complexes of events: the Slavic migrations to the Balkan Peninsula, and the later migrations within the Peninsula (or away from it). Our objective, too, will be twofold: we shall use, whenever possible, dialectal data in order to determine the directions of migratory movements and the degree of ethnic coherence of the migrating population, and we shall try to establish the consequences of the migrations for the linguistic picture of the South Slavic area.

As to the first period (migrations TO the Peninsula, 6th-7th c. A.D.), the central question is: what phenomena, among those now differentiating South Slavic dialects, were developed before the migrations of Slavs to the Balkans? Only the isoglosses of such phenomena can indicate the directions of the movement to the Balkans. In this domain, South Slavic dialectology gives us a number of valuable clues, but no clear-cut answers.

In trying to establish whether a dialectal difference is older than the settlement in the Balkans, we can use several criteria, such as:

(1) Is the given isogloss continued in the North Slavic area?
(2) Is the phenomenon attested in the oldest texts?
(3) Are there relics in the regions between present-day South and North Slavic areas (e.g., in toponymy or in oldest Slavic loanwords in Hungarian or Rumanian)?
(4) Does the isogloss belong to a bundle whose position cannot be explained by geographic or historical factors? If it does, this fact would increase the probability that the bundle reflects the boundary between two ancient migratory currents (i.e., between two already differentiated groups of Slavic population moving to their new habitat).

(5) Internal factors concerning the very nature of the given phenomenon.

None of these criteria is fully reliable. In most instances, facts are ambiguous, and our arguments must be indirect, due to the lack of first-hand evidence. (We do not possess Slavic texts written before the migrations.)

The largest bundle of ancient isoglosses in the Slavic South is found along a line extending from the mouth of the Timok river-Berkovica-Breznik-Radomir-Osogov-northern Ovče Polje-Skopje-Tetovo-Šar Planina (with fairly insignificant deviations of particular isoglosses in the northern half of the bundle, and a considerable number of deviations in the south). Isoglosses in that bundle separate the two major groups of South Slavic dialects, western and eastern, and include features such as the merger of the two jers (West) versus the preservation of the distinction between them (East)[1]; rounded (W) versus unrounded (E) vowel as a reflex of *ǫ*; preservation (W) or loss (E) of epenthetic *l*; *ć* and *đ* or similar consonants (W) versus *št*, *žd* (E) as reflexes of **t'*, **d'*; *-ga* (W) versus *-go* (E) in the Gsg masculine and neuter of the pronominal declension; *-mo* (W) versus *-m*, *-me* (E) in the 1st person plural of verbal forms; loss (W) or preservation (E) of *-t* in the 3rd person plural of the present tense, etc. This is the most important bundle of ancient isoglosses in the Slavic linguistic world, except for those separating West and East Slavic. It is probable that some of the differences enumerated arose prior to the Slavic migration to the Peninsula. Before that migration, the Western South Slavic situation was characteristic of the dialects spoken in the Pannonian plain, and the Eastern situation characteristic of those in the Dacian plains, which were separated from the former by the Carpathian mountains north of the Iron Gate (Đerdap) and, probably, by the mountain range of the Munţi Apuseni, so that Slavic dialects in most of Transylvania belonged to the Eastern group. It is well-known that Slavs, originally farmers and inhabitants of plains, had no experience with the mountain type of pasturage normal in the Carpathian and Balkan mountains. Therefore we have no reason to suppose a lively communication between the two groups of South Slavs. The general direction of their movement was south or southwestwards, to the regions that belonged to the Byzantine empire, and it is probable that they followed the shortest paths to their new habitat, i.e. that their movement was

[1] In the East the back jer merged as a rule with the reflex of the back nasal vowel (in Bulgarian dialects) or with *o* (in most of the Macedonian dialects).

basically perpendicular to the Danube-Sava line, so that the earliest isoglosses south of the Iron Gate simply reflected that movement.

However, in addition to the isoglosses already enumerated, the Timok—Osogov—Šar bundle comprises isoglosses of some evidently later innovations, such as *vъ̨-* > *u-* (W), *čr-* > *cr-* (W), devoicing of final voiced obstruents (E), metathesis *vs-* > *sv-* (W), *-e* (W) versus *-i* (E) in Npl of the *a*-declension, neutralization of gender distinction in adjectival plural (E), *-ste* (W) versus *-hte* (E) in 2nd person plural of the aorist and imperfect tenses, and *-hǫ* (E) in 3rd person plural of the aorist. The presence of such isoglosses can be explained by van Wijk's well-known hypothesis, according to which a close contact between the two major groups of South Slavs was established only several centuries after their settlement in the Balkans, due to the fact that they did not immediately penetrate into the mountainous area along the Serbian-Bulgarian border which remained inhabited by a population of Rumanian (and perhaps also Albanian) herdsmen for a rather long period following the Slavic invasion.[2] Only later, secondary Slavic migrations filled the gap. This hypothesis is supported to a certain extent by the presence of fairly numerous toponyms of Rumanian origin in the given area (*Bukurovəc, Korbevəc, Svrļig, Džepa, Barbatovci, Surdulica, Bučumet, Maržini* etc. in East Serbia, *Banišora, Bazait, Bov, Bojana, Gavnos, Ursul, Vakarel, Pasarel* etc. in West Bulgaria). Although toponyms with Rumanian etymologies are not infrequent in many other South Slavic regions, their number in the area near the Serbian-Bulgarian boundary appears to be higher than elsewhere.[3] It is very likely that Slavic migrations which eventually filled the gap between the two branches of South Slavs came chiefly from the West. This can explain the curved shape of the isogloss bundle: Western

[2] Medieval sources record the existence of a Rumanian-speaking stock-breeding population in many mountainous areas of the Peninsula, and linguistic arguments such as phonological features of certain place names and the lack of indigenous maritime terminology in Albanian favor the hypothesis ascribing the origin of the Albanians to the interior of the Peninsula. In the epoch of the Slavic invasion the remnants of the autochthonous population of the Peninsula managed to survive mainly in two cases: when they were sheltered by fortress walls (only along the seashore; all Byzantine inland fortresses were taken by invaders after they succeeded in cutting their supply lines), or when they were protected by natural conditions in the mountain ambiences (and by the conquerors' lack of interest in such regions). This caused a population influx into the coastal towns, and probably also a switch from agriculture or from an urban life to a usually semi-nomadic kind of sheep-breeding by many inhabitants of the continental regions. Among the non-Slavic Balkan languages, Greek and Dalmatian Romance were spoken in coastal areas, and Rumanian and Albanian in highlands.

[3] However, there is no historical evidence to the effect that Rumanians lived in the region under consideration in any greater number, or longer, than in some other areas.

features extend across the perpendicular intersecting the Danube river at the Iron Gate, and their areas form a bulge, whereas the areas of Eastern features are concave. The causes that determined such a development are not clear. True, a southeastward movement of parts of the Serbian population took place during the expansion of the Serbian state in the 13th and the 14th centuries, but this does not suffice to explain the actual situation. The territory of the Timok—Lužnica dialectal type lies west of the isogloss bundle, and yet never belonged to the medieval Serbian state.

The linguistic gap between the two groups of South Slavs was so deep that even certain more recent phenomena, such as the elimination of *h*, did not spread across the already existing borderline. Different circumstances in the two patterns determined divergent paths of further evolution; perhaps a role was also played by the awareness of a linguistic non-identity creating a psychological barrier against the adoption of innovations coming from the other side of the line.

The relative importance of the factors enumerated so far cannot be easily ascertained. It is even possible, although not very likely, that none of the isoglosses mentioned continues a dialectal division older than the Slavic invasion of the Balkans; even the most ancient differences may have arisen in connection with the territorial gap after the settlement south of the Danube. Likewise, it is not quite certain that such a gap ever existed. Some of the differences may have appeared prior to the crossing of the Danube, and the rest might reflect a divergent evolution of already differentiated dialects. We might conclude that the hypotheses concerning the role of the gap (a) BEFORE and (b) AFTER the migration stand in an 'and/or' relation: at least one of them should be true, or else the concentration of isoglosses along the line Timok—Osogov—Šar would be inexplainable.

The hypotheses (a) and (b) have a bearing upon certain much-debated problems of the ancient ethnic history of South Slavs and other Balkan nations. If (a) is true, it is more probable that central Pannonia never was inhabited by Eastern South Slavs (those with *št*, *žd* < **t'*, **d'*), and that Slavic loanwords in Hungarian with Eastern South Slavic phonetic structure were borrowed in Dacia, where the Hungarians lived for a certain time before invading Pannonia. In such a case toponyms such as *Pest* should be regarded as based on appellative nouns of Slavic origin already present in the Hungarian language. And if hypothesis (b) is true, it increases the probability of the well-known theory that the original habitat of Rumanians was south of the Danube, and also the probability

of the view that Albanians originally lived in Dardania and only later migrated west and southwestwards. However, the mutual interchangeability of the two hypotheses weakens the value of arguments derived from them. And in addition, there is a third possibility to explain the present concentration of isoglosses separating the two major South Slavic linguistic types.

The isoglosses now concentrated in the bundle along the line Timok—Osogov—Šar may originally have been dispersed, but later pushed together by secondary migrations bringing large masses of new population into the region, so that the original local dialects, sharing both western and eastern features, were overwhelmed by the dialects of newcomers. True, there are no reliable traces of early transitional dialects in the present dialectal picture of the region, covered mainly by Serbocroatian Torlak dialects (particular words or morphemes with *a* as a reflex of *ǫ*, or with *o*, *e* as reflexes of the two jers in some limited areas northwest of the line are obviously secondary, introduced by later migrations or by lexical borrowing). Nonetheless, in the toponymy there are some instances indicative of an earlier wider distribution of *št*, *žd* as reflexes of **t'*, **d'*: *Ljuberažda* south of Pirot, *Dragobužde*, *Tibužde*, *Rožđace* in the district of Vranje, *Pobužje* near Skopje, *Graždenik*, *Obražda*, *Ljubižda*, *Toražda*, *Dobrušta*, *Nebregošte*, *Selogražde* in the environs of Prizren.[4] Since some of these toponyms contain *u* as the reflex of *ǫ* (always in *-bužd-*, the possessive adjective form of the second component of compound personal names in **-bǫdъ*), Macedonian scholars B. Koneski and B. Vidoeski recently suggested that a dialect with *u* < *ǫ* but *št*, *žd* < **t'*, **d'* must have existed in the Middle Ages. This appears to be the most plausible explanation of the toponyms containing the element *-bužd-*. But such toponyms are limited to the region of Vranje and south of it, whereas *Nebregošte* seems to show that in the environs of Prizren not only the isogloss of **tj*, but also that of *ǫ* > *u* was formerly placed somewhat more to the north than it is today. And in general, toponyms with *št*, *žd* occur only in areas fairly close to the present-day isogloss bundle; they do not cover the entire area which was probably embraced by the eastwards migrations of *ć*, *đ* speakers. The number of these toponyms is limited, most of them occur in clusters, and it is possible that they reflect a sporadic immigration from the east or south rather than the former general dialectal picture of the whole area. As to the toponyms in *-bužd-*, one cannot exclude the possibility of a secondary

[4] Several of these place names were recorded with *žd* or *št* already in medieval charters.

mixture of dialects, or of an expansion of the possessive formation in *žd*, or of personal names in *-bud* (perhaps under the influence of the stem *bud-* of *buditi* etc.). In other words, the presence of toponyms containing *št*, *žd* < **t'*, **d'* in the area northwest of the isogloss bundle does not allow apodictic conclusions regarding the linguistic past of the region, but suffices to render less conclusive the evidence of other facts.

Another important bundle of ancient isoglosses in the Slavic South is that separating the Kajkavian (and Slovenian) dialects from the Štokavian and Čakavian ones. These isoglosses include phenomena such as: a much broader occurrence of the so-called neo-circumflex, the lengthening of the short neo-acute (at least in the majority of instances), *rj* rather than *r* as the reflex of prevocalic **r'*, *-ǫ* rather than *-ojǫ* in the Isg of the *a*-declension (all this occurs northwest of the bundle, but in some cases also partially in NW Čakavian).[5] Since there was no specific political link between Slovenia and the Kajkavian area in northern Croatia before the 16th century, and since the geographic conditions in the present habitats of Slovenians and Kajkavians would not favor their common linguistic development, distinct from that of their eastern and southern neighbors, it seems likely that their common linguistic features stem from the propinquity of their ancestors in the period preceding their settlement in what is now Yugoslavia. It should be added that the present strong concentration of isoglosses in the bundle along the eastern and the southern border of the Kajkavian area might be a secondary phenomenon. It is possible that a number of transitional dialects originally existed east of that line, but that they were later obliterated by the massive migrations in the period of the Turkish invasion.

The sound change *g* > *γ* and the use of the prefix *vi-* (< *vy-*) rather than **jьz-* in a number of instances, both characteristic of northwestern Slovenian and the northwesternmost Čakavian dialects, probably belong to the features which differentiated (although possibly realized in a less clear-cut way) Slavic dialects already before the Slavic migration to the Balkans and the Eastern Alps. Basically the same applies to the preservation of the cluster *dl* in some northern Slovenian dialects. It is obvious that the northwesternmost South Slavic dialects once constituted a kind of transition between the South and the West Slavic linguistic groups.

[5] It is possible that a less narrow pronunciation of the ancient back nasal vowel, yielding *o* (or ɔ, or ʊ) rather than *u* as a result of denasalisation, should be added to the above list of features. The vowel *u* appears as a reflex of *ǫ* only in two peripheral parts of the Croatian Kajkavian territory: in the east, where a strong Štokavian influence is obvious, and along the western border, where a numerous Čakavian population was colonized in the 16th century.

The subsequent rupture of the geographic contact with West Slavic determined the decidedly South Slavic orientation of the later development of those dialects.

In Slovenian and in most of the western Serbocroatian dialects **d'* became *j*, whereas in other parts of the Serbocroatian linguistic territory this change did not take place. In those more eastern dialects of western South Slavic, the ancient clusters **st'*, **sk'*, **zd'*, **zg'* underwent, in turn, a simplification to *št*, *žd*, embracing also all of the eastern South Slavic area. In both cases, we cannot exclude the possibility of a very early change, in which case the two isoglosses would be indicative of the course taken by the southward movement of two branches of western South Slavs.

The general direction of the oldest isoglosses in the South Slavic area is N—S or NNE—SSW; only in the northwest of the area is this direction sometimes NE—SW. All this is in perfect agreement with our assumptions, deriving from other reasons, regarding the course of the movement of South Slavic settlers arriving to their new habitat. Obviously, this increases the probability that at least some of those isoglosses are not younger than the 6th or the 7th century A.D. Only one isogloss of an undoubtedly very early origin has a deviating direction. The otherwise North Slavic ending **-ъmь* in the Isg of masculine and neuter nouns appears in the dialects of Krašovani and Svinica in the Rumanian Banat, both deriving from the northeasternmost branch of the Torlak dialect group. In other words, this is a link between a small area located at about the center of the northern edge of the South Slavic world, and the Slavic North.

The best known migrations of South Slavs since they settled in the Balkans are those which occurred in the epoch of the Turkish invasion and domination (15th-19th c.). The bulk of the literature on the South Slavic migrations deals with that period. However, we have many reasons to believe that in the preceding centuries, too, there was much movement among the South Slavic population. In all probability, the economic causes of the later migrations were already present in those times; nor were wars and devastations lacking. To be sure, our data concerning the South Slavic migrations of that epoch are rather scarce. Most of the information at our disposal about later movements stems from two sources: folk tradition and dialects. Tradition fades with centuries, and transplanted dialects tend to assimilate to the surrounding ones, especially if the divergence is not far-reaching (and this was the case in the early epoch of the development of the Balkan Slavic languages).

Even the written historical sources are much less rich than those concerning more recent centuries. However, Byzantine sources testify that very early large groups of Slavs (defeated rebels or prisoners) were colonized by Byzantine emperors in Asia Minor. It is also known that in the 13th century a group of Bulgarians was forced to emigrate to Transylvania (and subsisted for a number of centuries in the village of Cserged), and that some of the Slavic settlements in southern Italy (Vasto, Molise,[6] Terra d'Otranto, environs of Foggia) were in existence already about 1300. It is not surprising that in all three cases our information concerns Slavs who settled in a non-Slavic environment. Slavic colonies surrounded by other Slavs had less chance to be noted by history.[7] Nevertheless, historical records show that the Serbian penetration into Macedonia in the 13th and 14th centuries was followed by a colonization of a considerable part of the Serbian nobility (probably accompanied by some of their servants or subordinates) in various portions of Macedonia. The impact of these events on Macedonian dialects was very significant. In addition, it is clear that the bulged shape of the isogloss bundle along the line Timok—Osogov—Šar can be explained only by an early eastward movement of a western South Slavic population — regardless of whether we assume that the territory covered by that migration previously was mostly unpopulated, inhabited by non-Slavs, or by Slavs speaking dialects different of those of the newcomers. Significantly enough, a number of important movements of non-Slavic Balkan peoples took place in the same period. Massive migrations of Arumanians brought them as far south as Thessaly and the Grammos mountains. Large groups of Albanians were transferred to southern and central Greece, and others to southern Italy. It is also likely that parts of the Slavic population were involved in similar movements. The question deserves further, more systematic study.

The momentous migrations of Balkan Slavs that started in the 15th and lasted until the 19th century were brought about by two types of causes, political and economic.

Political causes include the ravaging wars in the epoch of the Turkish

[6] Early Slavic settlers in Molise, whose presence was attested in 1294, subsequently became italianized. Existing Slavic colonies in Molise (Acquaviva, Montemitro, San Felice Slavo) date from the first half of the 16th century.

[7] It is also natural that in all three instances descendants of the settlers eventually abandoned their Slavic dialects. This suggests that if other similar early colonies had existed in neighboring countries, unrecorded by historical sources, they would also be ethnically assimilated to their non-Slavic surroundings.

invasion, pillaging expeditions of Turkish military commanders, adverse circumstances of life in the regions already dominated by Turks, enticement of the population by the neighboring Christian states trying to organize a defense of the borderline and to colonize devastated land alongside it, efforts of Turkish governors and commanders to colonize the regions on the Turkish side of the boundary, and fear of retaliation by Christians who had cooperated with Christian armies during their incursions into the Turkish territory after a subsequent retreat of those same armies. The general direction of migrations triggered by most of these causes was away from the Turkish territory towards that under Christian rule. In the western part of the South Slavic area this usually meant a movement to the Venetian, Austrian, or Hungarian territory (thus E—W, SE—NW, or S—N), and in the Bulgarian area to the Austrian-dominated province of Banat, to Rumania, or to Russia (thus SE—NW, S—N, or SW—NE). An exceptional case is that of reverse movements of Moslems trying to avoid occupation by Christian armies, or living under Christian rule after the wars which led to an expansion of Christian states.

Economic causes of migrations include infertility of the soil in the highlands, overpopulation of those regions,[8] and famine as a consequence of drought, especially in the barren mountains of the Dinaric mountain range. An additional impetus came from the fact that the population of plains and valleys was often decimated by wars, plagues, emigration, etc. The general direction of population movements brought about by such causes was from the highland to the lowland. In the western half of the Peninsula, this most frequently meant from the Dinaric mountains, or from those along the southern border of Serbia, to Pannonia or to the valleys of the Sava, Drina, Kolubara, Morava rivers, etc., thus SW—NE or S—N, whereas in Bulgaria the Balkan mountain range acted as the prime source of economic migrations, in the direction of the Moesian as well as the Thracian plains, i.e., both S—N and N—S.

On the basis of dialect facts, supported sometimes by written documents or preserved oral tradition, it is possible to reconstruct the following picture of the principal migratory movements.[9]

[8] The mobility of highlanders was enhanced by their traditional semi-nomadic way of life. The classical pattern of the Balkan pasturage includes spending summers on high plateaus and winters in valleys.

[9] In the present paper, the 20th century colonization, mainly organized by Yugoslav or Bulgarian authorities, is not taken into account.

Speakers of the Čakavian *ikavsko-ekavski* dialect, coming from Croatia south of the Kupa river, settled in the Austrian-dominated portions of Istria, in the southwestern parts of the island of Krk (in both cases they were accompanied by a Rumanian-speaking population), in the region of Grobnik near Rijeka,[10] in some places in Slovenia (especially around Kostanjevica north of the Gorjanci mountains), in Kajkavian northern Croatia, in northern Burgenland and the adjacent part of Hungary, in eastern Lower Austria, southern Moravia and southwestern Slovakia.

Speakers of a Čakavian *i*-dialect, with some Štokavian (and even some Kajkavian) elements, originating probably from the lower part of the Una basin, migrated to southern Burgenland and to the neighboring region of Szombathely on the Hungarian side of the present border.[11] A somewhat different but still closely related dialect was transplanted to the region between the Sutla, Sava, and Krapina rivers west of Zagreb.

Štokavian-Čakavian *i*-dialects (with various shades, and with varying shares of Štokavian and Čakavian features) were transplanted from Dalmatia to the Venetian-dominated parts of Istria and to the province of Molise in southern Italy (numerous other Croatian colonies in various provinces of the former Kingdom of Naples are now extinct, so that we cannot judge about their dialects).[12]

Štokavian *i*-speakers from western Hercegovina and adjacent parts of Bosnia moved to Dalmatia (remaining mostly on the mainland, and only in small number crossing the straits separating the Dalmatian islands from the mainland), to Lika (and thence to Bačka[13] and along the Danube to the regions south and north of Budapest), and to various portions of Bosnia.

The Štokavian *i*-dialect of southeastern Slavonia was transplanted to various places in western Bačka and eastern Baranja. A Slavonian dialect which preserved the phonemic individuality of *ě* is spoken in two villages near Kalocsa in Hungary.

[10] Features of the dialect of Grobnik show clearly that the population is not autochthonous; it come probably from a portion of the Croatian littoral more to the south.

[11] A striking similarity can be observed between the dialect of Vlahija in southern Burgenland described by Brabec and the dialect of Narda near Szombathely described by Ivić (*Prilog rekonstrukciji*).

[12] Recent works by Rohlfs and Hraste (1963) have drawn the attention of scholars to traces of the former presence of a Serbocroatian-speaking population in Slavic loanwords in the Italian dialects of the Peninsula of Gargano and in the family names in that region.

[13] In Bačka the *i*-speakers, called Bunjevci, occupied in the 17th century the places abandoned in 1598 by Serbians who migrated from there to Austrian territory in present-day Slovakia (and who subsequently disappeared there as an ethnic group).

Štokavian *je*-speakers with *šć* < **st'*, **sk'*, originating from north-eastern Bosnia, settled around Pécs in Baranja, and sporadically in some places in northern Croatia. The dialect of Kukinj near Pécs has *ē* < long *ě* and *je* < short *ě*, like the dialect of Maglaj and Tešanj in northern Bosnia.

Štokavian *je*-speakers of East Hercegovinan origin were the most numerous among the migrants. They colonized large portions of western Serbia, parts of eastern Bosnia, most of western Bosnia, considerable portions of the mainland of northern Dalmatia and of Croatia south of the Kupa river, a small number of places in Gorski Kotar, several enclaves north of Kupa, near or even beyond the Slovenian border (e.g., Bojanci, Marindol, parts of Žumberak), the region along the western border of Slavonia including some enclaves in the eastern Kajkavian territory such as the stretch around Bjelovar, various parts of Slavonia, among others Osječko Polje and the slopes of the Papuk mountain, southeastern Baranja, parts of the Tolna district in Hungary (where the Serbocroatian language is now almost extinct), and the region farther to the north (to Budapest and even further, where the *je*-speakers were mixed with those of the *e*-dialect, the features of which prevail in the surviving colonies).

Štokavian *je*-speakers with unshifted accents from eastern and southern Crna Gora settled in the Istrian village of Peroja and appeared dispersed in many places in Serbia. Some of their settlements were founded only in the 19th century, e.g., Petrovo Selo near the Iron Gate, or certain villages in Toplica.

The *e*-dialect with the Neoštokavian accent (*šumadijskovojvodjanski*) expanded its territory in present-day Vojvodina and beyond its boundaries into various parts of historical Hungary, among others to the region of the Moriš (Maros) river around Arad and west of that town, to the city of Budapest and towns and villages north and south of it, to some other towns such as Székesfehérvár (where the Serbocroatian language is now virtually extinct), Komárom (completely extinct), Eger (also extinct), etc. Speakers of this dialect emigrated from northern Vojvodina and the region of Moriš to what is now Ukraine where they founded two groups of colonies: Novaja Serbija south of the Dnepr river (between the Dnepr, Sinjuxa, Bug and Tjasmin), and Slavjanoserbija south of the Donets, from Baxmut to Lugan. In both areas the Serbians underwent a complete ethnic and linguistic assimilation.

Štokavian dialects with preserved *ě* and with predominantly unshifted accents were dispersed from regions which later became *ekavian* in

northern Serbia (and perhaps also in southern Banat) to parts of eastern Banat, where they survive in Rekaš and in Banatska Crna Gora. Speakers of basically the same dialect were transplanted to the environs of Gallipoli in Turkey.

The Štokavian *e*-dialect with a mainly conservative accentuation spread from the regions of Metohija, NW Kosovo and Kopaonik to the valleys of Western and Great Morava, NE Serbia, southern Banat (including Banatska Klisura beyond the present Rumanian border), to parts of Šumadija and even to the region north of Budapest where a dialect of this type is still spoken in the village of Čobanac.

The dialect of the region of Prizren and SE Kosovo expanded into the valley of the Southern Morava, pushing the former dialect of the valley (now called *svrljiško-zaplanjski*) onto the hills east of the valley.

The Torlak dialect of the highlands along the Serbian-Bulgarian border was transferred to a number of places in eastern Šumadija and to the environs of Belgrade (villages Banjica, Rakovica, Jajince, Mali Mokri Lug, Veliki Mokri Lug, and Višnjica), to Novo Selo near Vidin, and to various other places in NW Bulgaria, including a group of twelve villages near the mouth of the Cibăr river. The so-called Krašovani near Reşiţa in the Rumanian part of Banat, as well as the inhabitants of Svinica near the Iron Gate, are early colonists, probably from the Timok region. Their dialects display significant common features with that of Novo Selo near Vidin.

Speakers of the northwesternmost Macedonian dialects settled in various places farther to the northeast and east. Most of those colonists belonged to the Islamized group called Torbeši who settled in sporadic groups of villages in the districts of Tetovo, Skopje, Veles, Kičevo, Prilep etc. The movement of the Torbeši was paralleled by Albanian migrations basically in the same direction.

In both western and eastern Bulgaria, highlanders from the Balkan mountains descended in the direction of the plains situated along the Danube (north of the Balkan mountain range) and the Marica (south of the Balkan mountains), and also along the Black Sea coast. The dialects of their settlements show their origin from various parts of the Balkan region. One of the strongest movements was that from the central part of the Balkan mountain range northwards, to the regions of Tărnovo, Gorna Orjahovica, Svištov and Nikopol. Another group of settlers, coming from the 'sub-Balkan' (*podbalkanski*) area around Stara Zagora, Sliven and Jambol, crossed the Balkan ridge and settled in the eastern-most parts of northeastern Bulgaria, mainly near Varna, Balčik and

Tolbuhin. A specially instructive case is that of Erkeč and Golica, villages in the eastern part of the Balkan area, whose inhabitants colonized a number of places in the districts of Varna, Provadija, Novi Pazar, Balčik, and Silistra.

The region of Teteven, with a specific kind of East Bulgarian dialect, was the source of a migration westwards, to the region of Kula in NW Bulgaria and Zaječar in eastern Serbia.

Highlanders from the Rhodope mountain region in South Bulgaria settled in the Marica valley, in the Strandža hills and in the coastal plain along the Aegean Sea.

One part of the Roman Catholic Bulgarians called Pavlikijani, who live in the Thracian plain near Plovdiv and whose dialect shows their origin from Rhodope, migrated to the district of Svištov in North Bulgaria, whereas others colonized several villages in Banat where they mixed with another group of Catholic Bulgarians, coming from Čiprovci in NW Bulgaria and speaking originally a Torlak dialect. Descendants of the latter subsequently adopted the Pavlikijani dialect, still alive in several villages in Banat, predominantly on the Rumanian side of the border between that country and Yugoslavia.[14]

Groups of Bulgarians settled in various places in southern Rumania.

Emigrants from Bulgaria were colonized in Bessarabia (mostly in its southern part) and the southern Ukraine (chiefly in the region of Odessa). Their extremely variegated dialects include many northeastern Bulgarian as well as some southeastern and (only in two villages) western Bulgarian types. About 1861, after the Crimean War in which Russia had lost southern Bessarabia, numerous Bulgarians emigrated further to the region north of the Azov Sea. A characteristic feature of Bulgarian colonies in (former) Russia is the frequent phenomenon of coexistence or mixture of two (or even three or four) dialects in the same village.

The consequences of the migrations in the Turkish period were manifold:

(i) The distribution of dialectal types, especially in the Serbocroatian territory, underwent far-reaching changes. Areas of certain dialects were substantially enlarged (e.g., those of the *je*-dialect of East Hercegovina, the *i*-dialect of West Hercegovina, the Šumadija-Vojvodina *e*-dialect, the Kosovo-Resava dialect, the Prizren-Southern Morava dialect, certain

[14] The far-reaching influence of denominational differences on migrations is clearly shown by the facts that the only Serbocroatian-speaking groups which settled in Russia were Eastern Orthodox, and the only Bulgarians colonized in Austrian provinces, Roman Catholics. And of course, all Serbocroatian and Bulgarian-speaking emigrants who settled in Turkey in the late 19th and in the 20th centuries were Moslems.

westernmost Macedonian, and the Balkan Bulgarian dialects). Certain other dialectal areas shrank, for instance, those of the Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects, as well as of most among the western Štokavian dialectal types with *šć* < **st'*, **sk'*. Some dialects disappeared from their original places (e.g., the *i*-dialects spoken now in southern Burgenland and in the area west of Zagreb), or were even eradicated completely (e.g., the majority of medieval dialects of northeastern Serbia). Boundaries between South Slavic languages and their non-Slavic neighbors were shifted at several places. In Vojvodina and further to the north, the Serbocroatian language expanded strongly; however, the more recent colonization of Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Ukrainians and Czechs reduced again the Serbocroatian language territory in the area. In southern Serbia and western (and even northern) Macedonia, the Albanian language expanded at the expense of Serbocroatian and Macedonian. In Bulgaria, numerous Turkish immigrants occupied entire districts, so that Bulgarian dialects virtually disappeared from Deliorman, Tuzluk, large parts of the eastern Balkan mountains, the Eastern Thracian plain, and the eastern Rhodope. Speakers of Serbocroatian and Bulgarian settled in various places in Italy, Austria, Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, southern Russia, and Turkey. A very large portion of those emigrants subsequently abandoned their native idioms, undergoing assimilation to their new environment.

(ii) Certain dialectal types were affected by a strong influence of another dialect whose speakers had settled in their areas or around them. E.g., some western Štokavian dialects in Slavonia and Bosnia, which originally had a number of peripheral peculiarities forming a transition, as it were, to Čakavian, became much closer to average Štokavian after the colonization of East Hercegovina *je*-speakers in Bosnia and Slavonia, and the rupture of territorial contact with Čakavian due to that colonization.

(iii) In various regions, the typological characteristics of linguistic differentiation were deeply altered. In most of the Serbocroatian language area the organically developed picture of intersecting, mutually dependent isoglosses, without clear-cut dialect boundaries and with gradual transitions everywhere, was replaced by a situation where isoglosses as a rule come in bundles, where territorial dialects are well-defined entities with sharp boundaries and relatively little internal differentiation. Another striking feature is the irregular shape and the discontinuity of the areas of many dialects due to migrations. The phenomenon of a dialectal enclave has become widespread. In a number

of instances, a 'pulverization' of dialects took place. Settlers from distant regions and with dissimilar dialects formed colonies in small groups, making the dialect picture extremely complex. At various places new dialect types arose from a mixture of heterogeneous dialects. Some of those dialects still are in a process of crystallization, characterized by parallel occurrence of numerous alternative forms.

(iv) The tremendous expansion of central Štokavian dialects created a broad dialectal basis for the modern standard language of Serbians and paved the way to the adoption of that language by Croatians in the second half of the 19th century, and thus to the creation of a common Serbocroatian standard language with basically unified phonological and grammatical patterns.

(v) In a number of areas where the population is mixed as to religion, and especially in western Bosnia and the adjacent parts of Croatia, dialectal features became associated with faith. E.g., *(i)je* < *ě* is now a peculiarity of the Eastern Orthodox population, and *i* < *ě* of the Roman Catholics (in most of West Bosnia also of the Moslems). This is chiefly a consequence of the fact that adherents of different denominations usually immigrated from different regions.

The linguistic consequences of the migrations provide an important insight into the historical study of certain South Slavic languages. Dialects of the diaspora are in a sense living documents concerning the language of the epoch of their transplantation. In turn, the profound changes caused by migrations impose specific tasks on the diachronic investigation of the same languages. It becomes necessary to determine the dialectal picture in the period prior to the migrations. This can be achieved by utilizing the data of ancient texts (wherever they exist) and of emigrant dialects, possible traces of the dialectal substratum in areas now covered by imported dialects, and in some cases also the information conveyed by toponymy. However, the results almost inevitably remain fragmentary. As an illustration, we shall mention some of the unclarified problems:

1) Since most of the present population of the region Gorski Kotar in western Croatia consists of relatively recent settlers, it is not clear where the original boundary between Slovenian and Čakavian dialects in that area was. It is possible that some stretches of land, especially those densely wooded ones immediately south of the Kupa river, were unpopulated for a very long time and subsequently colonized from various (and not yet all identified) parts of Slovenia, so that dialects of neighboring villages often differ considerably.

2) We lack information about the original southern and eastern border of the Kajkavian area in Croatia, as well as about possible ancient transitional Kajkavian-Štokavian dialectal types.

3) The present dialects of northwestern Bosnia, especially those between the Una and Vrbas rivers, were imported with migrations. Most of the ancient population has disappeared, probably in those hard days when the region ("Jajačka banovina") was the first defense line of Christians against the Turks. Now we cannot even tell where the original Čakavian-Štokavian boundary was (or, more exactly, where the isoglosses of the features differentiating Štokavian dialects from the Čakavian ones were).

4) The original distribution of *šć* and of *št* as reflexes of **sk'*, **st'* in eastern Bosnia remains unclear, as well as the origin of the *št*-speaking group of Catholics in southeastern Slavonia.

5) We know little about the ancient isogloss of the ikavian and jekavian reflexes of jat in northern Bosnia, and also about the eastern border of the jekavian area before the powerful expansion of *je*-dialects due to migrations.

6) The medieval linguistic situation in what is now Vojvodina has not yet been completely determined. We know that both Hungarian and Serbocroatian were spoken in that region, and that the population of certain districts probably was mixed. We also have reasons to believe that Serbocroatian was more widespread in Srem and the southern part of Banat than in Bačka. However, we lack a clear picture about the ratio of the two populations, and about their geographic distribution. (Later, after the Turkish occupation, Hungarians disappeared almost completely from Vojvodina; the present Hungarian population was colonized in the 18th and 19th c.).

7) Likewise, we do not possess full information on circumstances in the Serbocroatian-Rumanian contact zone in northeastern Serbia, and along the Serbian-Albanian and the Macedonian-Albanian borders. It is known that a large part of the Rumanians in northeastern Serbia settled in the 18th and 19th centuries from Banat (so-called Ungurjani) and from Oltenia ("Carani"), and that during the same period the Albanian population in southern Serbia and western Macedonia was greatly strengthened by immigration. Nonetheless, we know little about the possible share of Rumanians and Albanians in the population of the given regions in the epoch preceding the migrations.

8) The problem of the ancient boundary between Štokavian and Torlak dialects in central and northeastern Serbia is far from elucidated.

We are even unable to tell whether there were old transitional types.

Some of the questions enumerated will probably be at least partially clarified by future investigations, but we do not have the right to hope for an all-embracing success. It is impossible to reconstruct completely a world of dialects that has been erased by history.

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Abbreviations

AfslPh	*Archiv für slavische Philologie* (Berlin)
BE	*Bălgarski ezik* (Sofija)
HDZ	*Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik* (Zagreb)
JF	*Južnoslovenski filolog* (Beograd)
MJ	*Makedonski jazik* (Skopje)
RES	*Revue des études slaves* (Paris)
SDZ	*Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* (Beograd)
SNU	*Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija* (Sofija)
SS	*Studia Slavica* (Budapest)
ZFL	*Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* (Novi Sad)
ZRFFZ	*Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu* (Zagreb)

KOSTAS KAZAZIS

THE STATUS OF TURKISMS IN THE PRESENT-DAY BALKAN LANGUAGES

Ystävälleni Raimo Anttilalle

I. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

When I undertook to prepare a study on the present status of Turkisms in the various Balkan languages, I was being somewhat overambitious. For to do full justice to such a topic one should possess the sort of *Sprachgefühl* which results only from a good firsthand knowledge of all Balkan languages, a claim which unfortunately I cannot make. The only Balkan languages about which I can speak with some degree of authority are my native Greek and, to a much smaller extent, Albanian. Most of my remarks on the state of affairs in the other languages are second-hand. Because of the somewhat subjective nature of any study dealing with matters of style and connotation, many of the judgments expressed here inevitably reflect my own personal way of looking at a number of Turkisms.*

It has become commonplace by now to say that the Balkan languages show great similarities with respect to Turkisms — Bronsert 1968, p. 97.[1] Thus it was largely the same Turkish elements that were borrowed into each language, and even the fate of individual Turkisms has been by and large the same in all languages: some Turkisms have disappeared, some have become well-anchored and virtually indispensable elements of a

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[1] All references are listed alphabetically (under the same author chronologically) at the end.

given language, others have acquired a pejorative, ironical, or vulgar connotation, and so on. But there are also many differences from one language to another: Turkisms which may be part and parcel of the literary variety of one language may have been considerably lowered on the stylistic scale of another or become historical words, and so forth. To my knowledge, there are not at present enough detailed studies on the stylistic status of specific Turkisms in individual Balkan languages.[2] Much more work is needed before we can attempt a serious synthesis of the overall Balkan situation — Bernstein 1968, p. 79; Bronsert 1968, pp. 97-98.

Unless specified otherwise, I shall be talking about the standard[3] varieties of Albanian,[4] Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian, Rumanian,[5] and Serbocroatian. By "standard language" we mean "a dialect, or some closely similar group of dialects enjoying prestige as the speech of educated people of the capital city[6] or of some other socially respected group" — Robins 1964, p. 57. I would like to emphasize that it is educated SPEECH, even more than writing, that will be our main concern. We should therefore keep in mind that educated speech encompasses a wide variety of styles, from formal all the way to the colloquial, relaxed style one uses in communicating with one's intimates. The term 'Turkish' here refers exclusively to Osmanli Turkish. The elements labelled as Turkish are often ultimately of Arabic or Persian origin, a fact of little

[2] Some gratifying exceptions are Bahner 1958, Bronsert 1968, Jašar-Nasteva 1962-1963, Markov 1955, and Mirčev 1952 (itself a synthesis, but a very valuable one).

[3] This limitation was dictated, among other things, by considerations of space. For, note that Balkan Turkisms are generally both more numerous and more lively in the dialects than they are in the standard languages — Hazai 1961, p. 103, n. 9; Ivić 1958, pp. 144, 234, 242-243; Koneski 1965, pp. 101-102; Şăineanu 1900, p. 279; Stojanov 1952, p. 219; Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, p. 62. We are not necessarily equating the notion of dialect with that of RURAL dialect. Thus Škaljić (1966, p. 16) for one refuses to pronounce himself on whether Serbocroatian Turkisms are used to a greater extent in the villages or in the cities. On the other hand, Ivić says that in the Serbocroatian-speaking area the influence of Turkish has been stronger in the cities (1958, p. 245; cf. also pp. 192, 234, 242). Similarly Skok (1937-1938, p. 168) regards it as a certainty that Turkisms in Serbocroatian are by far more numerous in the towns than they are in the villages. Indeed, the folk language in the *mahallât* of Balkan towns, including the capital cities, is typically very rich in Turkish elements — *mahallât*, plural of *mahalle*, is used here roughly in the sense of French *quartiers populaires*. Cf. Hristea 1958; Şăineanu 1900, p. 256.

[4] Of Albania, not Yugoslavia.

[5] No reference will be made here to the Moldavian language, spoken in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

[6] This reference to the capital city is sometimes irrelevant in the Balkans, e.g. in the case of Albanian and Macedonian.

interest for our study since as far as the Balkans are concerned it was the Turks who introduced the elements in question into the area.[7]

II. BACKGROUND

When young people from different Balkan countries meet, we sometimes witness exchanges like the following:

> Greek: Do you say ἰμάμ μπαϊλντί[8] in Bulgarian?
> Bulgarian: *Imám bajaldə́*? Of course! How about you, do you have a word *pušt*[9] in Greek?
> Greek: *Pušt*? I don't think so. Wait a minute! Of course we do: πούστης.

And so on. What these people are doing is compare Turkisms in their respective languages — from culinary terms to obscenities. Turkish linguistic elements constitute a common denominator (not the only one, to be sure) for the spoken form of all Balkan languages. Turkish further reinforced the Balkan linguistic union (*Sprachbund*) in certain respects, such as vocabulary and 'phraseology' — in the sense of French *phraséologie*.[10] The influence of Turkish culture and of the Turkish language on the culture and the languages of the Balkan peoples was very strong and embraced just about every facet of material and spiritual life. Turkish linguistic influence was felt mostly but by no means exclusively in the lexicon of those languages — the notoriously least stable level in any language. It is not necessary to repeat here how instrumental the Turks were in creating or transforming urban centers in the Balkans — Skok 1935, pp. 252ff., 1937-1938, pp. 173-174; Stavrianos 1958, pp. 107-108. It is not surprising, then, that Balkan terminology having to

[7] I have not followed this principle everywhere with the same consistency: thus I do not distinguish between those Turkisms which entered Rumanian directly from Turkish and those very numerous ones which passed through some intermediary, usually Bulgarian — Şăineanu 1900, pp. 279-280.

[8] Turkish *imambayıldı* 'a dish of aubergines with oil'. For the sake of simplicity, Turkish equivalents of Balkan Turkisms are given in their standard modern Turkish form. This obviously does not mean that we necessarily regard precisely those standard forms as having served as models for the Balkan Turkisms. For some interesting observations concerning the dialectal situation of Balkan Turkish as it is reflected in South Slavic Turkisms, see Hazai 1961, pp. 117ff. Also Bernstein 1968, p. 77.

[9] Turkish *puşt* 'catamite'.

[10] Bronsert (1968, p. 93) speaks of a "communauté du fonds lexical" ("et phraséologique", one might add). See also *ibid.*, p. 94.

do with the handicrafts and with many other aspects of urban life abounds with Turkish loanwords.

Great numbers of Turkisms were to be found in all those parts of the Peninsula which had remained under Ottoman domination for a prolonged period of time,[11] and even on the territory of the fomer Danubian Principalities, Walachia and Moldavia, where Turkish rule had been exercized only indirectly — although admittedly there the influence of Turkish has been smaller: Bronsert 1968, pp. 97, 99. There were of course regions where Turkish linguistic influence was relatively greater. Those were urban or rural areas with rather heavy Turkish colonization, as well as those regions where a large part of the native population became Moslem — Mirčev 1952, pp. 117, 119; Ivić 1958, pp. 234, 242-243; Gołąb 1959, p. 27; Bernstein 1968, pp. 76-77; Skok 1937-1938, pp. 167-168, 175.

The latter remark, however, in no way implies that the number of Turkisms which entered the speech of the non-Moslem population was somehow insignificant — Skok 1935, p. 251. Indeed, I think that one of the sociolinguistically most interesting questions that one can ask in connection with the adoption of Turkish elements in the Balkans is this: why were so many words and expressions borrowed, despite the religious and social barriers between the Turks and the majority of their Balkan subjects? We are obviously not speaking about the many terms that had to do with administration, law, the army, and the like. And neither are we referring to words describing new dishes, artifacts, trades, and so on, that is 'things' introduced into the area by the Turks. We are speaking

[11] The length of the occupation was probably a contributing factor. Thus Northern Greece and some Greek islands, which remained within the Ottoman Empire until the first decades of the present century, typically preserve a greater number of Turkisms than do those regions which made up the new kingdom of Greece almost one century earlier. It is just as plausible, however, that we have here a combination of factors, rather than the effect of only one, namely the relative length of Ottoman domination. Thus it may be that Northern Greece has more Turkisms because it has been under the influence of the Athenian standard for a SHORTER period of time (roughly half a century), and not so much because it was under the Turks for so LONG. Moreover, it is precisely in those parts of Greece which were annexed in the 20th century that Turkish colonization and the non-Turkish Moslem population (Albanian, Greek, etc.) were concentrated. A further factor is surely that the bulk of Greek refugees from Turkey were resettled in parts of Northern Greece. Those people, who left Turkey in the early 1920's, were largely bilingual, and their Greek was full of Turkish elements. A good number of them were even monolingual speakers of Turkish — it was mainly their Greek Orthodox religion that made them 'Greek'. To return to the relative length of the Turkish occupation, it should be pointed out that the number of Turkisms is large in Montenegro (Skok 1935, p. 251) and also considerable in Slavonia (Ivić 1958, p. 299) — both these regions were under the Turks for a relatively short time.

rather about those Turkish elements which replaced or joined perfectly good native terms or expressions. Unfortunately, it is far beyond the scope of this paper to try to answer this question in any detail. I shall therefore limit myself to a few remarks, which moreover contain little that is new. According to Škaljić (1966, pp. 12-13), the great number of Turkisms in Serbocroatian was due to the following factors: the presence of Turkish military and administrative personnel; the influence of native Moslems, some of whom studied in Constantinople (also Skok 1937-1938, p. 174); the diffusion of folk songs (and oral literature in general), which were full of words and expressions of Oriental origin — see also Knežević 1962, p. 5; Skok 1935, pp. 251, 255, and 1937-1938, pp. 171-172, 174; Hazai 1961, pp. 116-117; Vranska 1952, pp. 220-222. On the other hand, Hazai (1961, pp. 99-100, 114-116) sees a particularly important factor in the intense colonization of certain areas with Turkish-speaking settlers, to the extent that Turkish became the dominant language in a large part of the territory — see also İnalcık 1966, p. 28.

Correct as Hazai's observation undoubtedly is, it still does not explain, I think, the great inroads that Turkish made even in those regions where there were virtually no Turks, other than soldiers and administrators. The answer is probably that Turkish, the official language of the Ottoman Empire, enjoyed considerable prestige among non-Turkish speakers, irrespective of their religion — Hazai 1961, pp. 100, 115; İnalcık 1966, p. 33.[12] The factor of prestige is closely related to that of fashion, which is probably one of the most important causes of lexical replacement: oversimplifying a bit, we can say that many older words are partly or wholly replaced by new ones, because they have become old-fashioned. It is highly plausible that Osmanli Turkish constituted a favorite source of replacements or (near-)synonyms for native Balkan words. It was a language with which a good number of non-Turks were more or less familiar and moreover it was a prestigious language.

III. THE RETREAT OF TURKISMS

As was to be expected, Turkish linguistic influence came to a standstill after the liberation of the various Balkan nations — Skok 1935, p. 252. It is, however, somewhat of a surprise to hear Skok (1935, p. 251) say

[12] "Le prestige est dans le renouvellement des vocabulaires une dernière cause sociale qu'on ne doit pas oublier" — Vendryes 1921, p. 267.

that he knows of no puristic tendencies in the Balkans directed against Turkisms, the reason being that the latter allegedly began to disappear as it were by themselves. To be sure, most of the Turkish terminology that had to do with official Ottoman institutions, such as the army, the administration, the monetary system, Moslem law, and so on, was replaced during the first decades following the establishment of the national states. Most of those terms, which we can call for short "administrative Turkisms", are by now historical words, used, for example, in order to lend a more authentic flavor to historical accounts or works of fiction dealing with 'the time of the Turks'. As we know, however, Turkish loanwords in the Balkan languages extended to many other semantic domains as well. A good many such 'non-administrative' Turkisms were no doubt eliminated from the various languages more or less spontaneously, as the objects, trades, etc. to which they referred ceased to exist, and also as a result of the gradual development of education and the new orientation of the Balkan intelligentsia towards Western Europe and sometimes also towards Russia — Skok 1935, p. 252; Mirčev 1952, p. 121 and *passim*. But this should in no way mislead us into believing that no DELIBERATE efforts were made at the same time to rid the Balkan languages of their Turkisms. It may well be that Skok's assertion to that effect (1935, p. 251) is correct with respect to Serbocroatian,[13] but it is emphatically incorrect as far as the other Balkan languages are concerned.

We are not, of course, including here Macedonian, which was not proclaimed one of the national languages of Yugoslavia until 1944, a decade after the publication of Skok's article (1935). But, with the

[13] Cf. Knežević 1962, pp. 6-7. According to Mirčev (1952, pp. 121-122), Turkisms were eliminated much more rapidly from Bulgarian than they were from Serbocroatian. He explains this by referring to the relative influence of Russian on those two languages. That influence began to be felt in Bulgaria and in Serbia at approximately the same time, but it had much greater force and lasted much longer in the former. Skok himself in a later work (1937-1938, p. 175), makes a much less sweeping statement than the one in his 1935 article: he writes that Serbocroatian purists have never turned against Turkisms WITH THE SAME VEHEMENCE with which they attacked other foreignisms, such as Germanisms or Italianisms. My colleague Dr. Ranko Bugarski, of the University of Belgrade, tells me that to his knowledge Serbian purists have never waged a campaign against Turkisms, but that some Croatian purists have occasionally done so. As an example of the latter, he mentioned the article "Turcizmi se šire" ('Turkisms are spreading') in Jonke 1965, pp. 405-407. See also Hämeen-Anttila 1963, p. 230. It would have been interesting to compare the status of Turkisms in the two basic variants of the Serbocroatian language (cf. Magner 1967, pp. 336-338), but unfortunately such a comparison lies beyond my field of competence.

establishment of the Macedonian literary language, purism set in there too — Koneski 1965, p. 188.[14]

In the other four linguistic communities with which we are concerned (Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Rumanian), there definitely were vigorous puristic movements directed against Turkisms, as well as against some other types of foreign linguistic elements.[15] The efforts to 'purify' the Balkan languages of their Turkish elements began even before the liberation of the various countries. This was done in conjunction with the national renaissance movements which accompanied the awakening of the Balkan peoples to national consciousness—Skendi 1967, p. 123; Skok 1935, pp. 251-252. It is interesting to note that in Albania, the only Balkan country with a Moslem majority (about 70%), it was not only or even mostly Christian intellectuals who participated in the purge of Turkisms, but Moslem ones as well — Bulka 1957, p. 206; Skendi 1967, pp. 123, 143.

Probably the most ferocious puristic movement in the Balkans was that which was launched in Greece. The first period following the establishment of the Greek state in the 1830's was characterized by a gradual shift of the written language in the direction of Attic Greek, a trend which continued until roughly the turn of the century — Triantaphyllidēs 1938, pp. 96ff.; Skok 1936, pp. 473-475. Moreover, the puristic or learned variety of Greek, *katharevousa*, which had been used by the Greek intelligentsia throughout the duration of Ottoman rule, had remained virtually free of Turkisms — Skok 1935, p. 252.[16]

At the present moment, the battle against Turkisms has subsided considerably in those parts of the Balkans where the standard language has had more time to establish itself. Puristic campaigns are, however, still going on in Albania, a country which was under Ottoman rule until the second decade of this century and whose population is largely Moslem.[17]

[14] Cf. also some puristic and prescriptive remarks in Markov 1955, p. 161. Gołąb (1959, p. 44) speaks of "the anti-Turkish tendency in the newly-created literary Macedonian" and expresses the view that "the creators and codifiers of this language ... are endeavouring to limit the number of the old Turkish loan-words in the literary language".

[15] Cf. Krajni 1965 and 1968, Riza 1952, and Xhuvani 1956, pp. 13, 180, for Albanian; Andrejčin *et al.* 1964, pp. 127-128 (cf. also their puristic recommendations on pp. 126, 146), Baeva 1966, Makedonska 1952, Mirčev 1952, pp. 121-123, and Stojkov 1952, p. 145 and *passim*, for Bulgarian; Triantaphyllidēs 1938, pp. 49, 98, and 1963a, pp. 60-73, 133, and *passim*, for Greek; Graur 1967, pp. 53, 56, for Rumanian.

[16] Good short accounts of the Greek language question can be found in Triantaphyllidēs 1963c and Ferguson 1959.

[17] Cf. Krajni 1965, pp. 148-149; cf. also p. 150, where he writes that the elimination

Something similar may still be true of Yugoslav Macedonia, which also remained in the Ottoman Empire until quite late (1912), has a considerable Turkish-speaking population,[18] and whose dominant language, Macedonian, has enjoyed the status of a literary language for only a quarter of a century — cf. Gołąb 1959, p. 44.

Although puristic norms are easier to introduce in the written language, they can also have considerable impact on the spoken language as well. To what extent the latter is being influenced by the written language depends on such factors as the rate of literacy, the ready availability of communication media,[19] and the like. The Balkan languages were no exception to this, even though as we shall see the surviving Turkisms are admittedly both more numerous and more frequent in the spoken standard and in written styles purporting to reproduce speech than they are in the written language in general.

The spontaneous falling into disuse, for one reason or another, of a number of Turkisms, as well as deliberate puristic campaigns, were responsible for the fact that the various standard languages in the Balkans have today far fewer Turkisms than they had as late as a few decades ago — Koneski 1965, pp. 187-188; Krajni 1965, pp. 148, 149; Mirčev 1952, p. 125; Graur 1967, p. 56.[20]

IV. TURKISMS TODAY

A. *Exceptions to the Retreat of Turkisms*

Despite the general retreat of Turkish loanwords which took place after the liberation of the various countries, there are still today a great many

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of Turkisms from Albanian is "a patriotic duty, a duty for all [of us]" (*një detyrë patriotike, një detyrë për të gjithë*).

[18] About one-tenth of the total population — Magner 1969, p. 3.

[19] Not only books and the press, but also such 'spoken' media as the radio and television are instrumental in spreading the written language, since their programs consist partly in reading aloud written texts.

[20] Stojkov (1952, p. 168) says that earlier literary works in Bulgarian are partly unintelligible today, because of their heavy use of Turkisms which are no longer current. The same can be said of the other languages as well. Sometimes glossaries are needed to translate less well-known words, including a fair number of obsolete Turkisms. For instance, we find such glossaries in Karadžić 1937 and in *Folklor shqiptar* 1963. We thus have a reversal of the 19th-century situation where some terms used as replacements of popular Turkisms were so little understood by the average reader that the authors would often gloss them with their Turkish equivalents, which were much better known — Koneski 1965, p. 187; Makedonska 1952, pp. 223-224; Bronsert 1968, pp. 94-95. Cf. also Mirčev 1952, p. 124.

Turkish elements left in the Balkan languages. The avoidance and replacement in higher styles of a number of Turkisms in each language did not necessarily push them OUT of the language. In many cases it simply meant that they were pushed DOWN stylistically, that they were 'demoted' as it were — Bronsert 1968, pp. 98-99 and *passim*. But even what we have called the 'retreat' of Turkisms has not been without a few exceptions: in some instances there has actually been a territorial expansion of Turkisms. This was the case in those formerly Austro-Hungarian territories annexed by Rumania and Yugoslavia after World War I.[21] The prestige of the Muntenian-based literary language in Rumania and that of the Belgrade standard in Yugoslavia helped spread a good number of Turkisms to the Western regions of both countries — Skok 1937-1938, p. 175, also 1935, p. 252.[22] The spread of Turkisms to those regions was of course intimately connected with the diffusion of cultural elements, such as for example *sevdàlīnke* '(Moslem) love songs (or poems)' (cf. Turkish *sevda* 'love, etc.') and *ćevàpčići* 'hachis de viande roulée et grillée' (cf. Turkish *kebab* 'roast meat') in the Serbocroatian linguistic domain — I owe this remark to Professor Pavle Ivić.

Another important instance of Turkisms actually spreading occurred in Greece — Kapetanakēs 1962, p. 7. As a result of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey which began in 1923, about 1,300,000 Greeks emigrated to Greece. Those refugees from Turkey imported a large number of Turkisms, some of which found their way into at least the passive (receptive) vocabulary of part of the remaining population. This happened both directly, through personal contact with refugees, and indirectly, through reading.[23] The refugees would use some Turkish loanwords so consistently that the non-refugees would end up by learning their meaning. Then there was the influence of lighter literary genres, like the causerie, the funny column, and so on. I think I

[21] We are obviously not including here Bosnia and Herzogovina, which were placed under Austria-Hungary only after the Congress of Berlin (1878). Skok (1935, p. 255) says that some Turkisms did not become pan-Serbocroatian until after the establishment of the Yugoslav state.

[22] This of course does not mean that Turkisms had formerly been entirely absent from those regions: cf. Skok 1935, p. 251, and 1937-1938, p. 174; Ivić 1958, p. 299. Rosetti and Cazacu (1961, p. 336) say that the few Turkish elements formerly found in the language of Western Rumania penetrated indirectly either via the old Principalities or through the intermediary of Hungarian. Şăineanu (1900, p. 280) writes that Turkisms penetrated the Banat dialects of Rumanian through a Serbian or Hungarian intermediary — see also *ibid.*, p. 269.

[23] I don't know whether any similar phenomena occurred after the arrival and resettlement in Greece in recent years of a large number of Constantinople Greeks.

speak for many Greeks when I say that I learned literally dozens of Turkisms, including greetings, polite formulae, exclamations, and curses, by reading as a child in the 1940's such things as the monologues of Eftalía, an imaginary woman from Smyrna and possibly one of the funniest *mahalle karıları* (gossips, *commères*) of all times, and those of Karabet, the Armenian *shlimazl*,[24] in the columns of the popular weekly Θησαυρός. There must also have been some plays based, at least partly, on the deviant speech habits of the refugees, but I do not know of any actual instances.

B. *Calques*

Until now we have been using the term 'Turkism' almost as if it referred exclusively to loanwords. Although the influence of Turkish on the Balkan languages has indeed been particularly strong in the domain of the lexicon, it was far from restricted to it. In fact, one could almost speak of 'overt' and 'covert' Turkisms, even though there is obviously no well-defined boundary between the two types. It goes without saying that covert Turkisms (and covert foreignisms in general) stand a much better chance of passing undetected by purists.

Overt Turkisms would be essentially the loanwords, but even here one might ask: overt for whom? — cf. Mirčev 1952, p. 127. There are many lexical items whose Turkish origin may or may not be transparent, depending on such things as how educated a given native speaker is, whether or not he has ever dabbled in etymology, whether he knows Turkish and how well, and so on.

Possibly overt Turkisms are the very numerous Balkan idiomatic expressions, greeting formulae, sayings, and proverbs borrowed from Turkish and containing one or more lexical Turkisms — some of the latter are never (or very rarely) used outside of such expressions: cf. Thomaj 1965, pp. 172-173; Dimitrescu 1958, pp. 171-172. However, a considerable number of Turkish idiomatic expressions, formulae, etc. have been wholly translated into native terms, so that few people today would suspect their Turkish origin. Linguists have tended to underestimate the role of Turkish in the creation of the common phraseological

[24] Armenian refugees, often monolingual in Turkish upon their arrival in Greece, were an even more favorite target. Besides using a tremendous number of Turkisms in their Greek, they also systematically mistreated Greek grammar and phonology.

stock shared by the Balkan languages[25] — Jašar-Nasteva 1962-1963, pp. 114ff. Papahagi (1908) does list the Turkish equivalents of some of his *parallele Ausdrücke* (e.g., on pp. 145, 154-155), but not nearly often enough. The Yugoslav linguist Olivera Jašar-Nasteva has written a valuable article (1962-1963)[26] where we find many Macedonian examples of such expressions, formulae, etc., partly or wholly tranlsated from Turkish, neatly classified and supplemented with their equivalents in other Balkan languages. Thus, the Macedonian expression *od kade na kade*? 'why?, for what reason?, apropos of what?, etc.' (literally 'from where to where?') is modelled on Turkish *nereden nereye* 'for some reason or other; I don't quite know why' (gloss from Hony 1957) — Jašar-Nasteva 1962-1963, p. 143. Cf. also Bulgarian *ot kədé nakədé*?, Greek ἀπό ποῦ κι ὥς ποῦ;, and Rumanian *de unde pînă unde*?

At least as covert as these so-called "loan-translations"[27] are the semantic calques (alias "loan-shifts"[28]), where the meaning of a native word is extended so as to include some secondary meaning of its foreign (here Turkish) counterpart. Thus the Macedonian word *pat* 'road' has also acquired the meaning 'time' (as in *three times, many times*), supposedly under the influence of Turkish *yol*, which means both 'road' and 'time' — Jašar-Nasteva 1962-1963, p. 125; note that Bulgarian *pət* and Serbocroatian *pût* behave in exactly the same way.

All those types of Turkisms have left indelible, if mostly unobtrusive, marks on the phraseology and the semantics of the Balkan languages. This does not mean, however, that all of those Turkisms have today the same stylistic value everywhere in the Balkans. Some of them have remained in the dialects or at the level of folk (substandard) speech, or else have been stylistically demoted to it — they are not normally used by speakers of the standard language except to achieve a specific effect,

[25] In Sandfeld 1936, p. 471, we read: "il y a aussi en dehors du lexique de très nombreux rapprochements entre elles [les langues balkaniques], LE TURC TOUTEFOIS MIS A PART, souvent aussi le serbo-croate. Il y a d'abord des concordances phraséologiques très frappantes... Pareillement, le sémantisme est très souvent le même partout" (emphasis added).

[26] See especially her conclusions (pp. 170-172), which, although they are meant to apply only to Macedonian, are largely valid for the remaining languages as well. It is not always possible to ascertain whether the source of a given item was indeed Turkish — Jašar-Nasteva 1962-1963, p. 118. In some cases it might have been Greek (the other Balkan language with the greatest amount of prestige; Koneski 1965, p. 182) or even some third language, not to mention the possibility of spontaneous parallel creations (Dimitrescu 1958, p. 161).

[27] For an excellent discussion of the various types of linguistic borrowing, see Haugen 1950.

[28] Haugen 1950, pp. 215, 219-220.

for instance for facetious purposes. An example of a calque on Turkish which has different stylistic values in different languages are the expressions modelled on Turkish *tütün içmek* 'to smoke', literally 'to drink tobacco' — cf. also *sigara içmek* 'to smoke a cigarette' and *pipo içmek* 'to smoke the pipe'. Its Albanian equivalent, *pi duhan*, is as far as I know the only way to express this particular sense of 'to smoke' in the standard language. In Greek, on the other hand, πίνω τσιγάρο, literally 'to drink cigarette', is substandard: standard speakers say καπνίζω.[29] Macedonian *pie cigari* seems to be somewhere in between: Jašar-Nasteva (1962-1963, p. 148) says that LATELY (emphasis added) it is the verb *puši* 'to smoke' that is used more frequently. The latter probably sounds more 'dignified' and less 'balkanoid' to educated Macedonians ('balkanoid' in the sense of semi-Oriental, backward, etc.), a process which Greek may have also gone through at some earlier stage.

C. *Grammar*

Before we return to loanwords and try to make some generalizations on the stylistic categories to which they belong, let us examine some other vestiges of Turkish linguistic influence on the Balkan languages.

Let us begin with the domain of grammar. Any influence that Turkish may have had on the grammar of the Balkan languages is covert. We probably still know too little to be able to ascertain the extent of that influence — Skok 1937-1938, p. 170. There is, however, general agreement that the impact of Turkish on the domains of morphology and syntax was much less significant than its impact on the lexicon — Sandfeld 1930, p. 159; Hazai 1961, p. 102. The most frequently cited instance of Turkish grammatical influence in the Balkans is that of the development of the category of 'reportedness' in the verbal system of some forms of East South Slavic, including standard Bulgarian and standard Macedonian — Bernstein 1968, p. 78; Gołąb 1959, p. 34; Hazai 1961, p. 102; Koneski 1965, p. 147; Mirčev 1952, p. 118; and 1963, pp. 83-84.[30] These two languages, just like Turkish, distinguish between processes

[29] This is obviously calqued on Western European: French *fumer*, Italian *fumare* (cf. also folksy Greek φουμάρω and φουμέρνω), German *rauchen*, English *to smoke*, etc. Cf. also Bulgarian *púša* and Serbocroatian *pũšiti*.

[30] Mirčev (1952, p. 118) and Koneski (1965, pp. 146-148) also mention some other, less important, instances of possible Turkish grammatical influence on Bulgarian and Macedonian, respectively. Koneski (*ibid.*) also mentions that the same grammatical category is found at an embryonic stage also in some Albanian city dialects (in Macedonia?), where the influence of Turkish has been strongest.

directly perceived (witnessed) by the speaker and processes not so perceived. Here are some examples. In Bulgarian, *Pétər e otíšel v xotéla* 'Peter went into the hotel' contrasts with *Pétər otíšel v xotéla* 'Peter went into the hotel (so I'm told)' — Hodge *et al.*, p. 137. In Macedonian, the difference between *beše* 'he was' and *bil* 'he reportedly was' is shown very clearly in the following example from Lunt 1952 (p. 93): *Toj beše vo Skopje — odnosno bil, ne go vidov* 'he was in Skopje — that is, he's supposed to have been there, I didn't see him'. Similarly in Turkish: *Ankaraya gidiyor* 'he's going to Ankara' versus *Ankaraya gidiyormuş* 'he's going to Ankara (he says/they say)' — Swift and Ağralı 1966, p. 202.

If it is true, as it most probably is, that it was Turkish that served as the model for Bulgarian and Macedonian in this respect, then we have here a remarkable instance of linguistic influence, one that presupposes widespread bilingualism at some time in the past and which will surely prove to be one of the most durable marks left by Turkish on the Balkan languages.

D. *Phonology*

Turkish influence on the sound system of the standard Balkan languages has been minimal.[31] The main vestiges left by Turkish on standard Balkan phonology are indirect ones, namely an increase in the frequency of occurrence of some sounds, such as the sound [d͡ʒ][32] in Albanian, Rumanian, and the South Slavic languages with which we are concerned. That happened because those languages adopted Turkish words and suffixes containing that sound.[33] Rumanian, of course, already had that sound in words inherited from Latin, such as *ginere* 'son-in-law', *genunchi* 'knee', *a trage* 'to pull', etc. But not even for the other languages would it be correct to say that [d͡ʒ] was first introduced along with Turkish lexical elements. It already occurred in all those languages as a voiced positional variant of the sound [t͡ʃ],[34] as the result of voicing assimilation:

[31] Not so in some dialects — cf., for example, Ivić 1958, pp. 117, 234, 242-243, and Koneski 1965, pp. 56-57, 72, 78.

[32] Other common symbols used for the voiced palato-alveolar affricate are [ǯ], [j], and [d͡ž].

[33] Turkish also helped spread the sound [f] in Balkan Slavic, but in this it was preceded by Greek and also by other languages — Koneski 1965, p. 68; Ivić 1958, p. 117.

[34] Other common symbols used for the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate are [č] and [t͡š].

for instance, Bulgarian *líčba* (pronounced [líd͡ʒbə]) 'sign; symptom', Macedonian *naradžba* 'order' (cf. Koneski 1965, p. 50), Serbocroatian *òtadžbina* 'fatherland, home country', Albanian *xhvesh* (pronounced [d͡ʒveʃ]) 'I undress' (*ç-* 'un-, de-' plus *vesh* 'I dress'; cf. *lidh* 'I tie' and *çlidh* 'I untie', *mobilizim* 'mobilization' and *çmobilizim* 'demobilization', etc.).

The dialects on which standard Modern Greek is based lack palato-alveolar consonants — like [ʃ], [t͡ʃ], [d͡ʒ], etc. Such sounds are generally replaced in loanwords by their alveolar counterparts. To the [ʒ͡d] of Albanian *xham*, Bulgarian and Macedonian *džam*, Rumanian *geam*, and Serbocroatian *džȁm*, corresponds the [d͡z][35] of Greek τζάμι (Turkish *cam* 'glass'). Thus in the case of Greek it was the frequency of the ALVEOLAR voiced affricate which increased as a result of the importation of Turkish elements into the language.

Similarly, the adoption in Albanian and Bulgarian of a great many Turkish words containing the vowel *ı* (which ranges from [ɯ] to [ɨ]) increased the frequency of the schwa ([ə]) in those two languages — [ə] is spelled *ë* and *ъ* in Albanian and Bulgarian respectively. (I am grateful to E. P. Hamp for this remark.) The same could be said of the frequency of Rumanian *î* [ɨ], which is phonetically quite close to Turkish ı.

E. *Names*

A domain where the passage of the Turks through the Balkans has left deep marks is that of names, both anthroponyms and toponyms. As far as personal names go, we shall be concerned only with family names (surnames). Given names are often of a rather ephemeral nature and tend to change with fashions — and, besides, given names of Turkish origin are found almost exclusively among Balkan Moslems. On the other hand, we find a great many surnames of Turkish origin even among the Christian population. As a rule, such names consist of a Turkish root accompanied by one or more native suffixes: for example, Albanian *Kazazi* (Turkish *kaz(z)az* 'silk manufacturer'), Bulgarian *Terziev* (Turkish *terzi* 'tailor'), Greek Ζορμπάς (Turkish *zorba* 'who uses force; rebel; bully'), Macedonian *Džambazov* (Turkish *cambaz* 'acrobat; circus-rider; horsedealer; swindler'), Rumanian *Ceauşescu* (Turkish *çavuş* 'sergeant; doorkeeper; messenger; uniformed attendant (of an ambassador or consul)'), Serbian *Ćorović* (Turkish *kör* 'blind') — see also Boissin 1965, pp. 181-182.

[35] Another common symbol for that sound is [ʒ].

Some Balkan surnames were originally compounds whose first member is a Turkish word (by now very close to being a Balkan 'prefix') like *hacı* 'one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca (or to the Holy Land, as in the case of Christians); hadji; pilgrim', *kara* 'black; gloomy; ill-omened', *deli* 'crazy; wild', and perhaps a few others: for example, Albanian *Haxhihasani*, Serbian *Karađorđević*, Macedonian *Xadživasilev*, Greek Χατζηχρῆστος and Ντεληγιάννης — Ντελη- has very often been 'hellenized' into Δελη-; see below.

Turkish surnames being overt evidence of foreign linguistic and cultural influence, many of them did not escape the 'hellenizing' tendencies which began in Greece already at the beginning of the 19th century — Triantaphyllidēs 1963b, p. 267. Thus, names like Μπεκρῆς (Turkish *bekri* 'habitual drunkard'), Μπέης (Turkish *bey* 'gentleman, etc.'), Σαρίπογλου (Turkish *şarib* 'hopeless drunkard' and *oğlu* 'son of, -son'), were often changed into Βεκρῆς, Βέης, Σαρίπολος.

Then there are the numerous Turkish place-names. Those would normally be rather durable vestiges of Turkish influence or sometimes even of actual Turkish settlements, were it not for the fact that toponyms change so often — Kissling 1965, p. 141.[36] Thus, a Bulgarian village to which Evliya Çelebi refers as *Rumlar* ('Greeks' in Turkish) is called today *Gərci* ('Greeks' in Bulgarian) — *ibid.*, p. 142. In the case of Greece specifically, the hellenization of Turkish and other foreign place-names assumed gigantic proportions — Triantaphyllidēs 1938, pp. 570-579, 595-596; Georgacas and McDonald 1967, pp. 10-11.

Some Turkish names for places outside the Balkans had also been adopted in certain Balkan languages. I hope I am not making too sweeping a generalization when I say that most of those seem to have disappeared by now from the standard variety of each language. Thus the present range of Greek Μισίρι 'Egypt' (Turkish *Mısır*) is very restricted: we may find it, for example, in folk tales and folk songs, both traditional and of the ρεμπέτικο (bouzouki) type, or in artistic literature, both prose and poetry, for instance when a writer wishes to create an atmosphere of the past or to convey the idea of exoticity — the historical

[36] Kissling (1965, p. 129, n. 7) writes: "Eine Betrachtung der Ortsnamen der europäischen Türkei unter unserem Gesichtswinkel ergibt die bezeichnende Tatsache, daß, von den durchislamisierten bosnisch-herzegovinischen Gebieten abgesehen, die türkischen bzw. türkisierten Namen gegen Westen zu mehr und mehr abnehmen. Der serbische Raum hat seine slavischen Namensformen weitgehend behalten. Das gleiche gilt für die griechischen und ungarischen Gebiete, die ebenfalls ihre alten Ortsnamen überwiegend bewahrt haben. In diesen Gebieten Südosteuropas dürften die Ortsnamen die tatsächliche Türkisierungstiefe andeuten, die dort nur gering war."

and poetic term Μισίρι certainly sounds more exotic and possibly even more distant in space than its stylistically neutral counterpart, Αἴγυπτος. In Albanian, I think, things are a bit different, at least in Moslem usage. Although the neologism *Egjipti* is probably more common today, one still hears educated speakers refer to *Misir*. As far as I can tell, the same can be said of the pair *Aleksandri/Skënderi* 'Alexandria' (Turkish *İskenderiye*).

F. *Suffixes*

In all Balkan languages, a number of Turkish suffixes were isolated from loanwords and began to be used with non-Turkish stems.[37] With few exceptions, it was essentially the same Turkish suffixes that became productive in all the languages. The most important of these suffixes were probably *-ci(/cı/cü/cu/çi/çı/çü/çu)*, *-li(/lı/lü/lu)*, and *-lik(/lık/lük/-luk)*.[38] We are often told either that these suffixes have acquired a deprecating overtone,[39] or that their use in a given standard language is today limited,[40] or that they are no longer productive.[41] True as such statements mostly are, we would still like to know a bit more about the fate of each suffix in each individual language, before we can begin to make generalizations about all the Balkan languages. For example, in an important article (1958, pp. 59-60), Werner Bahner shows clearly how contradictory the reports given by various Rumanian linguists can be, when it comes to deciding whether or not the suffix *-giu* (Turkish *-ci*) is still productive in Rumanian.

One obvious way of trying to fill the many gaps in our knowledge would be to do for each suffix in each language what Bahner did for the

[37] This is a case of lexical, not grammatical, borrowing — Deroy 1956, pp. 73, 77. Cf. also Şăineanu 1900, p. 52. The Balkan languages must have first borrowed a number of Turkish nouns ending, say, in the suffix *-ci*, before they finally isolated that suffix and in their turn created new formations, with *-ci* attached to non-Turkish stems, as in Albanian *karrocaxhi* 'cabman, coachman', Rumanian *laptagiu* 'milkman', Serbo-croatian *govòrdžija* 'chatterer, babbler', etc. Even so we cannot always be sure that the new words are entirely original: in some cases they may be partial translations ("loan-blends": Haugen 1950, pp. 215, 218-219) of a Turkish model.

[38] The suffixes are given here in their Turkish forms, including the Turkish variants whose use depends on vowel harmony or voicing assimilation. For the sake of simplicity, I will henceforth refer to Turkish suffixes by their high front (voiced) variant, namely *-lik*, *-li*, and *-ci*.

[39] Graur 1967, p. 65. It is only fair to mention, though, that, apropos of the suffix *-giu* (Turkish *-ci*), Graur exempts "a few trade names such as *cazangiu* 'boiler-smith'" from such a characterization.

[40] Mirčev 1952, p. 118.

[41] Stachowski 1961, pp. 27, 56.

suffix *-giu* in Rumanian. He examined the productivity of that suffix in each of its main functions: his conclusion was that *-giu* is productive in contemporary Rumanian only as a pejorative suffix, although even in that function there had not been, as of 1958, any new formations for some time — Bahner 1958, p. 63.

An impressionistic judgment (*faute de mieux*) on the state of affairs in Greek would yield very similar results — see also Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, pp. 91-94. To the extent that it is at all productive, the suffix -τζής (Turkish *-ci*) is productive only in its function as a pejorative suffix.[42] The same is true of the suffix -λίκι (Turkish *-lik*), except that the latter is definitely productive in my own idiolect. It helps form nouns referring to different official posts or functions, and it always has a mildly ironical overtone. Here are some of the new formations with -λίκι that I have used in recent years: κοσμητοριλίκι 'deanship', ἐπιμελητιλίκι 'assistantship', and the Anglo-Turco-Hellenic hybrids ἀσισταντ(ι)λίκι (ditto) and τσε(α)ρμαν(ι)λίκι 'chairmanship'. On the other hand, the suffix -λής (Turkish *-li*) appears to be non-productive in the contemporary standard language.

Mirčev (1952, p. 118) says that derivatives with the suffixes *-džija* and *-ləк* (Turkish *-ci* and *-lik*) in Bulgarian have now a definitely ironical, derisive, or pejorative connotation. Standing on Bahner's shoulders as we are, we may wonder whether the 'real' meaning of that statement is not that the situation in Bulgarian is the same as in Rumanian and Greek: at least in the case of *-džija*, maybe the only function of the suffix that strikes the Bulgarian observer is its more or less productive one, which also happens to be its pejorative one. For when we look at Bulgarian *-džija* as a suffix forming *nomina agentis* referring to traditional trades (*Berufe*, not *Ämter*), we find a good number of nouns that do not, as far as I know, have the least pejorative shade of meaning: *bojadžija* 'dyer; house-painter', *xandžija* 'inn-keeper; landlord; host', *xalvadžija* 'manufacturer of halvah; dealer in halvah', *kafedžija* 'owner/keeper of a coffeehouse',[43] *džamdžija* 'glazier', and so on. Incidentally, Professor Boris

[42] I am not aware, however, of any new formations with τζης in recent years. Concerning the potentially pejorative nature of *-ci* in Turkish, see Bahner 1958, p. 60, and Spitzer 1936, pp. 124-125.

[43] Bahner (1958, pp. 62-63) says this about the corresponding Rumanian word, *cafegiu*: "Es bedeutet heute nur noch 'leidenschaftlicher Kaffeetrinker', d.h., *-giu* gibt den Träger einer besonderen Gewohneit an, indem es zugleich etwas negativ, abfällig wertet. Sowohl die ursprüngliche ... Bedeutung ... 'Eigentümer eines Cafés' [ist] durch die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung untergegangen ... mit der Errichtung der volksdemokratischen Ordnung nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg." Cf. the largely similar development of Bulgarian *tjutjundžija*, reported in Bronsert 1968, p. 97.

Kremenliev of the University of California at Los Angeles, a native speaker of Bulgarian, insists that *-džija* is still productive in Bulgarian, albeit with an ironical etc. connotation. He cited the recent (American Bulgarian?) formation *kompjuterdžíja* 'computerologist' and he kept referring to this writer jokingly as *balkandžíja* 'balkanologist'.

Stachowski (1961, pp. 27, 43, 56) says with respect to the suffixes *-džija*, *-lija*, and *-luk* in Serbocroatian that none of them is productive in the contemporary language, whereas Professor Pavle Ivić tells me that this is not true of *-džija*, which in his view is still productive but again with an ironical etc. connotation.

For Macedonian, we are fortunate to have in Markov 1955 a fairly detailed study of what he calls "hybrid creations" (*xibridni tvorbi*; "loan-blends" in Haugen 1950, pp. 215, 218-219), namely combinations of originally Turkish suffixes with non-Turkish stems, as in *gotovadžija* 'seller of ready-made clothes' (cf. Turkish *hazırcı*), *vojniklak* 'military service' (Turkish *askerlik*), *bradalija* 'bearded man' (Turkish *sakallı*). Markov's verdict (1955, p. 158) is that all suffixes of Turkish origin have ceased to be productive in Macedonian, whereas Koneski, ten years later (1965, p. 189), writes that both *-džija* and *-lak* are productive in the contemporary language, but that new formations with them, like *filma-džija* and *festivaldžija*, have a derisive, ironical, etc. overtone.

Unfortunately, I have no information on whether or not these suffixes are still productive in Albanian.

But we are not merely concerned with the question of how productive these suffixes are in the different languages. We would also like to know something about the status of the words which end in them. The one synchronic study available to me which tries to deal with that question is Markov 1955. Let us try to see whether we can make some tentative generalizations about all the Balkan languages on the basis of Markov's conclusions with respect to Macedonian. In his view, the suffixes in question are both better represented and more frequent in the colloquial language (*vo razgovorniot jazik*) and the dialects than they are in the literary language (*vo literaturniot jazik*) — 1955, pp. 154, 157, 159, and *passim*.

It is important to point out that the colloquial language constantly referred to by Markov is by no means necessarily opposed to what we have called "the standard language", namely the speech of educated persons, which also includes colloquial styles — cf. p. 88, above. Note further that if Markov had wanted to exclude the STANDARD colloquial he could have used some other term, such as "popular/folk language",

as does Koneski: *vo našiot naroden jazik* (1965, p. 101 and *passim*) — see also some relevant remarks in Dimitrescu 1958, p. 149. But perhaps Markov's "literary language" and our "standard language" are not coterminous: maybe his use of "literary language" excludes the colloquial (or familiar, or casual) ranges of what we have called "standard language" — it may not be entirely fortuitous that, in an otherwise descriptive article, Markov also indulges in some prescriptive suggestions (1955, p. 161).

We can therefore venture the statement that the Macedonian situation is probably a miniature copy of what is going on in the remaining languages too: words formed with the suffixes *-ci*, *-li*, and *-lik* are particularly frequent in colloquial speech, but are frowned upon in more elevated spoken and written styles.[44] There are of course exceptions: in some instances, such words are perfectly good, stylistically neutral elements of even the literary language. It seems to me that Albanian *budallallëk* is a case in point. The *Fjalor anglisht-shqip* (1966) lists it as the only gloss under the entry *stupidity* (although I think that the non-Turkism *marrëzi* would have also been correct), just as it lists only *budalla* (Turkish *budala* 'silly fool; imbecile') under *stupid*. On the other hand, it is most likely that the present trend will continue in all languages: as the new terms from the literary language penetrate the lower styles of the standard colloquial (through books, the press, radio, etc.), more words with those Turkish suffixes will become obsolete or else will be stylistically demoted. Some types of words will probably be spared such a fate, for instance those which refer to traditional trades — provided of course the trades themselves survive: cf. Bahner 1958, pp. 62-63. As a rule, the literary language does not bother with φαναρτζῆδες (plural of Greek φαναρτζής 'lamp-maker; tinsmith') or with παγωτατζῆδες (plural of παγωτατζής 'ice-cream vendor'), except in some legal or administrative documents, which have little impact on the spoken standard. Other words likely to be spared obsolescence for some time are those dealing with everyday notions, such as human types, like Greek καταφερτζής 'one with a knack of succeeding', μερακλής 'one who demands and relishes the best; one who loves to do a job well' (Turkish *merakli* 'curious; interested in, fond of; anxious') — both these words belong to the lowest ranges of the

[44] We may mention parenthetically that Macedonian, because of well-known historical reasons, appears to have still a great number of words (straight loanwords as well as loanblends) with the suffixes in question — greater, say, than standard Athenian Greek. At least that is my impression after reading Markov (1955) and Koneski (1965 and 1966).

standard colloquial. The literary language is not usually concerned with these either, so any alternatives it may propose for them will probably remain at the more elevated stylistic levels, to which such terms do not belong anyway.

G. *Loanwords*

Our last task will be to examine surviving Turkish loanwords in the Balkan languages from the viewpoint of their present stylistic status. In the first place we find those Turkisms which have become fully naturalized (Skok 1935, p. 252; Škaljić 1966, p. 15) in the various languages and which are stylistically neutral. By "stylistically neutral" we mean that they can be used in any spoken or written style without giving any clues as to the speaker's or writer's social background or level of education, and also without betraying any intention on his part to achieve a specific stylistic effect, such as irony, contempt, humor, exoticity, solemnity, and the like. In the case of nouns, those Turkisms refer mostly, but not exclusively, to concrete objects,[45] such as the various words which reflect Turkish *çanta* 'bag; case; valise; knapsack',[46] *çorab* 'stocking',[47] and *kibrit* 'match'[48] — but cf. also Rumanian *duşman* 'enemy' (Turkish *düşman*) and *leafă* 'salary' (Turkish *ulûfe* '(formerly) the pay of a soldier for the fodder of his horse').

Škaljić (1966, p. 15) divides such words into those for which there exist other alternatives in a given language and those for which there are no such alternatives.[49] For example, *čàrapa* is the only word for 'stocking' in standard Serbocroatian, whereas *òdžak* 'chimney' (Turkish *ocak*) has

[45] This category of nouns is by no means restricted to such things as are specifically Turco-Oriental, such as some dishes, kitchen utensils, musical instruments, and the like — for examples, see Škaljić 1966, p. 15.

[46] Albanian *çantë*, Bulgarian *čánta*, Greek τσαντα, Macedonian *čanta*, Rumanian *geantă*. These do not always cover exactly the same semantic range, but the basic idea is everywhere the same.

[47] Albanian *çorap*, Bulgarian *čoráp*, Macedonian *čorap*, Rumanian *ciorap*, Serbocroatian *čàrapa*. Some of these words mean 'sock' rather than 'stocking'.

[48] Bulgarian *kibrít*, Macedonian *kibrit*, Rumanian *chibrit*.

[49] Sometimes the 'standard' Serbocroatian equivalents of loanwords are, according to Bidwell (1968, p. 403), "bookish words not used (or perhaps not even known) by many indisputably standard speakers (e.g. *smočnica* 'pantry' for *špajza*). This points up the fact mentioned by Magner (52) that, in many semantic spheres of everyday life, Serbo-Croatian simply lacks a standard vocabulary in common use; the various regional colloquial koinés use items (usually from German, Italian, Turkish, or Greek) rejected for one or another reason by the puristic normativists".

at least one synonym in the standard language, namely *dîmnjāk* — this does not necessarily mean that the territorial domains of these two words coincide exactly. That so many Turkisms without synonyms can be found in the basic vocabulary of the Balkan languages is a further indication of the strong and durable nature of Turkish linguistic influence.

Although the list of such nouns is largely the same for each language, there are sporadic differences from one language to another. I shall give here some examples of how Greek differs from some of the other languages. Contrary to what is going on in the other languages, τσο(υ)ράπι (Turkish *çorab*) is not one hundred percent stylistically neutral in Greek. When it is used to refer to manufactured stockings or socks, this is always done ironically or with contempt. But even when it is used to refer to homemade peasant woollen stockings there is often an overtone of irony or contempt — after all city-dwellers consider themselves 'better' than villagers; cf. the derivative τσουράπης in Athenian slang, meaning 'peasant lout, uncouth peasant' (χωριάτης, ἄξεστος, — Dagkitsēs 1967b). There are of course also contexts where τσο(υ)ράπι is free of negative overtones. Such are, for instance, the contexts which we can call "historical" and "ethnographic". To give an example of the latter kind, in a sentence like Κατεβαίνουν οἱ Σαρακατσάνισσες, μέ τά πολύχρωμα τσουράπια τους, μέ ... 'the Sarakatsan women are coming down, with their multicolored woollen stockings, with ...', describing the attire of nomadic shepherd women, the word τσουράπια sounds more 'authentic' than its stylistically neutral counterpart, κάλτσες.

Thus what is a stylistically marked Turkism in one language may sometimes be stylistically neutral in another. This occasionally causes misunderstandings of an ethnocentric nature. One sometimes hears Greeks say things like: Do you know how they say κάλτσες in Bulgarian? Τσουράπια. That clearly makes the Greeks more refined than the uncouth, backward, 'balkanoid' Bulgarians who use such peasant words as their normal ones. The Bulgarians could retort, of course, by pointing out that, in the case of the word meaning 'stove (for room heating)', it is the Greeks who are being backward, etc.: Greek uses σόμπα (Turkish *soba* 'stove; hothouse'), whereas standard Bulgarian has *péčka* in that meaning, the Turkism *sóba* being dialectal — at least according to RBE.

Sometimes, what is a stylistically neutral word in one language does not even exist in the contemporary standard variety of some other language. A case in point is Turkish *düşman* 'enemy', whose reflex *duşman* is one of the three common words for 'enemy' in Rumanian (the other two being *vrăjmaş* and the neologism *inamic*), but which is not

represented at all in standard Greek — there is a surname Δούσμανης, though.

Until now we have mentioned only nouns as examples of stylistically neutral Turkisms. Although nouns are undoubtedly by far more numerous, we also find a number of adjectives, some verbs, and even a few adverbs and grammatical words: for instance, Rumanian *murdar* 'dirty' (Turkish *murdar, mırdar*), Bulgarian *bojadísvam* 'to color; to paint; to dye' (Turkish *boya* 'dye; paint; color', *boyamak* 'to paint; to dye'), Macedonian *bare* and *barem* and Serbocroatian *bâr* and *bȁrem* 'at least' (Turkish *bari*),[50] Bulgarian *čak* and Serbocroatian *čȁk* 'even; as far as; until' (Turkish *çak*).

Before turning to stylistically marked Turkisms, I think we ought to mention a peculiarity of Greek in connection with stylistically neutral ones. When we refer to standard Modern Greek, we mean the spoken and written language of educated people speaking and writing demotic (δημοτική). So, when we say that παπούτσι 'shoe' (Turkish *papuç, pabuç* 'shoe; slipper') is stylistically neutral, we do not necessarily mean thereby that it would also be acceptable in katharevousa. The boundary between demotic and katharevousa is at best a very fluid one, but there are plenty of clear-cut cases: anyone saying or writing ὑποδήματα 'shoes' for παπούτσια is unmistakably using a lexical element from katharevousa — demotic has borrowed a very large number of words from katharevousa,[51] but ὑπόδημα is not one of them, in the sense that it cannot be used as one of the normal words for 'shoe' in demotic.

At the other extreme from stylistically neutral words, we find Turkisms belonging to the category of 'historical' or 'obsolete' or at best 'poetic' words. Here belong of course the terms which we have called 'administrative' Turkisms, but also some other types of words. Let us have a brief look at one broad semantic domain which was not left undisturbed by the official language, namely that of warfare — taken here in its broadest possible sense, and including not only weaponry, but also clothing, horsemanship, and the like.

[50] Čakalov *et al.* 1961 labels Bulgarian *bâre* (sic for *barέ*) as "colloquial", and so does Ilkov *et al.* 1960 with *barέ* and *barém*. Mirčev (1952, p. 126) says that it is used in the literary language, but most of the time with a particular stylistic tinge (*v osobena stilna okraska*).

[51] In reading contemporary expository prose, written in either demotic or katharevousa, we often notice that the majority of the lexical items used are shared by both variants of Modern Greek, the main differences between them being in the morphology and to a lesser extent in the syntax. We are speaking of course of relatively simple (ἁπλή) katharevousa, not of atticizing styles — which are extremely rare nowadays anyway.

'The times of the Turks' were also heroic times. Many of the Turkish words that had to do with the conduct of warfare evoke in the minds of Balkan readers and listeners an era when 'fearless' *haidouks* and *klephts* were fighting against 'the hated Turk'. The role of epic folk songs in this set of associations can hardly be overestimated — Skok 1935, p. 255, and 1937-1938, p. 174; Škaljić 1966, p. 16; Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, p. 62. When modern writers and orators try to recapture some of the heroic atmosphere of those days, it is often from the folk songs that they draw their (largely Turkish) epic vocabulary — consciously or unconsciously. Thus, in the right context, a word like ἄτι 'steed, stallion' (Turkish *at* 'horse'), which is at best poetic if not outright historical in standard Greek,[52] is far more effective than the stylistically neutral and therefore colorless ἄλογο.

Official Balkan military terminology has of course replaced a good number of Turkisms. But the latter did not all become historical words thereby. 'Gunpowder' is still called μπαρούτι (Turkish *barut*) in standard Greek, despite the rehellenized official term πυρῖτις of katharevousa.[53] The same is true of the word for 'rifle', τουφέκι (Turkish *tüfek*), with respect to the 'hellenized' katharevousa form τυφέκιον — see Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, pp. 62-64, 131. In the other Balkan languages, where there has been purism but not diglossia (Ferguson 1959), some Turkish terms were adopted (without changes) in the official military terminology. Examples are Albanian *top* 'gun, cannon' (Turkish *top*), *barut*, *fishek* 'cartridge' (Turkish *fişek*),[54] *saçmë* (or *saçmá*) 'small shot' (Turkish *saçma*), Bulgarian *barút*, *kuršúm* 'lead; bullet' (Turkish *kurşun* 'lead; bullet; lead seal'), *fišék*, *sačmí*, *top* (Mirčev 1952, p. 125), Serbocroatian *bárut*, *sàčma*, *tȍp*.

Since the scope of this paper is restricted to the standard languages, we should not, strictly speaking, deal with Turkisms whose range is limited to popular (alias 'folk') speech.[55] However, because of the

[52] I make this claim in spite of the fact that I have yet to see a Modern Greek dictionary attach a stylistic label to that word. For other examples, see Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, p. 62.

[53] The ultimate origin of *barut* is supposed to have been Greek πυρῖτις — Andriōtēs 1967, s.v. μπαρούτι; Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, p. 131.

[54] In Greek, φισέκι was 'hellenized' into φυσίγγιον — Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, p. 131. The latter term has penetrated demotic and has caused φισέκι to be somewhat demoted stylistically.

[55] These terms, as used here, do not include the rural dialects. They refer rather to what Haugen (1966, p. 32) has called "urban substandard": "spoken by artisans and working-class people, varying from city to city, but showing many characteristics in common with the surrounding rural dialects". I am not sure that the last reference to "the surrounding rural dialects" is always pertinent as far as the Balkans go.

quantitative importance of that subgroup of Turkisms, and also because of the impact it has on the standard language, we shall devote a few remarks to it. Balkan folk speech is extremely rich in Turkisms — Hristea 1958; Koneski 1965, pp. 101-102, 186ff.; Şăineanu 1900, p. 256. One need only leaf through the dictionaries by K. Dagkitsēs (1967a and 1967b) and B. Kapetanakēs (1962) to be convinced that this is at least the case in Greek. When Mirčev (1952, p. 126) says that the use of Turkisms in Bulgarian gives a vulgar shade to speech, he is really stating a pan-Balkan truth, provided we make it clear that it is the folksy Turkisms of substandard speech that we have in mind and not at all the stylistically neutral ones of the standard language. Of equally pan-Balkan validity is also Mirčev's assertion that Turkisms are numerous in slangy (*argot*) styles, as well as in the jargon used by school children and students,[56] but again with the same proviso. The use of such Turkisms is regarded by adolescents (as well as by some adults) as 'manly'. I don't know whether this is because they associate Turkisms with the physically stronger and in their behavior more forthright manual laborers — whom young people of other backgrounds often envy secretly. But the fact remains that popular Turkisms contrast sharply with the supposedly somewhat effete 'Frankish' (in the case of Greek, also exaggeratedly Hellenic)[57] way of speaking.

I don't pretend to know exactly where the boundary lies between so-called 'popular' language and the more familiar ranges of the standard colloquial. But we know that standard speakers often cross that boundary, for instance when they are completely uninhibited, in good spirits and among intimate friends, and so on — see the short but excellent discussion in Dagkitsēs 1967b, p. 6. In Greece, the ρεμπέτικα type of songs, sung at *bouzouki* joints and heard over the radio, have been instrumental in spreading substandard Turkisms, so that many standard speakers at least know what they mean. One Turkism that I personally learned in that fashion is σεβντάς 'love, heartache' (Turkish *sevda* 'melancholy; spleen; passion, love; intense longing'). The writings of humorists or other writers describing *le milieu* (the underworld) are also important sources of diffusion for this category of Turkisms — Dagkitsēs 1967b, p. 6; see also Mirčev 1952, p. 126.

[56] *Ibid.* He goes on to make the prediction that the use of Turkisms in Bulgarian will be further restricted as "the linguistic culture" (*ezikovata kultura*) of the Bulgarian people increases. Cf. also Andrejčin *et al.* (1964, p. 131) who urge Bulgarian teachers to fight against slang.

[57] Cf. the notion of ἑλληνικούρα, which Ioannidis (1961) aptly translates into Russian as *nenúžnyj arxaizm.*

Just below the level of stylistically neutral Turkisms and above those belonging to the folk language, are the Turkisms of the standard colloquial. The emergence of new, more prestigious, and supposedly more dignified words has reduced a number of formerly stylistically neutral Turkisms to the status of colloquial words. Many of the latter refer to abstract notions, others to concrete objects. They are used by educated speakers in relaxed or at least unguarded situations, but are avoided in more elevated styles. Such are, for example, Albanian *bela*, Bulgarian *beljá*, Greek μπελάς, Macedonian *belja*,[58] and Serbocroatian *bèlāj*[59] (Turkish *belâ*), all of them roughly meaning 'trouble, nuisance, misfortune, difficulty, etc.' Words belonging to this category are so to speak *mots du coeur* — again an indication of how deeply entrenched some Turkish elements have become in those languages. When an educated Greek describes a quarrel to his family and friends, it is a καβγάς (Turkish *kavga* 'tumult; brawl, quarrel; fight; battle') — only when making a police report, or appearing before a magistrate, or the like, is he likely to refer to it as a φιλονικεία. The latter word, which has undoubtedly helped demote καβγάς to the level of colloquial words, is felt as somehow impersonal, uninvolved, overly 'objective'. In other words, the stylistic demotions which many Turkisms have suffered through the pressure of other words have not necessarily endangered their existence as part and parcel of the standard language.

Occasionally, however, the pressure from above has proved to be too much for some Turkisms. The competition of new and more prestigious synonyms forced them into some negative connotative category, such as ironical, derisive, or pejorative. Thus, what were probably once normal, that is stylistically neutral, words are today loaded with mischief and causticity. Here we find verbs, adjectives, and nouns — many of the latter abstract ones. Because of their often elevated semantic content, such abstract nouns etc. were mostly replaced in educated speech and writing: the Balkan intelligentsia wanted to break at any price with the patriarchal past, which it regarded as semi-barbarous and backward. Consequently, the only stylistic domains left to such Turkisms were rather low ones. It was probably this very discrepancy between elevated semantic content and low stylistic status that caused them to acquire

[58] Labelled as "colloquial" in RMJ. The same dictionary labels as "archaic" the variant form *belaj*.

[59] Škaljić 1966, p. 16. Rumanian *belea* probably belongs here as well, but as I found it nowhere accompanied by a stylistic label, it may possibly be stylistically neutral.

pejorative, ironical, etc. overtones.[60] Thus, the once stylistically unmarked Bulgarian verb *kurtulísvam se*, now meaning 'to get rid (of)' (Turkish *kurtulmak* 'to escape; be saved; slip out; [of a pregnant woman] to be delivered'), reportedly has today an ironical and derisive connotation, which is lacking from its Slavic counterpart, *spasjávam se* 'to save oneself; escape' — Mirčev 1952, p. 126. The same is true of Bulgarian *fukará* 'poor, penniless' and Greek φουκαράς 'poor chap' (Turkish *fukara, fıkara* 'poor; the poor; pauper') vis-à-vis the stylistically unmarked words *béden* (*ibid.*) and φτωχός, respectively.

Nouns referring to concrete objects were not spared either. We get an idea of what must have happened to some of them, when we read the following passage on Rumanian: "words borrowed from neighbouring languages were often eliminated deliberately, under the impact of the fashion which wanted everything to come from the West. Such words as *han* 'inn' (Turkish *han*), *birt* 'alehouse', *suliman*[61] 'make-up', *macat* 'blanket', etc. were replaced by *hotel, restaurant, fard, cuvertură*. At a certain moment it became difficult to sell a merchandise under its old name, which had begun to characterize rustic varieties,[62] or junk, whereas under their French name the same commodities could be sold at higher prices" — Graur 1967, p. 56.

V. CONCLUSIONS

There has certainly been a considerable decrease in the number of Turkish loanwords throughout the Balkans during the past one hundred years or so. Although Turkisms are rather common in the standard colloquial, there are other styles, such as expository prose, where they hardly ever occur.[63] As to the Turkish suffixes adopted into the various languages, those are certainly not very productive today, except perhaps for producing a comical or pejorative effect — both of which functions

[60] Şăineanu (1900) has some masterful passages on the role of Turkisms (and often of Hellenisms as well) in Rumanian folk humor and humoristic literature, and on the funny situations created by the tensions of the transitional period, in the 19th century, between the semi-Oriental past and the 'European' future — pp. 68-69, 256-257, 278-279. See also Bronsert 1968, p. 95 and *passim*.

[61] DLRM gives as the source of *suliman* the Turkish word *sülümen*, which Hony 1957 glosses as "corrosive sublimate".

[62] Something similar must have happened to Greek τσο(υ)ράπι — see p. 107, above.

[63] This is not true of all the languages to the same extent. E.g., Albanian strikes me as having a slightly greater number of Turkisms in expository prose than does, say, Greek.

should not be dismissed as unimportant, by the way. All the same, I cannot agree with Krajni (1965, p. 151) when he says that there are only a few Turkisms still left in Albanian and that even those will be reduced to a minimum. I don't think this can be said of any Balkan language as yet — much less of Albanian. Let us for a moment disregard the not-so-few lexical Turkisms which are either stylistically neutral or else belong to the lexical stock of the standard colloquial. And let us also leave aside the traces which Turkish has left on the grammar of East South Slavic, on the toponymy and anthroponymy of the entire area, on the stock of idiomatic expressions, on the semantic content of many words, and so on. Even so, that is even if we limit ourselves to the stylistically most marked Turkish loanwords and the by now allegedly mostly unproductive Turkish suffixes, we still have a lot of Turkisms left in the Balkans. The stylistically marked Turkisms have enriched the expressive and stylistic potential of every Balkan language — Krajni 1965, pp. 149, 151; Stojkov 1952, pp. 169-170; Triantaphyllidēs 1963a, pp. 112-114. Some of them have pejorative overtones, others are labelled as ironical or derisive, some carry the epic overtones typical of certain historical words, still others are characterized as vulgar. All of those connotative shades are used for stylistic effect by Balkan speakers and writers — Mirčev 1952, p. 124; Škaljić 1966, p. 16; Şăineanu 1900, pp. 256-257.

Some lexical Turkisms, of all stylistic categories, constitute more or less large derivational families, which may have been an additional factor in their survival and vitality — Skok 1935, p. 252; Bronsert 1968, p. 110. For example, Bulgarian *rezíl* 'shame, disgrace' (Turkish *rezil* 'ville, base; disreputable; disgraced; scoundrel'), *reziljá* ' to hold up to disgrace, to be a disgrace to', *reziljá se* 'to bring shame/disgrace on oneself', and Greek ρεζίλι '(object of) ridicule/shame', ρεζιλίκι (ditto), ρεζίλης 'ridiculous/ludicrous fellow', ρεζιλεύω 'to make ridiculous; humiliate', ρεζιλεύομαι 'to bring shame on oneself; to become ridiculous; to be humiliated'. Other loanwords which have a very good chance of surviving for a long time are those stylistically neutral ones which have entered the basic vocabulary of a given language, that is those which refer to concepts or concrete objects of everyday life. For example, Albanian *çerek* in the sense of 'quarter of an hour' (Turkish *çeyrek*), or the various words for 'pocket' (Turkish *ceb*): Albanian *xhep*, Bulgarian *džob* and *džeb*, Greek τσέπη, Macedonian *džeb*, Serbocroatian *džȅp*.

But we cannot assess the importance, vitality, and durability of Turkish elements by taking into account only the overt ones, that is the loanwords, suffixes, and names. Even if we were to make complete counts of all

Turkish lexical elements in all the Balkan languages, we still would not get but a very incomplete picture — cf. Schroeder 1965. For almost as important and certainly as likely to survive for a long time are the covert Turkisms, that is the very few grammatical ones, as well as the very many lexical and semantic ones.

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PETER CHARANIS

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN THE BYZANTINE POSSESSIONS OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA DURING THE LATER PERIOD OF THE EMPIRE

I

Joseph Bryennios, a Greek ecclesiastic writing about the beginning of the 15th century, observed that five hundred years before almost every ecclessiastical province of the Byzantine empire had a hundred flourishing cities, whereas in his own time scarcely more than two or three, and these poverty-stricken, survived. Three hundred years before, each archbishopric had within its jurisdiction a thousand villages, but now there were no more than twenty. Two hundred years before villages were healthily populated by as many as a hundred or more prosperous families, whereas in his day there were never more than ten, and these reduced to penury.[1]

In making this assessment Bryennios had in mind no doubt the territorial shrinkage which the empire had suffered by his time. The three periods of its history to which he compares or rather contrasts his own were periods of wide territorial extent or significant revivals which involved the restoration of extensive territories. The periods meant, of course, are the 10th and early part of the 11th century, in the course of which the empire achieved its widest territorial extent since the days of Justinian; the 12th century, distinguished by the revival and some territorial recovery under the Comneni; and the 13th century which saw the restoration of the empire after the catastrophe of 1204.[2] As territorial

[1] As expressed by A. E. Bacalopoulos, *History of Modern Hellenism* (in Greek), 1 (Athens, 1961), 217. On Joseph Bryennios: N. B. Tomadakes, "Joseph Bryennios", in *Collection of Byzantine Studies and Texts* (in Greek) (Athens, 1961), 491-611; R. J. Loenertz, "Pour la chronologie des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios", *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 7 (1949), 12-32; R. J. Loenertz, *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas*, Studi e Testi, 152 (Rome, 1950), 95-105.

[2] The best one volume history of the Byzantine empire is that by G. Ostrogorsky,

expansion or shrinkage had the effect of increasing or decreasing the number of villages and cities under the jurisdiction of the empire, by the time of Bryennios when the territorial extent of the empire had become restricted to Constantinople, Thessalonica, a few islands and the despotate of Morea, the number of villages and cities under its jurisdiction were necessarily reduced. The matter, however, does not end here. In the lament of Bryennios, there is a sense of decadence of both town and village which cannot be explained simply by the territorial shrinkage of the empire.

It is generally conceded, despite some questions raised recently,[3] that the characteristic feature of the rural society which had come to obtain in the Byzantine empire by the end of the 9th century was the free village community inhabited by peasants who owned their land and usually cultivated it themselves. Each free village community formed a fiscal unit for purposes of taxation, and the peasants living in it were collectively responsible for the taxes allotted to their community. If a peasant, for instance, abandoned his land and there was no one to pay the taxes, the neighboring peasants were held responsible for these taxes, and in return, they enjoyed the usufruct of the land. In practice, however, this responsibility was often lifted, and in such cases the abandoned land, following the passage of thirty years after its abandonment, became state property. The *epibole* or *allelengyon*, as this collective responsibility for the taxes is known in Byzantium, was doubtless designed to insure for the treasury the collection of the land tax from all the land, keep the land under cultivation, and, at the same time, encourage cooperation and mutual assistance among the peasants to the end that everyone might stay on the land.[4] The free village community had existed before, but

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History of the Byzantine State, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969). This is a volume in the Rutgers Byzantine Series.

[3] See the critical approach of P. Lemerle, "Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance", *Revue Historique*, vol. 219, no. 1 (1958), 32-74. For a summary of his views, see p. 74.

[4] Peter Charanis, "On the Social Structure of the Later Roman Empire", *Byzantion*, 17 (1944-1945), 44. Since the publication of my study, the most significant document which relates to the free village community (the villages involved were located in the region of Thebes in Greece, and the date, about the middle of the 11th century) is that published by N. G. Svoronos, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Le cadastre de Thebes* (Athens, 1959), 141-145. On pages 144f. Svoronos writes: "dans notre document, ce sont les grands propriétaire qui sont les plus nombreux, et surtout détiennent la majeur partie de la terre; toutefois la comune 'libra' comprenant une bonne proportion de payans indépendant, reste bien vivante." Svoronos' work in its entirety was also published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 83 (1959).

by the end of the 6th century, it had virtually disappeared. To its restoration, a revival which no doubt began in the 7th century, and extensive development is attributed the remarkable revival of Byzantium after the shattering blows it received in the 7th century at the hands of the Persians, Arabs and Avaro-Slavs. The general assumption is that the restoration of the free village community took place in Asia Minor, but there is some reason to believe that it may first have begun in the Balkan peninsula, more specifically in Thrace in connection with the settlement of numerous Armenians there.[5] That the Byzantine village community was of Slavic origin, a theory first advanced in the 19th century by Russian scholars and recently revived by Soviet scholars, has no basis in fact.[6]

The free village community did not remain the dominant feature of the agrarian society of Byzantium. It began to lose its original character already by the end of the 9th century. Everything being equal, the small farmer, with his strips of land, a pair of oxen and a mule or a donkey, managed to provide for his family and sometimes even prosper beyond measure. In general, however, he found it difficult, if indeed not impossible, to accumulate a reserve with which to meet an emergency. Any misfortune, as for instance the loss of one of his animals, might endanger his entire social and economic position. For the loss would lessen his productivity and he might not be able to pay his taxes or meet the demands of his creditors, if he had been unfortunate enough to have resorted to borrowing. In either case he might abandon his land and run away.[7] Protracted service in the army might have the same results. Then again his whole existence might be endangered by incursions of the enemy, an earthquake or the failure of crops. Wars were perennial and failure of crops not infrequent. Under these circumstances the small farmer was tempted to sell his land and try to eke out a living by working for some large landed magnate. And there was no lack of purchasers. The landed aristocracy had never ceased to occupy a very important

[5] P. Charanis, "Some Remarks on the Changes in Byzantium in the Seventh Century", *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines* (Belgrade), 8 (1963) (= *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky* 1), 73-74. Lemerle (*op. cit.*, 63) and Ostrogorsky (*History...*, p. 135, n. 3) attribute the restoration of the village community to an increase in manpower, brought about by the influx of the Slavs. For chronological reasons I find this impossible to accept: "Some Remarks...", 73.

[6] Brief summary of the position of Russian scholars: Ostrogorsky, *History...*, 135, n. 3.

[7] Cf. M. H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La vie de S. Philarète", *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 117-119, where a peasant complains that, having lost one of his oxen, there is nothing left for him but to run away for he will no longer be able to pay his tax and his creditors.

position in the society of the empire.[8] It was a powerful and wealthy group especially in the course of the 9th century, controlling the high military functions of the empire and enjoying many economic privileges. That century saw also the multiplication of monastic establishments endowed with land and ever-ready to acquire more. This aristocracy, both lay and ecclesiastic, found its way into the free village communities and began to absorb by various means, but principally, at least in the 10th century, by purchase, the land holdings of the small farmers, for land offered the most promising outlet for economic expansion, as the economy of the empire was basically agricultural. The struggle which ensued between the imperial throne and the aristocracy over the attempt of the former to stop this process ended with the triumph of the aristocracy. The struggle was decided in favor of the aristocracy shortly after the death of Basil II (d. 1025) and it was complete by the end of the 11th century.[9]

With the failure of the central government to check the expansion of the large estates in land and also in manpower, the agrarian picture which emerges in the later centuries is quite different. The element which dominates it is the landed magnate who is at the same time a powerful figure in the political and military life of the empire. His possessions, acquired usually through imperial grants,[10] but also by purchase and even outright seizures, were vast, in some instances stretching over entire regions. This picture obtained both in the Asiatic and Balkan regions of the empire,[11] but with the loss of the former roughly

[8] On the survival of the landed aristocracy, see Lemerle, *op. cit.*, 65ff.

[9] I find it difficult to understand Ostrogorsky's new interpretation of this struggle. What he says in effect is this: that the central government in its struggle with the aristocracy, was seeking to protect its own dependant peasants — its *paroikoi*: Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels, 1956), 11-24. I find Ostrogorsky's new interpretation difficult to reconcile with the following statement which appears in the *Novel* of Romanus I Lecapenus issued in 934: "It is not through hatred and envy of the rich that we take these measures, but for the protection of the small and the safety of the empire as a whole.... The extension of the power of the strong... will bring about the irreparable loss of the public good, if the present law does not bring a check to it. For it is the many, settled on the land, who provide for the general needs, who pay the taxes and furnish the army with its recruits. Everything falls when the many are wanting": Zepos-von Lingenthal, *Jus Graecoromanum* (Athens, 1931), 1: 209. See also Lemerle, "Esquisse...", *Revue historique*, 219: 2 (1958), 268ff. Lemerle insists on a new edition of the *novels* issued by the emperors of the 10th century as a necessary step in the interpretation of the struggle between the central government and the aristocracy.

[10] The *pronoia* of the Byzantine texts. The most thorough study of this institution is that of Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, French translation by H. Grégoire (Brussels, 1954). See also P. Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948), 87-92.

[11] On the aristocracy in the 13th century, see P. Charanis, "The Aristocracy of

by the beginning of the 14th century, only the latter remained and to these we turn.

In Thessaly, the region of Demetrias was dominated by the family of the Maliaseni.[12] Constantine Maliasenus, married to the niece of Theodore Comnenus Angelus, the Despot of Epirus, was at the beginning of the 13th century a veritable dynast and the virtual owner of the entire region. His position, influence and vast possessions were inherited by his son and successor, Nicholas, who lived during the reign of Michael Palaeologus. The Maliaseni were relatives of the Palaeologi. Their possessions included many villages over whose peasant inhabitants and their property they were absolute masters. Besides the Maliaseni there were other big magnates in Thessaly. Thessaly was indeed the country among the Greek lands where 'feudalization' reached its greatest development. Powerful families such as the Strategopuli and the Gabrielopuli held vast possessions, but in addition to them there were others whose influence and wealth, if somewhat lesser, was still considerable. As an example, a certain Marmaras may be mentioned. Marmaras was a *protonobillisimus*, a title which appears for the last time in Byzantine documents, and held the village of Trinovo, which had been granted to him as a *pronoia* by the emperor, probably Michael Palaeologus. Like others of his class, Marmaras tried to increase his holdings by the seizure of neighboring properties which did not belong to him. He lost in the end, but his attempt illustrates one of the ways the powerful sought to add to their properties.[13]

What was true of Thessaly was also true of Macedonia and Thrace. There were located the vast estates of the powerful Byzantine families, whose members dominated the political life of the empire — the Angeli, the Cantacuzeni, the Tzamblaci, the Synadeni and others. Their great holdings, the existence of which is well attested to by the sources of the 14th century, were doubtless already in their possession in the 13th century.[14] The Tzamblaci,[15] who in the 14th century possessed vast

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Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century", *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allen Chester Johnson* (Princeton, 1951), 336-355.

[12] *Ibid.*, 346.

[13] *Ibid.*, 348.

[14] *Ibid.*, 349f.

[15] On the Tzamblaci there exists now an excellent monograph: G. I. Theocharides, "The Tzamblaci: Contribution to the Prosopography of Byzantine Macedonia in the Fourteenth Century", (in Greek) *Makedonika*, 5 (1963), 127-182. For possessions of the Tzamblaci and the Cantucuzeni in the region Zichna-Serres see further: P. Lemerle, "Un praktikon inédit des Archives de Kararakala (Janvier 1342) et la situation en

domains in the region of Christopolis, Serres, and Thessalonica, were in the service of the Palaeologi and before them in that of John III Vatatzes and were amply rewarded by them. This is also true of the Angeli. It is known from a document, dated 1306, that Manuel Angelus, described as a relative of the emperor, possessed a number of villages in the neighborhood of Serres and Thessalonica. These villages had already belonged to his father, having been granted to him by an imperial *chrysobul*. The possessions of the Cantacuzeni in Thrace were fabulous, and those of the Synadeni were considerable. The Synadeni are known to have possessed important properties in the region of Serres granted to them by an imperial *chrysobul*, and the vast wealth of John Cantacuzenus had already been in the possession of the family by the end of the 13th century. The Cantacuzeni possessed lands also in the Morea[16] where the agrarian picture was very much like that in Thessaly. In every region there were also vast stretches of land owned by monasteries and the church.[17]

What happened, one may ask, to the village communities? As villages they continued, of course, to exist, but their character had changed. No longer inhabited by free peasant proprietors but dependant tenants, the *paroikoi* of the Byzantine texts, they had become the 'property' of powerful magnates, lay and ecclesiastical. Some peasant proprietors did indeed continue to exist, but whether this was also so with entire free village communities is a matter upon which no definite pronouncement can be made.[18] What can be said with definiteness, however, is that in the later period, particularly the period of the Palaeologi, what characterized the agricultural landscape of the Byzantine empire was the dependant village. If villages inhabited entirely by small peasant proprietors did in fact survive they must have been very few and far between and hardly any better economically — certainly in the 14th century — than the non-free ones.

The peasants inhabiting the dependant villages were subject to various dues and obligations, known collectively as their burden (βάρος), payable

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Macédoine orientale au moment de l'usurpation de Cantacuzène", *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon* (Athens, 1963), 278-298.

[16] O. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, 2 (Athens, 1953), 189-226.

[17] Charanis, "The Monastic Properties...", 53-118.

[18] On this see P. Charanis, "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later", *Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 119-134. The view expressed here is that the free village community, for all practical purposes, disappeared, but traces of it could still be found. Ostrogorsky is more sceptical; "Quelque problèmes...", 41-74.

to their lord. In the payment of these dues there are instances of 'voluntary' collective responsibility, an indication perhaps of the previous free state of the village. To illustrate:

In Thessaly the village of Dryanoubaene and the surrounding country belonged to Nicholas Maliasenus. It had been transmitted to him by his father, and the transmission was confirmed by the emperor. Maliasenus and his wife decided to build a monastery for women, known after its construction as *Nea Petra* and dedicated to St. John the Precursor. For the site of the new monastery they chose a spot which for years was occupied by the peasant Michael Archontitzes and his family. Maliasenus bought the land from the peasant for twelve *hyperpera*, but the purchase was an act of generosity rather than of necessity. For in the act of sale Archontitzes acknowledged that as his master and lord, Maliasenus could have taken the land without giving any compensation, but he chose to pay for it.[19] By his foundation of the new monastery and his payment for the land on which the monastery was build, Maliasenus showed himself both pious and generous, but actually his sacrifice, in so far as the actual construction of the monastery and the purchase of the land of Archontitzes were concerned, was negligible. For the monastery was doubtless built with the labor and materials provided by the peasants of his domain, while the money which he had paid for the land was soon recovered by the continued payment of the taxes which Archontitzes used to pay to him for his land. Archontitzes used to pay to Maliasinus a tax of three and one-third *hyperera*. This tax was henceforth paid to him by all the peasants of Dryanoubaene, who apportioned it among themselves on the basis of ability to pay.[20] This apportionment among the peasants on the basis of ability to pay is an interesting note in that it shows what is known from other sources, that tenant peasants were not economically equal.

It would be a mistake to assume on the basis of the common action taken by the peasants of Dryanoubaene that peasants in Thessaly or for that matter elsewhere were in general prosperous. Quite the contrary was true. This we gather from a series of documents, acts of sale, which relate to the monastery of Nea Petra mentioned above. In 1271 a certain Michael Martinus and his wife sold to the founders of the monastery of Nea Petra their only vineyard because, as they put it, the universal shortage of grain had reduced them into destitution and threatened them

[19] F. Miklosich et J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, 4 (Vienna, 1871), 397-398.

[20] *Ibid.*, 4:392.

together with their young children with famine.[21] In the following year another peasant, Constantine Katzidones by name, sold his vineyard to the same monastery because the daily incursions which his region had suffered reduced him to such a degree of poverty that his family did not have the necessary food. He wanted to use the proceeds from the sale of his vineyard to buy an ox with the help of which he might earn his living by plowing the fields of others.[22] In the same year and for the same reason his brother John sold his vineyard to the same monastery.[23] Poverty was also the reason given by another peasant, Nicolas Bardas, for the sale of his vineyard to Nea Petra. He, too, wanted to buy an ox with which to cultivate the land in order that he might be able to feed and cover himself.[24] Another person sold his mill to the same monastery, again because of the universal lack of grain, a lack which had continued for a long time.[25] Poverty and loneliness were the reasons given by a woman, Zoe by name, for the sale of her property to Nea Petra. She entered the monastery and presumably passed the rest of her life as a nun.[26] That tenant peasants had property to sell is to be explained by the fact that they could own and indeed often did own property which they could sell provided the purchaser, unless exempted by higher authority, assumed the burden incumbent on that property.

It is possible to look, at least to some extent, inside the village of the later centuries of the Byzantine empire, especially for the period covered by the first half of the 14th century. This possibility exists thanks to the survival of a series of documents, the so-called *practica*, inventories of dependant villages drawn for purposes of taxation.[27] These *practica* list by name the peasants and their property, the latter consisting primarily of land, livestock and trees. Besides the land given to the cultivation of cereals and other crops, vineyards and vegetable gardens are often mentioned. Among the livestock, oxen used for the plow, hogs, sheep and bees predominate, while among the trees those frequently mentioned are the fig, the olive and the walnut. But what makes the *practica* of the 14th century important as sources is that they deal with the same villages at different dates. This makes possible an examination of the social and

[21] *Ibid.*, 4:400.
[22] *Ibid.*, 4:408.
[23] *Ibid.*, 4:410.
[24] *Ibid.*, 4:403.
[25] *Ibid.*, 4:412.
[26] *Ibid.*, 4:393-396.
[27] On the *practica* as documents and sources: Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, 259-368.

economic situation of these villages as it may have changed from one year to another.

In what follows, the observations offered relate to two villages: Melintziani, located in the administrative circumscription of the Strymon, to the west of that river; and the village of Gomatou located in the administrative circumscription of Hierissos immediately west of Mt. Athos. Both villages belonged to the Athonian monastery of Iberon. The dates involved are 1301 and 1317 for Melintziani; 1301, 1317, and 1341 for Gomatou.

For the year 1301 there are listed for the village of Melintziani twenty-nine households for a total of 121 persons.[28] Five of these households were headed by widows. Twelve of the households were large, with a membership of five in the case of six of them, six in the case of two, seven in the case of three and eight in the case of one, for a total of seventy-one persons or approximately 59% of the total registered population. For the year 1317 for the same village I have counted thirty-three households for a total of 126 persons.[29] Five of these households were headed by widows and eight were large with a membership of five in the case of four, six in the case of three and seven in the case of one, for a total of forty-five persons or 36% of the total registered population. In the inventory of 1317 there are four households the names of which do not appear in the inventory of 1301 and as a consequence they must be presumed to be new in the sense of newcomers. The new households were most probably settled by the monastery to offset a decline in the number of peasants of the village, a decline which seems to be indicated by the reduction of the number of big households. In general, however, what is striking about these statistics is the relatively high degree of stability which the village of Melintziani seems to have maintained from 1301 to 1317.

For the village of Goumatou in 1301 there are listed fifty households for a total of 262 persons.[30] Six of these households were headed by widows and twenty-nine were large with a membership of five in the case of eleven, six in the case of seven, seven in the case of five, eight in the case of three, nine in the case of one, ten in the case of two, and eleven in the case of one, for a total of 196 persons or approximately 75% of the total registered population. The Byzantine household was, of course,

[28] F. Dölger, ed., *Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon* (= *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge*, Heft 28) (Munich, 1949), 35-36.

[29] *Ibid.*, 54-55.

[30] *Ibid.*, 37-39.

something more than a simple family as the latter is generally understood. It consisted not only of parents, children and possibly grandparents, but often included a number of other relatives. For instance, the household of eleven members cited above included, besides its head and his wife, two sons, the wife of one of the sons, one daughter and her husband and five grandchildren. Brothers or sisters of the head or his wife, and nephews and nieces are other relatives often found among the members of households.

In the year 1317 there are listed for Goumatou forty-six households for a total of 157 persons.[31] Fifteen of these households were headed by widows and only seven were large — five whose membership consisted of five persons and two of six for a total of thirty-seven persons or a little more than 23% of the registered population. Seven households with a total membership of twenty-five persons were new. Things to be noted in the list of 1317 as compared to that of 1301 are the small number of the large households, the large number of households headed by widows and the relatively large number of new households. The latter constituted 15% of all the households and their total membership, 16% of the registered population. By 1341 more changes had taken place. For that year there are listed thirty-one households for a total of 110 persons.[32] Seven of these households were headed by widows only one of whom is found listed in 1317, and seven were large with a membership of five in the case of one, six in the case of four, seven in the case of one, eight in the case of another for a total of forty-four persons or 40% of the registered population. Nine new households or a little less than 30% of the total have made their appearance; with a total membership of thirty-two persons, they made up 30% of the total registered population. The large number of households (33% of the total) headed by widows in 1317 should be interpreted perhaps to have been a result of the depredations of the Catalans. Some eight or nine years earlier the Catalans, as is well known, were very active in the region where Goumatou was located.[33]

There are several observations that may be made on the basis of this statistical analysis. First of all, in both Melintziani and Goumatou, between 1301 and 1317 in the former and 1301 and 1341 in the latter, a decrease in the number of large households took place. This decrease

[31] *Ibid.*, 56-59.
[32] *Ibid.*, 86-88.
[33] K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 5.

was apparently general if one may judge from the statistical information available in the case of other villages.[34] Underlying this decrease was a decline in the population of the villages, quite evident in the case of Goumatou, not so evident but nevertheless real also in the case of Melintziani. It was the case also with other villages.[35] Those who owned the villages tried to offset this decline by settling newcomers, peasants who had come from other villages and other regions. Mentioned in the *practica* which have been analyzed, there is an Anatolikos, a Boleros, and a Lemnaeos, names derived no doubt from the geographical origins of those who bore them.[36] The mobility of peasants which may be inferred from all this should not, however, be exaggerated. Most peasants died in the villages where they were born and registered. This, too, is shown by the *practica.*

But if some villages suffered only a decline in population, there were others which became deserted. About the latter — their number, the regions where they were located, the period during which they were deserted — something is now known thanks to a preliminary survey published in 1966 by Antoniadis-Bibicou. The survey covers the regions which constitute modern Greece and extends chronologically from the 11th through the 19th century.[37] It is, of course, only the Byzantine period included in the survey which is of interest to us here.

Eighty-six villages, according to Madame Antoniadis, were deserted in the course of the 11th century, three during the first half and eighty-three during the second half of that century. For the 12th century she has found only thirty, twenty of which were deserted in the course of the second half of that century. The 13th century saw the desertion of sixty-six villages of which fifty-seven were deserted after 1250. More than half of these villages, about 66%, were located in the islands,[38] an indication perhaps that their desertion was the result of piracy, an activity which was widely prevalant during the second half of the 13th century and

[34] Cf. D. Jacoby, "Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles", *Études Rurales, École Pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne), VIe Section* (5-6) (1962), 185.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] F. Dölger, *Sechs byzantinische Praktika...*, 36, 55, 83, 39, 58. We know from Pachymeres that towards the end of the 13th century many Greeks fled from Asia Minor into Europe. Some settled in Macedonia: Pachymeres, *Historia* (Bonn, 1835), 2:389. Cf. C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague, 1876), 221.

[37] H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Villages desertés en Grèce. Un bilan provisoire", *Rivista di storia dell'Agricoltura* (1966), 343-379 for the Byzantine period and the introductory remarks of the author. See page 364 for a table of the deserted villages and the period of their desertion.

[38] *Ibid.*, 364.

later.[39] But by far the greatest number of villages became deserted in the 14th century. Madame Antoniadis counted a total of 458 villages deserted, 136 of which were deserted during the first half, and 322 during the second half of that century. They were to be found in every region of the empire but the majority of them were located in Macedonia and Thrace. The villages deserted in the 15th century number sixty-five for the first half and fifty-eight for the second half for a total of 123. The damage had been obviously done in the 14th century.

Thus the decadence of the Byzantine village, begun already in the 10th century, reached its culminating point in the 14th. That century saw the final disintegration of the Byzantine countryside. By then virtually every village was in a state of decline, deserted or in the process of being so. Oppressed by magnates whose dependants they were, there was very little that the peasants could do. They might agitate as they apparantly did[40] or even break out into open rebellion as did the Thracian peasants inhabiting the villages in the neighborhood of Didymotichon in 1342,[41] but all this to no avail. So flagrant were the abuses to which they were exposed that the Turks saw in them one of the important reasons for their success. "God has decreed", said the Turks, "that they should take the land from the Christians because they do not conduct their affairs ... with justice, because they look to wealth and favour, and the rich treat the poor with haughtiness, and do not help them either with gifts or with justice."[42] The central government, its powers gone, with no money and man-power, even if willing, was in no position to help. Andronicus the Younger in his struggle against his grandfather did indeed promise to reduce the burden on the peasantry in Thrace, but nothing concrete seems to have come out of this promise.[43] In 1367 the emperor John V submitted meekly to the church when it rejected his plea to turn over to him

[39] On piracy: P. Charanis, "Piracy in the Aegean during the Reign of Michael VIII Paleologus", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 10 (= Mélanges Henri Grégoire, II) (Brussels, 1950), 127-136. Cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, 1 (Bonn, 1829), 174-176.

[40] "The poor", declared Palamas in one of his homilies, "not able to endure the cruelty and inhumanity of the taxgatherers and the continued violence and injuries of the strong, clamor against those in authority and the army": Palamas, *M. S.* Gr. (Paris, 1239), fols. 284-284^{v}, as cited by O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle* (Paris, 1913), 109, n. 1.

[41] John Cantacuzenus, *Historiae* (Bonn, 1828-1832), 2:297.

[42] J. Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels ... in Europe, Asia and Africa*, 1396-1427, tr. by J. B. Telfer (London, 1879) (= Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, first series, vol. 58), 77.

[43] Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, 1:300.

some of its property in order that he might settle soldiers on it.[44] To be sure some years later Manuel II secularized half of the monastic estates in order that he might turn them into allotments for soldiers,[45] but in so doing he met with the vigorous opposition of ecclesiastics.[46] Eventually, much later however, he returned at least part of the confiscated property to their original owners.[47] Meanwhile the dynastic wars which were also social wars and the continuous incursions of foreigners wrought havoc everywhere. Peasants were killed or fled — fled perhaps to another village where the same fate most probably awaited them — or sought refuge in some city where they helped to swell the ranks of the poor and intensify the social tension. The countryside lay prostrate, ready to be grabbed by the willing foreigner.

II

The city as a social and economic center in the Byzantine empire never ceased to exist. There has been considerable discussion in recent years

[44] Charanis, "Monastic Properties and the State...", 115f.

[45] *Ibid.*, 116f.

[46] It is perhaps with the secularization of monastic properties effected by Manuel that the so called 'anti-zealot' discourse of Nicolas Cabasilas, long associated with the Zealot revolt in Thessalonica, was composed. The idea was first suggested by G. T. Dennis (*The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica*, 1382-1387 [= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, vol. 158], Rome, 1960, p. 23) and was characterized by me in my review of Dennis' book (*Speculum*, 36 [1961], 476-477) as making good sense. Ihor Ševčenko, whose publication of this discourse revealed that there were no solid grounds to associate it with the Zealots, viewed Dennis' suggestion and my approval of it sympathetically, but made no definite pronouncement, contenting himself to the reinforcement of his position that the discourse was composed later than the revolt of the Zealots, a position which he did not originally hold, but came to it gradually: Ihor Ševčenko, "Nicolas' 'Anti-Zealot Discourse': A Reinterpretation", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 91-171. On page 170 of this work Ševčenko writes: "Viewed against the perspective of the fourteenth-century tensions, the *Discourse* ... in my opinion was written about 1344". A few years later (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 [1960], p. 188), Ševčenko wrote: "But my dating of the *Discourse* [i.e., 1344], must remain a mere suggestion. I continue to believe that the *Discourse* is concerned with, among other things, the secularization measures undertaken by the imperial government for defense purposes. Within this interpretation, a later date for the *Discourse* is also possible. Cabasilas may have reacted to governmental actions that affected monastic properties after the battle of Maritza (1371)". By 1962 he had definitely come to the conclusion that he could assign no date to the composition of the *Discourse*, but suggests that it may have been written in the last thirty years of the 14th century: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), 408f. He may, of course, be right. On the other hand, if he is right, as I believe he is, that the *Discourse* "is concerned with ... the secularization measures undertaken by the imperial government", then the suggestion that its composition was associated with the confiscatory measures taken by Manuel II shortly after the battle of Maritza seems to me the most tenable.

[47] Charanis, "Monastic Properties and the State...", 117.

on this point: whether crises of the 7th and 8th centuries may not have brought it to an end. The general consensus, correct in my opinion, is that they did not.[48] Damage was done, of course, both in Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula, particularly in the latter where the cities of the interior were destroyed. But Constantinople remained standing as did both Thessalonica and Athens, though the latter in a state of deterioration. If the Balkan peninsula was not definitely overrun by the Slavs in its entirety and if today there is a considerable part of it where the spoken language is Greek, that is, of course, due to the survival of Constantinople, but also to that of Thessalonica. Had the latter succumbed during the crises of the 6th-7th centuries, Greece itself would have been permanently overwhelmed by the invaders and no amount of schooling, administrative and ecclesiastical activity would have revived Greek as the spoken language. To talk otherwise is to talk irresponsibly.

However that may be, it cannot be denied that the urban life in the Balkan peninsula had been reduced to a minimum. With the establishment of order, however, as one region after another was brought back under the effective jurisdiction of Byzantium, the urban center in the Balkan possessions of the empire began to develop again. Already by the end of the 9th century, Corinth, Patras, Lacedemon, Thebes, Athens, Demetrias, and Serres, to give a few examples, had begun to show considerable activity. Thessalonica seems to have recovered fully from the disaster of 904, for an Arab traveller early in the 10th century refers to it as a "huge and large" city. And there is the reference in Cecaumenus to a populous city in Hellas which the Bulgar Symeon tried to take. Unfortunately he does not name the city. The Bulgar wars under Symeon and Samuel may have retarded somewhat the process of growth. Arethas of Caesarea, for instance, wondered if the Cadmeia of Thebes still stood after the incursions of Symeon. And a passage in the life of St. Peter of Argos, no doubt referring to the campaign of the Bulgarians during the reign of Symeon,

[48] Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 45-66. The problem of town and village was one of the subjects which was given full discussion at the Twelfth International Congress of Byzantine Studies held in Ochrida Yugoslavia in 1961: *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* (Belgrade, 1963), 1:1-44; 275-298. Some Russian scholars hold that the city in the Byzantine empire disappeared in the course of the 7th century. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History...*, p. 134, n. 1. On the form and evolution of the Byzantine city see, for instance, the important study by Ernst Kirsten, "Die byzantinische Stadt", *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 1-48. Also the discussions of this paper where additional bibliographical references are given: *Diskussions-Beiträge zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1961), 75-102.

reads: "barbarians for three years possessed the Peloponnesus; they massacred many people and thoroughly devastated the whole country, completely destroying the traces of former wealth and good order." Notice the expressions "former wealth and good order", which shows that the Peloponnesus was clearly on the road to recovery after the dark period of the earlier centuries. The Bulgarian wars caused, of course, hardships, shifting of population and loss of life elsewhere as well, but once they were over, a period of relative prosperity and growth in population seems to have set in. P. Tivčev in a comparatively recent article[49] mentions a number of cities described in the sources of the 12th century by one or more of the following terms: "megalopolis", "well-peopled", "populous", "prosperous", "beautiful", "wealthy", "famous". The cities he cites are Corinth, Athens, Thebes, Larissa, Kitros, Janina, Castoria, Thessalonica, Serres, Zichna, Philippi, Rodosto, Mossinopolis, Demotica, Adrianople, Serdica (Sofia), Philippopolis, and Niš. To them I may add Lacedemon, Libadhia, Demetrias, Armyros, Carystos, Ochrida, Scopia, Christopolis, Drama, Selymbria, Heracleia, Gallipoli, and Panados. Edrisi, from whose work most of the information referring to these cities is derived, adds further that the Peloponnesus was very prosperous and that one could count in it about fifty cities among which sixteen were very important.[50]

How populous these cities were in terms of numbers is, of course, impossible to say. Some of them were no doubt small, with a population perhaps of no more than 5,000, though this is a simple guess. Some were certainly larger, as for instance Thebes, where, according to Benjamin of Tudela, there dwelled 2,000 Jews.[51] The largest was Thessalonica which ever remained, next to Constantinople, the ranking Byzantine city, the megalopolis, to use the term applied to it by Theophanes at the beginning of the 9th century, of the Balkan peninsula.[52] Its population in the 12th century may have numbered 100,000 or more.[53] As a commercial center it served not only the surrounding country, something which was true with most Byzantine cities, but was also an international market of some

[49] T. Tivčev, "Sur les cités byzantines au XIe-XIIe siècles", *Byzantino-Bulgarica*, 1 (1962), 145-182.

[50] On all this with the appropriate references: P. Charanis, "Observations on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire", *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5-10 September* 1966, edited by J. M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman (London, 1967), 460.

[51] Benjamin of Tudela, *Travels*, in Manuel Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York, 1932), 262. Benjamin calls Thebes a large city.

[52] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 1:461.

[53] Charanis, "Observations on the Demography...", 452.

significance. Its annual fair, held at the time of the feast of St. Demetrius, its patron saint, was famous throughout Europe and the Near East. Merchants of every nationality — Bulgarians, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Syrians, Egyptians and numerous others — came to Thessalonica to exchange their goods. These goods were of every kind. Here is how the author of *Timarion*, who lived in the 12th century, describes them:[54]

> And if you are anxious to know what it (the fair) contains ... well, there was every kind of material woven or spun by men or women, all those that come from Boeotia and the Peloponnesus[55] and all that are brought in trading ships from Italy to Greece. Besides this, Phoenicia furnishes numerous articles, and Egypt, and Syria, and the pillars of Hercules, where the finest coverlets are manufactured. These things the merchants bring direct from their respective countries to old Macedonia and Thessalonica; but the empire also contributes to the splendor of the fair, by sending across its products to Constantinople, whence the cargoes are brought by numerous horses and mules.

The picture drawn of the urban landscape of the Balkan regions of the Byzantine empire obtained in the 12th century. Towards the end of that century, however, things began to change and this change continued in the centuries that followed. The demoralized state of the empire under the Angeli, the revival of the Bulgarian kingdom and more importantly, the Fourth Crusade and the wars which followed could not but affect adversely the Byzantine city. Already in 1185 Thessalonica suffered grievously at the hands of the Normans, the same Normans who some forty years earlier had sacked Corinth and Thebes and carried away from these two cities the expert silk workers.[56] "This city", wrote Eustathius of Thessalonica in his account of the sack of the city by the Normans, "which had always been opulent in worldly goods was now disfigured by the dead who lay unburied", and who in their totality numbered more than 7,000.[57] Such was the awesomeness of this disaster that it brought a change on the throne in Constantinople.

[54] B. Hase, *Notices et extraits de manuscrites*, 9 (Paris, 1813), 171-174. I have used the translation of H. F. Tozer, "Byzantine Satire", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), 244-245. *Timarion* has also been edited and translated into German by Ad. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Litteratur*, 4 (Leipzig, 1860).

[55] Thebes in Boeotia and Corinth in the Peloponnesus in the 12th century were famous for their silken goods. In 1147 when the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II, sacked these two cities, he carried the expert silk weavers to Sicily. Ostrogorsky, *History...*, 381f.

[56] See above, note 55.

[57] Eustathius of Thessalonica, *De Thessalonica urbe a Latinis capta narratio in Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula*, ed. by Th. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt/M, 1832), 304, 120. New edition by St. Kyriakidis with an Italian translation by V. Rotolo, Eustazio di Tessalonica, *La espugnazione di Tessalonica* (Palermo, 1961), 146, 120.

But still more awesome was the disaster of 1204. When Constantinople was captured by the Latins in that year about half of the city was burned and a considerable part of its population fled.[58] The work of restoration affected by the emperor Michael VIII,[59] following its recapture by the Greeks, gave it some life, but the decline which set in soon thereafter continued unabated until the city fell to the Turks in 1453. Pero Tafur, who visited Constantinople in 1447, states in one place that the city was "badly populated" and in another that it was "sparsely" populated.[60] Clavijo, who was there some years earlier, noted that although the circuit of the walls was "very great and the area spacious, the city was not very densely populated throughout".[61] The Florentine Buondelmonti, who wrote his account in 1420, says that the inhabitants were few,[62] while another source, dated 1437, fixes their number at 40,000.[63] In the 12th century Constantinople had a population of about 500,000.[64]

In the 14th century Thessalonica was still an important international market where the products of every land could be found.[65] Nevertheless, given the disturbed conditions which characterized the Byzantine lands and Thessalonica itself throughout the 14th century, there can be little doubt that Thessalonica itself must have declined. In 1423 the population of Thessalonica, according to one source,[66] numbered 40,000 and ac-

[58] Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, edited and translated into modern French by M. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1872), 145.

[59] P. Charanis, "A Note on the Population and Cities of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century", *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), 139f.

[60] A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur: A Spanish Traveler of the Fifteenth Century and his Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy", *Byzantion*, 8 (1932), 95, 113.

[61] Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, tr. by Guy Le Strange (London, 1928), 87.

[62] G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti", *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 3 (1931), 277.

[63] *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 7 (1910). In the light of certain conconsiderations, I have estimated the population of Constantinople at the time of its fall to have been around 75,000. A. M. Schneider puts it for the same period at 50,000: "Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels im XV. Jahrhundert", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1949), 236-237. Schneider's figure is usually cited though the grounds for it are no more solid than for mine.

[64] See my discussion of this whole problem in my "Observations on the Demography...", 448-450.

[65] D. Kydonis, *Monodia Occisorum Thessalonicae*, Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 109 (Paris, 1863), 641.

[66] Zorzi Dolpin, *Cronaca, anno 1423* (Ms. of the library of St. Mark of Venice, Ital. Clas. VII, cod. 794). Cited by C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce* (Paris, 1883), 4:xx.

cording to another,[67] 25,000. When it was taken by the Ottomans in 1430, it had no more than 7,000 men, women, and children.

Meanwhile other cities had suffered. Philipopolis, referred to by Ville-Hardouin[68] as the third best city of the empire, was leveled to the ground by John I Asan soon after 1204. Serres, next to Thessalonica the largest city in Macedonia, met with the same fate. Both cities were subsequently recovered and rebuilt, but it is certain that they never recovered their previous prosperity.[69] Byzantine historians continue to use such terms as "marvelous", "great", "strong", "populous", and "large" in their references to the cities of Macedonia and Thrace, but we can be sure that most of these cities were fairly small and that most probably were not as prosperous as they may have been in the 12th century.[70] The one exception was Mistra,[71] which, as the capital of the Greek Morea, drew people to its fold, but that was a special case. Every city was at the same time a fortress and as such it no doubt drew to itself some of the refugees from the countryside, but that could not have affected radically the size of its population. The city, like the countryside, from the 13th century may be described as in a state of decline.

Nevertheless, the city was still an important force in Byzantine society and at times strong enough to protect its own interests. In the disintegrating conditions in which the empire found itself in the 13th century and later, cities found it necessary to shift for themselves. After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, the citizens of Adrinople took matters into their own hands in an effort to assure the safety and interests of their city.[72] The citizens of Melinikon were consulted on the question of turning the town over to John Vatatzes and an embassy representing them was sent to negotiate with the emperor.[73] The citizens of Mesembria and Anchialus refused to turn their cities over to the Bulgarian king Constantine, to whom they had been promised as dowry when he married the niece of Michael Palaeologus, the daughter of

[67] P. Lemerle, "La domination Venitienne à Thessalonique", *Miscellanea G. Galbiati*, 3 (= *Fontes Ambrosiani*, 27, 1951), 222.

[68] Ville-Hardouin, *op. cit.*, 239.

[69] Charanis, " Note on the Population...", 141f.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] *Ibid.*, 144. A German traveler (Martinus Crusius) who visited Mistra in 1584 was told by one of its inhabitants that the population of the city numbered 50,000. It was a large city, writes Crusius, *ubi Graecorum omnis generis et aetatis 50 milia sunt.* The passage is cited by N. A. Bées, "The Jews of Lacedaemonia and Mistra" (in Greek), *Noumas* (1905), 10. Bées refers to Emile Legrand, *Notice Biographique sur Jean et Theodose Zygomalas* (Paris, 1889). Cf. Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, 2:3.

[72] Acropolites, *Opera*, edited by Augustus Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903), 21.

[73] *Ibid.*, 75ff.

Michael's sister Eulogia.[74] There were cities which by virtue of the privileges they had been able to obtain from central authority may be said to have become autonomous or even independant.

One of these cities was Thessalonica, but in her case it is a problem to determine what exactly her privileges were. It is certain that in the 13th and 14th centuries the landed property of the inhabitants of Thessalonica were exempted from certain obligations, δουλεῖα, but other than this nothing more can be said with any definiteness.[75] More precise is the information which relates to three other cities: Phanarion in Thessaly, Monemvasia in the Morea, and Jannina in Epirus. In the case of Monemvasia[76] the privileges enjoyed were primarily commercial in that its merchants were exempt from virtually all commercial taxes. Monemvasia, strategically and commercially, was an important city which the imperial government needed to hold, but the granting to it of commercial privileges may have been also a move to counteract the activities of the Italian merchants whose strangle-hold on the economic life of the empire was being felt more and more.

Much more comprehensive than the above were the privileges granted to Jannina.[77] The imperial document issued in favor of that city in 1317 included the following: a guarantee that the city would never be ceded to the Franks; a guarantee that the imperial governor of Jannina would never move and resettle elsewhere any of the citizens of Jannina against their will, unless they were the cause of public disorder; a provision for the election of judges by the citizens who would act together with the imperial governor and would jduge all cases except those subject to the ecclesiastical court; freedom of trade throughout the empire without the payment of the commercial taxes; a guarantee that the citizens of Jannina, unless they were enrolled soldiers and held *economiae* for that purpose, would not be forced to serve in the army outside their own city; exemption from certain land taxes and corvées; and finally, the right to appeal

[74] Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 1:343.

[75] *Actes de l'Athos, V. Actes de Chilandar*, edited by R. P. Louis Petit and appended to *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 17 (1911), 51. What we have here is a document, dated 1306, which says that a certain patrician, Manuel Angelus by name, was to have certain properties free from the obligations of δουλεῖα, a privilege enjoyed by the citizens of Thessalonica. On the municipal privileges of Thessalonica, one should consult the excellent work by A. E. Bakalopoules, "Contribution to the History of Thessalonica during the Venetian Domination (1423-1430)" (in Greek), *Volume on the Occasion of the Six Hundredth Anniversary of Harmenopoulos* (= *Epistemonike Epeteris*, 6), (Thessalonica, 1952), 127-149.

[76] Miklosich et Müller, *op. cit.*, 5:165ff.

[77] *Ibid.*, 5:80ff.

to the emperor if any of these privileges were violated by the imperial governor of Jannina. The provisions of the official document issued in favor of Phanarion in 1295 were not as extensive as these, but they included one very important point: no garrison other than the one provided by the inhabitants of Phanarion was ever to be stationed in the town.[78]

The citizens of Phanarion are referred to in the document issued in their favor in 1295 as *archontes*, i.e., leading citizens, but a distinction is drawn among them: some are called great, others small; some laymen, others clerics; some held a grant by *chrysobul*; others were beneficiaries of various exemptions. But whatever their designation, these were people, many of them magnates of considerable wealth, who owned the land in the surrounding country-side and made Phanarion their home. This fact points to a very important feature of the Byzantine city: the most important element of its population, judged by its wealth and power, consisted of landed magnates whose property, usually if not always, lay in the surrounding countryside and whose city possessions often included shops, as was the case with the Cantacuzeni in Serres.[79] In the Byzantine city, merchants and artisans were very much in evidence and at times even influential in politics,[80] but they did not dominate its life. That role was reserved for the landed aristocracy. They were the ones who directed the cities in one way or another and sought to obtain for them privileges and exemptions.[81] The produce of their estates furnished the market with the important commodities, and they themselves often dealt directly with foreign merchants as did, for instance, the Tzamblaci with Ragusan merchants.[82] For this reason they were not unmindful of the commercial interests of their city and sought to obtain for it commercial priviliges as is shown by the document issued in favor of Jannina to which reference has been made. However important

[78] *Ibid.*, 5:260ff.

[79] *Archive de l'Athos. II. Actes de Kutlumus*, edited by Paul Lemerle (Paris, 1946), 86.

[80] On the political activities of the trade guilds up to the end of the 11th century see the excellent work by Speros Vryonis, "Byzantine Δημοκατία and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), 289-314.

[81] F. Francés refers to the domination of the city by the aristocracy as the "feudalization" of the city. "La feodalité et les villes Byzantines au XIIIe et au XIVe siécles", *Byzantinoslavica*, 16 (1955), 76-96.

[82] N. Bănescu, "Peut-on identifier le Zamblacus des documents ragusains?", *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), 1:131-135. But see B. Krekič (*Dubrovnik* [*Raguse*] *et le Levant au Moyen Âge* [The Hague, 1961] p. 90, n. 3) who questions the identity of the Zamblacus given by Bănescu. For a summary in French of the documents in question, *ibid.*, nos. 212, 214.

commerce and industry may have been, there is always something agrarian about the Byzantine city in that a considerable portion of its population was engaged in agriculture. Gregory Palamas declared in one of his sermons that most of the inhabitants of Thessalonica spread into the country in order to take care of the harvest and bring in the crops.[83]

All was not well with the Byzantine city during the later period of the empire. The regulatory economy, i.e., the strict control over foreign commerce and the organization of the domestic trades and professions into private and public guilds which was the rule during the earlier period,[84] completely broke down with the result that transactions became increasingly fraudulent. False weights were used, wheat was horded and often mixed with chaff or rotten wheat, and prices were exorbitant.[85] Meanwhile what was left of commerce had fallen into the hands of Italian merchants who determined the prices of even the daily necessities.[86] At the same time the local nobility squeezed all it could out of the common people, which in turn cast envious eyes upon the former's wealth.[87] The result was social tension which increased as time went on and led to repeated outbreaks of the poor against the rich. The most serious of these outbreaks was that of the Zealots in Thessalonica (1342-1349), but they occurred elsewhere[88] and remained a threat throughout the 14th century.[89] By the end of that century the city, like the countryside, was ready to be grabbed by the foreigner who was rapidly taking advantage of the situation.

[83] G. Palamas, *Homilia XXIV*, Migne, *Patrol. Gr.*, 151 (Paris, 1865), 333.

[84] The literature on the Byzantine guilds is very extensive. See Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 293, n. 13.

[85] So declared the patriarch Athanasius I to the emperor Andronicus II: R. Guilland, "La correspondance inédit d'Athanase, patriarche de Constantinople", *Mélange Charles Diehl*, 1:139; N. Bănescu, "Le patriarche Athanase I et Andronic II Paléologue. Etat religieux, politique et social de l'Empire", *Acad. Roumaine: Bull. de la Sect. Hist.*, 23, 1 (1942), 35ff.

[86] So complained Ptochoprodromos already in the 12th century. The relevant passage has been cited by A. G. Paspatis, *Byzantine Studies* (in Greek) (Constantinople, 1877), 164.

[87] On all this see Peter Charanis, "Internal Strife in Byzantium in the Fourteenth Century", *Byzantion*, 15 (1940-1941), 221-225. This matter of the poor versus the rich became a theme of literature. See Ihor Ševčenko, Alexios Makrembolites and his "Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor", *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Étude byzantines*, 6 (Belgrade, 1960), 187-228.

[88] Charanis, "Internal Strife...", 208-230. On the Zealots see further the studies of Ševčenko (above, note 46) and the numerous references which he cites.

[89] Ševčenko, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16:405ff.

IVAN DUJČEV

LE PROBLÈME DE LA CONTINUITÉ DANS L'HISTOIRE DE LA BULGARIE MÉDIÉVALE

On ne peut pas traiter le problème de la continuité dans l'histoire de la Bulgarie au Moyen âge, sans préciser préalablement les termes chronologiques extrêmes de la période historique en question. Or, il existe toujours une grande divergence des opinions à propos de la date initiale de l'histoire bulgare, et cela est déterminée par le fait que l'on prend en considération soit la formation de l'Etat bulgare, constitué en 681,[1] soit l'établissement des Slaves et des Protobulgares dans les territoires de la Péninsule des Balkans, survenu entre la moitié du VIe et la moitié du VIIe siècles,[2] soit enfin la présence, dans les régions balkaniques, d'une population thrace qui y habitait depuis l'époque préhistorique.[3] L'étude du problème paraît particulièrement compliquée, étant donné qu'à la formation de la nationalité bulgare ont pris part trois éléments ethniques divers: les Thraces anciens, les Slaves et les Protobulgares, peuple d'ori-

[1] C'était la conception du grand historien bulgare V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bŭlgarskata dŭržava prěz srědnitě věkove*, I. 1 (Sofia, 1918). La date de la formation de l'Etat bulgare, l'an 681, a été précisée par Ju. Trifonov, *Izvestieto na sirijskija presviter Konstantin za Isperichova poběda nad vizantijcitě*, dans *Izvestija* (= *Bulletin*) *de la Société historique de Sofia* XI-XII (1932) pp. 199-215. Cf. également I. Dujčev, *Protobulgares et Slaves. Sur le problème de la formation de l'Etat bulgare*, dans *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov* X (1938) pp. 145-154 (= *Mélanges A. A. Vasiliev*), réédité: *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I. *Saggi di storia politica e culturale* (Roma, 1965), pp. 67-82; pp. 545-547, d'autres indications bibliographiques.

[2] Pour les détails, avec l'indication des publications précédentes, v. I. Dujčev, *Balkanskijat Jugoiztok prez pŭrvata polovina na VI věk. Načalni slavjanski napadenija*, dans: *Bělomorski pregled* I (1942) pp. 229-270.

[3] Sur les Thraces voir surtout Chr. M. Danov, *Drevna Trakija. Izsledvanija vŭrchu istorijata na bŭlgarskite zemi, Severna Dobrudža, Iztočna i Egejska Trakija ot kraja na IX do kraja na III vek pr. n. e.* (Sofia, 1968), où l'on trouvera mentionnée aussi la bibliographie des publications plus anciennes. Voir également: G. I. Katzarov, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker* (Sarajevo, 1916). D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Wien, 1957).

gine turque.[4] Pour concilier les divergences d'opinions, il faut remonter chronologiquement bien au-delà de l'époque de l'établissement des Slaves et des Protobulgares, de la formation de l'Etat bulgare et de la nationalité bulgare, pour embrasser également l'histoire des Thraces à l'époque classique et post-classique. On arrive, de cette façon, à traiter à la fois l'histoire des territoires bulgares et du peuple bulgare, c'est-à-dire l'histoire de la *terre* et de sa *population* en général. Ainsi, on va rechercher, dans l'histoire de l'antiquité classique et post-classique, ces phénomènes qui ont donné preuve d'une vitalité particulière et qui, de cette manière, ont déterminé, dans une certaine mesure, le développement ultérieur, au cours de l'époque médiévale.

Nous pouvons parler donc d'une continuité entre l'époque classique et post-classique, d'un côté, et le Moyen âge bulgare, d'un autre côté, soit en ce qui concerne la population, soit par rapport au développement de la civilisation. En s'installant dans les territoires de la Péninsule des Balkans, les Slaves et les Protobulgares y trouvèrent une ancienne population d'origine thrace qui s'était conservée, en dépit de toutes les vicissitudes pendant les derniers siècles de l'existence de l'Empire Romain, ainsi que les vestiges d'une civilisation gréco-romaine et thrace que les invasions et les migrations des peuples et des tribus avaient atteinte et endommagée sérieusement, sans la détruire cependant à fond. En partie fortement hellénisée et romanisée, en bonne partie cependant tout en conservant sa physionomie ethnique propre, cette ancienne population thrace s'était conservée surtout dans les régions montagnardes, donc difficilement accessibles, jusqu'au VIe et VIIe siècles, jusqu'à l'époque des invasions et de l'établissement des Slaves.[5] Les envahisseurs des siècles précédents s'étaient dirigés, avant tout, vers les grands centres habités de la Peéninsule, où était concentrée la masse de la population grecque et romaine, comme également la population indigène hellénisée et romanisée; ici étaient ramassées aussi les richesses les plus abondantes et les monuments les plus remarquables de la civilisation. Il est difficile, sinon même impossible d'établir le caractère des contacts que l'ancienne population thrace, autant qu'elle avait pu survivre aux invasions et aux ravages des siècles précédents, eut avec les Slaves lors de leur pénétration dans les

[4] I. Dujčev, *La formation de l'Etat bulgare et de la nation bulgare*, dans: *L'Europe aux IXe-XIe siècles. Aux origines des Etats nationaux* (Varsovie, 1968), pp. 215-224, avec des indications bibliographiques.

[5] Pour les détails v. Dujčev, *Balkanskijat Jugoiztok*, p. 242 sv. V. Beševliev, *Učastieto na trakite v obštestvenija život na provincija Trakija i na Iztočnata Rimska imperija*, dans: *Izvestija* (= *Bulletin*) *de l'Institut pour l'histoire bulgare* I-II (1951) pp. 217-234. Dujčev, *La formation*, p. 215 sv.

territoires balkaniques. Grâce aux témoignages assez nombreux des auteurs byzantins, contemporains aux événements, nous connaissons suffisamment bien l'histoire des invasions slaves au cours du VIe et du VIIe siècles.[6] L'armée byzantine étant occupée en Orient et en Occident, à lutter contre les Perses, les Ostrogoths, les Wisigoths, les Vandales, les envahisseurs qui pénétraient au sud du Danube, rencontraient une résistance assez faible, organisée du gouvernement de Constantinople. Il n'est jamaïs question, dans nos sources historiques, d'une résistance valide de la part de la population indigène. Les soldats d'origine thrace qui étaient recrutés dans les régions balkaniques en grand nombre, étaient envoyés pour lutter en Orient ou en Occident, mais on n'avait pas assez de confiance, pour les laisser ici, pour défendre ces territoires des invasions des Slaves ou des Protobulgares. On peut admettre donc que l'attitude de l'ancienne population thrace par rapport aux Slaves ne fut pas hostile, mais plutôt neutre, ce que servit de base aux rapports entre Thraces et Slaves qui devaient s'établir pendant l'époque ultérieure, et qui s'achevèrent par l'assimilation progressive des Thraces dans la masse prépondérante des Slaves.

La 'cohabitation', au moins pour une certaine période, entre les Slaves et les Thraces créait la possibilité, pour ces derniers, de transmettre aux nouveaux-venus plusieurs éléments de l'ancienne civilisation spirituelle de l'époque classique et post-classique, c'est -à-dire de réaliser une continuité entre l'époque antique païenne et paléochrétienne, et le Moyen âge. C'est uniquement par l'intermédiaire de la population ancienne que les Slaves et, plus tard, les Protobulgares connurent certains mythes et superstitions du paganisme antique,[7] diverses conceptions religieuses liées au mithracisme, avec son dualisme et son culte solaire,[8] quelques traces de la philosophie gnostique,[9] enfin acceptèrent plusieurs éléments

[6] Les détails chez Dujčev, *Balkanskijat Jugoiztok*, p. 229 sv.

[7] Des détails chez I. Dujčev, *Racionalistični probljasŭci v slavjanskoto srednovekovie*, dans: *Istoričeski pregled*, XIX, nr. 5 (1963), p. 88 sv.

[8] I. Dujčev, *Aux origines des courants dualistes à Byzance et chez les Slaves méridionaux*, dans: *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, VII, nr. 1 (1969) pp. 51-62.

[9] Cf. les témoignages fournis dans l'étude de A. Dimitrova, *Gemi-amuleti s gnostičeski izobraženija. Archeologija* X, nr. 3 (1968) pp. 24-28; ma note dans *Byz. Zeitschrift* LII (1968) p. 224, où j'insiste que ces trouvailles constituent "Zeugnis für die Verbreitung gnostischer Konzeptionen". Cf. aussi à propos d'une inscription trouvée en Bulgarie: V. Laurent, *Une inscription cryptochrétienne de Philippopoli*, dans: *Echos d'Orient* XXXVII (1938) pp. 1-16. H. Grégoire, *Epigraphie gnostique. La Nouvelle Clio* IV (1952) pp. 374-377. V. Laurent: *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XLVII (1954) p. 275; LI (1959) p. 239. Dujčev, *Racionalistični probljasŭci*, p. 91. J'espère de reprendre bientôt l'étude du problème.

de la toponymie, de l'hydronymie et même de l'anthroponymie antiques.[10] Les nouveaux habitants des territoires balkaniques qui changèrent leur physionomie ethnique, ne connurent pas, bien entendu, la civilisation antique dans sa splendeur, toutefois ils en reçurent un héritage très riche et varié, d'une vitalité surprenante. Ces vestiges de l'ancienne civilisation se sont conservés, dans la vie du peuple bulgare, à travers les siècles, parfois presque jusqu'à l'époque moderne, comme des survivances. On doit admettre, entre autre, que les éléments du caractère dualiste qui dérivaient du mithracisme et du manichéisme anciens, devinrent la base première du mouvement dualiste puissant des Bogomiles qui se cristallisa, dans sa forme doctrinale définitive, en Bulgarie après la conversion officielle à la foi chrétienne en 865.[11] On ne doit pas s'imaginer, d'autre part, les territoires balkaniques occupés par les Slaves et les Protobulgares aux VIe et VIIe siècles comme une 'espace vide' de population et de vestiges de civilisation matérielle. On continua à utiliser, par exemple, les routes antiques, les eaux thermales découvertes et mises en exploitation déjà à l'époque romaine, les richesses du sous-sol, etc.[12] On continua à habiter les anciennes villes quoique détruites, ou bien on s'installa à côté des anciens centres habités.[13] On peut affirmer que dans les territoires peuplés par les Slaves et les Protobulgares, l'ancienne tradition des centres urbains habités n'a subi, entre l'antiquité tardive et le Moyen âge, que des crises momentanées, et non une interruption totale.

Le processus historique de la formation de la nationalité bulgare, sur la base de l'amalgame des trois éléments ethniques, continua quelques siècles. Sans entrer ici en détail,[14] nous devons dire qu'au début du XIe siècle, quand l'empereur byzantin Basile II Bulgaroktonos conquit, en 1018, tous les territoires bulgares, ce processus était déjà terminé. La civilisation que le peuple bulgare créa, pendant la période du premier royaume, c'est-à-dire entre 681 et 1018, devint un des facteurs fondamentaux dans la formation de la nationalité bulgare et, d'autre part, servit de base solide pour sa conservation, en tant qu'une entité nationale, au cours des siècles à venir. Plusieurs éléments et des influences diverses

[10] Cf. I. Duridanov, *Der thrakische Einfluss auf die bulgarische Anthroponymie*, dans: *Linguistique Balkanique* II (1960), pp. 69-86.

[11] I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I, p. 251 sv.

[12] Voir mes observations: *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto medioevo*, XI. *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà dell'Alto medioevo*. Spoleto 1964, p. 185 sv.

[13] Sur le problème des villes bulgares pendant l'antiquité tardive voir V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* IV-VI v. Sofia 1959.

[14] En conclusion de mon étude: *La formation de l'Etat bulgare*, p. 215 sv.

avaient contribué à la formation et au développement de la civilisation bulgare du haut Moyen âge: une ancienne tradition locale, l'influence de la civilisation byzantine contemporaine, enfin les traditions culturelles que les Slaves et les Protobulgares avaient portées avec eux en s'installant dans leur nouvelle patrie des Balkans. Les Slaves et surtout les Protobulgares avaient vécu, pendant des siècles, dans les régions en marge de l'iranisme extérieur et avaient eu des contacts multiples avec l'Iran, par conséquent avaient subi une forte influence de la civilisation iranienne, spécialement de l'époque de sa splendeur sous les Sassanides.[15] Installés au sud du Danube, ils continuèrent à vivre, pendant quelques siècles encore, avec ce qu'ils avaient appris de la civilisation iranienne. Plusieurs particularités de la civilisation bulgare ancienne, de l'époque du premier royaume, c'est-à-dire entre le seconde moitié du VIIe et les débuts du XIe siècle, ne peuvent pas être interprétées que comme vestiges d'une puissante influence de la civilisation iranienne, avant tout dans l'architecture et la sculpture,[16] dans les croyances religieuses païennes,[17] enfin dans l'anthroponymie.[18] La présence de ces vestiges de l'influence culturelle iranienne contribuait, dans une certaine mesure, à contrebalancer les influences de la civilisation ancienne gréco-romaine et byzantine contemporaine. En même temps elle assurait une continuité du développement culturel qui allait beaucoup plus loin des régions des Balkans et vers une époque très éloignée, toujours dans une autre direction, vers l'Asie et les territoires de Caucasie. Les traits spécifiques de la civilisation bulgare de cette époque derivaient donc des sources premières cachées en profondeur des temps et dispercées autant en Europe, en Asie Mineure et en Iran.

La conquête des terres bulgares par l'empereur byzantin Basile II Bulgaroktonos et l'anéantissement de l'Etat bulgare constituaient une crise qui mettait à l'épreuve la nationalité formée pendant les siècles précédents. La domination politique de Byzance dans ces terres imposait de

[15] Des informations plus détaillées: Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo. II. Saggi di storia letteratia.* Sofia 1968, p. 321 sv.

[16] Dujčev, op. cit., p. 413 sv.

[17] Dujčev, op. cit., p. 342 sv. Voir encore l'étude récente de R. Jakobson, *The Slavic God Veles and his Indo-European Cognates*, dans: *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani.* Brescia 1968, pp. 579-599.

[18] Dujčev, op. cit., p. 420 sv. V. Beševliev, *Protobulgarica. II. Iranische Personennamen bei den Protobulgaren*, dans: *To Honor Roman Jakobson.* I. The Hague-Paris 1967, pp. 224-231, dont les hypothèses sont parfois à douter, sur le nom par exemple de Mostić: I. Dujčev, *Mostić, un haut dignitaire bulgare du Xe siècle, Byzantinoslavica*, XXIX (1968), p. 281 sv.

tout moyen aussi la suprématie d'une influence absolue de la civilisation byzantine. Il n'existait plus ni la cour princière bulgare, ni le haut clergé pour diriger l'activité des écrivains et des peintres et pour créer, de cette manière, les prémisses d'une civilisation nationale. La domination étrangère menaçait avant tout le développement de la haute culture, et non la vie quotidienne du peuple, ses habitudes et ses mœurs. Basile II eut la prudence, afin d'éviter les complications superflues, de laisser à la population la possibilité de continuer à vivre, dans certaines sphères de la vie historique, selon ses anciennes coutumes, comme par exemple en ce qui concernait le fisc.[19] Les grandes insurrections contre le gouvernement byzantin, éclatées en 1040-1041[20] et ensuite en 1072,[21] avaient pour but la libération du pays de la domination étrangère et la restauration de l'Etat bulgare, l'idée nationale n'était pas donc disparue. Une nouvelle crise qui menaçait de briser la nationalité bulgare, dans son essence, arriva un peu plus tard. Entre la moitié du XIe et la moitié du XIIe siècles, ils s'établirent, dans les territoires au sud du Danube, comme conquérants ou bien avec la permission du gouvernement de Constantinople, des tribus des Pétchénègues, des Uzes et des Coumans. Ces nouveaux habitants de vastes régions bulgares ébranlèrent fortement la domination de Byzance ici: l'on avait plus d'une fois la sensation que cette domination devenait plutôt symbolique, et non réelle, et que le Danube avait cessé d'être la frontière septentrionale de l'Empire, telle était en fait la faiblesse du pouvoir de Constantinople. L'arrivée des éléments ethniques nouveaux était cependant un danger au point de vue national, parcequ'elle provoquait un changement de la composition de la population, et pouvait causer une menace sérieuse pour l'existence de la nationalité bulgare.

Les deux dernières dizaines d'années du XIIe siècle furent une période d'épreuve tragique pour le peuple bulgare, soumis à la domination byzantine depuis plus d'un siècle et demi. L'Empire de Constantinople eut, pendant ces années, une grave crise dans sa vie politique et sur ses frontières, dont les manifestations: le gouvernement d'Alexis II Comnène (1180-1183), un enfant qui régnait sous la régence de sa mère, le meurtre de l'empereur-enfant, le gouvernement tyrannique d'Andronic I Comnène (1183-1185), sa destitution et sa fin tragique, l'invasion des Normands de Sicile qui, après avoir conquis Thessalonique (août 1185), avançèrent

[19] J. Scylitzes-G. Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. Bonn, II, p. 530, 9-14. Cf. V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bŭlgarskata dŭržava prez srědnitě věkove*, II. Sofia 1934, p. 27 et n. 1.

[20] Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, p. 41 sv.

[21] Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, p. 119 sv.

vers la capitale elle-même, tout cela ne resta sans effet sur la population bulgare.[22]

L'exemple de la Serbie qui avait réussi, vers cette époque, à reconquérir son indépendance,[23] eut aussi sa repercussion parmi les Bulgares Ainsi, il se produisit pendant les derniers trois lustres du XIIe siècle, un reveil national de la population bulgare, et il éclata en 1185 la grande révolte organisée par les frères Théodore-Pierre et Asên.[24] Autant que nous connaissons les œuvres littéraires de cette époque, l'on peut constater les germes d'un messianisme enthousiaste.[25] On a longuement discuté sur le problème de l'origine nationale des frères Pierre et Asên qui étaient à la tête de l'insurrection et qui devinrent les fondateurs de la nouvelle dynastie qui devait gouverner le pays pendant presqu'un siècle.[26] Ils appartenaient, sans doute, en partie à une race non bulgare, fort probablement coumano-russe. Les événements qui se déroulèrent entre 1185 et la fin du siècle prouvent cependant que l'insurrection n'avait, cette fois également, comme but que la libération du pays de la domination byzantine et la restauration de l'Etat bulgare: l'idée nationale bulgare n'était donc pas disparue, elle avait réussi à s'imposer même à un élément ethnique étranger, comme l'étaient les Coumans qui prirent une part très active à la révolte de 1185 et à toutes les actions de guerre pendant les années successives. En luttant pour la libération du peuple bulgare assujetti à l'Empire de Byzance, on s'efforçait de se maintenir en continuité par rapport à l'ancien Etat bulgare. Cette tendance forma l'idée dominante pendant les deux siècles suivants. Ainsi, quand les chefs de l'insurrection antibyzantine proclamèrent le frère aîné des Asênides roi de la Bulgarie restaurée, ils lui donnèrent le nom de Pierre, au lieu de son nom de baptême Théodore:[27] on essayait évidemment d'établir, de cette manière, un lien symbolique avec le fils et successeur du roi Syméon, Pierre (927-969), vénéré surtout à cause de son caractère paisible et pieux.[28]

[22] I. Dujčev, *La date de la révolte des Asênides. Byzantinoslavica*, XIII (1952-1953), pp. 227-232 = *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I, pp. 341-348.

[23] K. Jireček-J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*, I. Beograd 1922, p. 188 sv.

[24] Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I, p. 343 sv.

[25] Détails v. chez I. Dujčev, *Proučvanija vŭrchu bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie*, dans: *Sbornik na bŭlgarskata akademija na naukite i izkustvata*, XLI, 1 (1945), p. 44 sv.; *Vŭstanieto v 1185 g.i negovata chronologija*, dans: *Izvestija na Instituta za bŭlgarska istorija*, VI (1956), pp. 327-358.

[26] Voir surtout l'étude de P. Mutafčiev, *Proizchodŭt na Asĕnevci*, dans: *Makedonski pregled*, IV, nr. 4 (1928), pp. 1-42.

[27] Dujčev, *Proučvanija*, p. 52 n. 2, avec l'indication des sources.

[28] Cf. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, II, pp. 217-218.

D'après les témoignages contemporains,[29] une des premières actions de guerre des insurgés fut de se diriger vers la ville de Preslav, qui était la capitale des rois Syméon et Pierre. Ce n'étaient pas, sans doute, des calcules stratégiques qui avaient imposé cette opération, mais le mème désir de réaliser la continuité avec le premier royaume bulgare.

L'idée de la continuité a trouvé une manifestation éloquente dans la correspondance du roi Kalojan (1197-1207) avec le pape Innocence III (1198-1216).[30] En demandant au chef de l'Eglise de Rome de lui concéder la couronne royale et le titre de souverain des Bulgares, Kalojan prétendait être le successeur des anciens rois bulgares: "In primis petimus ab Ecclesia Romana, matre nostra, — écrivait-il au pape[31] — coronam et honorem tamquam dilectus filius, secundum quod imperatores nostri veteres habuerunt. Unus fuit Petrus, alius fuit Samuel et alii, qui eos imperio precesserunt, sicut in libris nostris invenimus esse scriptum". La justification de la demande de restaurer la dignité royale du souverain bulgare et même le titre de *car* (caesar), c'est-à-dire *basileus* = *imperator*, porté par Syméon et Pierre,[32] et reconnu, pour ce dernier par Constantinople, avait été puisée donc dans les anciennes chroniques bulgares, disparues ensuite.[33] En 1203 le roi Kalojan signa l'acte de soumission envers l'Eglise de Rome, en soulignant encore une fois que son pouvoir n'était qu'une continuation du pouvoir des souverains de l'époque du premier royaume. Il écrivait au pape Innocence III qu'il avait étudié les documents et les actes des anciens souverains bulgares: "Inquisivi antiquorum nostrorum scripturas et libros et beatae memoriae imperatorum nostrorum praedecessorum leges",[34] pour découvrir d'où avaient-ils reçu le 'royaume bulgare' (Regnum Bulgarorum), la 'confirmation' de leur autorité royale (firmamentum imperiale), la couronne (coronam super caput eorum) et enfin la bénédiction patriarcale (patriarchalem benedictionem). Il insistait encore une fois qu'il retenait les rois bulgares Syméon, Pierre et Samuel (997-1014) comme ses 'prédécesseurs' et, en

[29] Niceta Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Bonn, p. 486, 18-21. *Synopsis Sathas*, dans: K. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, VII. Venetiis 1894, p. 372, 22-24. Cf. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, p. 441 n. 1. Dujčev, *Vŭstanieto*, p. 345 sv.

[30] Edition: I. Dujčev, *Prepiskata na papa Inokentija III s bŭlgaritě. Uvod, tekst i komentar*, dans: *Godišnik* (= *Annuaire*) *de l'Université de Sofia, faculté historico-philologique*, XXXVIII. 3 (1942).

[31] Dujčev, *Prepiskata*, p. 23, ep. II, 31-35.

[32] Cf. I. Dujčev, *Relations entre les Slaves méridionaux et Byzance aux Xe-XIIe siècles*, dans: *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, IX, nr. 4 (1966), p. 537 sv.

[33] Voir quelques indicatione chez I. Dujčev, *Pregled na bŭlgarskata istoriografija*, dans: *Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis*, IV. nr. 1-2 (1938), p. 47.

[34] Dujčev, *Prepiskata*, pp. 43-44: ep. XV, 3-12.

second lieu, qu'ils avaient eu la confirmation de leur autorité royale non de Constantinople, mais de Rome:[35] "Et diligenter perscrutantes, in eorum invenimus scripturis, quod beatae memoriae illi imperatores Bulgarorum et Blachorum, Symeon, Petrus et Samuel, et nostri praedecessores coronam pro imperio eorum et patriarchalem benedictionem acceperunt a sanctissima Dei Romana ecclesia et ab apostolica sede, principe apostolorum Petro". L'alliance entre les Bulgares et les Coumans qui habitaient alors en masse au-delà du Danube et, à cette raison, étaient dénommés dans certaines sources historiques par un nom qui n'était pas leur nom ethnique, et d'autre part, le fait que l'Etat bulgare avait eu, sous sa domination, au cours du IXe et Xe siècles, certaines régions au-delà du Danube, autorisaient Kalojan à s'approprier le titre de 'roi des Bulgares et des Valaques', ensuite d'attribuer ce titre également aux souverains bulgares mentionnés.[36] La conclusion de l'union avec l'Eglise de Rome devait effectuer, selon les conceptions du roi Kalojan, la même continuité historique, cette fois dans le domaine de la vie ecclésiastique: "Ecclesiae enim omnis totius imperii mei tenumenti — ajoutait-il — et patriarcha meus, metropolitani, archiepiscopi, episcopi, et cuncti sacerdotes Romanae subsint ecclesiae et teneant legem, consuetudinem et obsequutionem, quas tenuerunt beatae memoriae imperatores totius Bulgariae et Blachiae prisci illi nostri praedecessores et nos eodem modo vestigia eorum imitantes". En 1203 l'archevêque de Tŭrnovo Basile entreprit un long voyage, en vue d'établir un contact direct avec la Curie de Rome. Il portait au pape Innocence III une nouvelle lettre du roi Kalojan,[37] où celui-ci répétait encore cette fois la conception de la continuité de la politique ecclésiastique des souverains bulgares. Ainsi, Kalojan écrivait au pape qu'il avait envoyé son archevêque avec un but bien déterminé: "transire ad sanctitatem tuam, ut compleret desiderium imperii mei sanctitas tua, secundum consuetudinem praedecessorum meorum imperatorum Bulgarorum et Blachorum, Symeonis, Petri et Samuelis *progenitorum* meorum et ceterorum omnium imperatorum Bulgarorum". L'expression 'progenitorum meorum' est une preuve que le souverain avait fait encore un pas en avant dans ses conceptions de continuité de son pouvoir vis-à-vis du pouvoir des rois du premier royaume: il les mentionnait non seulement comme ses 'prédécesseurs', mais déjà comme ses 'progenitores', c'est-à-dire comme ses ancêtres directs. Il formulait, de cette manière, la conception d'une

[35] Dujčev, op. cit., p. 44: ep. XV, 7-12.
[36] Cf. Dujčev, *Prepiskata*, p. 85 sv.
[37] Dujčev, op. cit., p. 47: ep. XVIII, 13 sv.

parenté fictive qui pouvait constituer un excellent expédient pour légitimer son autorité royale,[38] mais avant tout il reprenait son idée de la continuité. Exprimée avec une telle conviction, cette idée de la continuité directe du pouvoir royal, et en mème temps, de l'existence de l'Etat bulgare finit par s'imposer au chef de l'Eglise de Rome. Dans sa lettre adressée au roi Kalojan, le pape lui écrivait le 27 novembre 1202:[39] "Petisti vero humiliter, ut coronam tibi ecclesia Romana concederet, sicut illustri memoriae Petri, Samueli et aliis *progenitoribus tuis* in libris tuis legitur concessisse". Le pape, en réponse à ces assertions du souverain de Tŭrnovo, eut le soin d'effectuer des recherches aux archives de la Curie. Il alla à rechercher les témoignages sur les contacts entre l'Eglise de Rome et les Bulgares au cours de la seconde moitié du IXe siècle, à l'époque du prince Boris-Michel (852-889): "Nos ergo, ut super hoc maiorem certitudinem haberemus, regesta nostra perlegi fecimus diligenter, ex quibus evidenter comperimus, quod in terra tibi subiecta multi reges fuerant coronati. Praeterea continebatur in eis, quod tempore bonae memoriae Nicolai papae praedecessoris nostri rex Bulgarorum, ad quorum consulta saepissime respondebat,[40] cum toto regno sibi commisso ad praedicationem eius fuerat baptizatus, et rex ipse ab eo archiepiscopum postularat...". Le pape ajoute ensuite quelques renseignements sur les rapports entre les Bulgares et les papes Nicolas I (858-867) et Hadrien II (867-872). Il avait chargé, en outre, le nonce pontifical, le chapelain Casemarinus, de faire des recherches à propos de la concession de la dignité royale aux souverains bulgares: "Mandavimus quoque ipsi, ut de corona *progenitoribus tuis* ab ecclesia Romana collata tam per libros veteres, quam alia documenta inquirat diligentius veritatem...".[41] Ces passages ont une importance singulière au point de vue de la position de l'Etat bulgare au temps de Kalojan dans le monde européen d'alors: les Bulgares avaient réussi à s'affranchir de la domination byzantine plus que séculaire, et de restaurer l'Etat qui n'était que la continuation directe de l'ancien Etat bulgare. Reconnue par les autorités ecclésiastiques suprêmes de l'Europe du XIIIe siècle, la Bulgarie des Asênides trouva sa place parmi les autres Etats souverains de l'Europe d'alors.

Il se présenta bientôt l'occasion d'apprécier toute l'importance de l'attitude prise par la Curie de Rome par rapport à l'Etat bulgare. Il y eut,

[38] I. Dujčev, *Dŭržava i cŭrkva v srědnověkovna Bŭlgarija*, dans: *Rodina*, III, nr. 2 (1940), p. 82 sv.

[39] Dujčev, *Prepiskata*, p. 24: ep. III, 34 sv.

[40] Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I, p. 125, avec des indications bibliographiques détaillées.

[41] Dujčev, *Prepiskata*, p. 25: ep. III, 67 sv.

en 1204, un conflit entre la Bulgarie et le roi de Hongrie. Par une épître, datée le 15 septembre 1204, Innocence III donnait à son légat apostolique des instructions en faveur du roi Kalojan.[42] Le cardinal Léon devait relever au souverain de la Hongrie que ce roi était à la tête d'un Etat déjà existant et reconnu, et que ce représentant des Asênides n'était qu'un successeur des anciens rois bulgares: "Nam antiquitus in Bulgaria multi reges successive fuerunt auctoritate apostolica coronati, sicut Petrus et Samuel et alii nonnulli post illos".[43] Il rappelait, encore une fois, l'action du pape Nicolas I en faveur des Bulgares et ajoutait une explication à propos de l'asservissement de leur Etat par l'Empire byzantin et l'affranchissement récent comme résultat de l'insurrection de 1185: "Sed tandem prevalentibus Graecis Bulgari perdiderunt regiam dignitatem, quin immo compulsi sunt gravi sub iugo constantinopolitano servire, donec novissime duo fratres, Petrus videlicet et Joannitius,[44] de priorum regum prosapia descendentes, terram patrum suorum non tam occupare, quam recuperare ceperunt...". La domination étrangère qui avait duré plus de 150 ans, ne fut, selon le pape, qu'une interruption dans l'existence de l'Etat bulgare, les frères Asênides n'étaient que les descendants directs de l'ancienne dynastie bulgare — ils descendaient du lignage des rois précédents (de priorum regum prosapia), enfin ils avaient repris la terre qui appartenait jadis à leurs prédécesseurs et ils n'avaient pas occupé une terre qui appartenait à d'autres. C'est en se basant toujours sur cette conception de continuité dans l'existence de l'Etat et du peuple bulgares, et non moins de la dynastie en Bulgarie du XIIIe siècle, que le pape justifiait les conquêtes operées par les premiers Asênides: "Non ergo negamus, quin forsan aliquam partem terrae violenter invaserint, sed constanter asserimus, quod plurimam terrae partem de *iure recuperavere paterno*...". C'est en conformité à cette conception de continuité historique qu'Innocence III justifiait l'acte de couronnement que son légat apostolique était chargé d'effectuer à Tŭrnovo, la capitale bulgare d'alors: "Unde nos eum (c'est-à-dire Kalojan) non super alienam terram, sed super propriam ad instar praedecessorum nostrorum regem intendimus coronare", déclarait le pape. En obligeant le souverain bulgare à restituer les territoires qu'il avaient occupés sans en avoir le droit — ici Innocence faisait une concession aux prétentions du roi de Hongrie! — le pape insistait pour que soient restitués les territoires qui lui appartenaient de droit, mais qui étaient, en ce moment, retenus par d'autres

[42] Dujčev, *Prepiskata*, pp. 59-64: ep. XXVIII.
[43] Dujčev, op. cit., p. 61: ep. XXVIII, 64 sv.
[44] A noter que le frère Asên n'est pas mentionné ici.

souverains: "volentes ut et ipse terram restituat iniuste detentam, et terra iniuste detenta restituatur eidem".[45] C'est le roi Kalojan qui avait, selon le témoignage explicite du pape, présenté sa demande qu'on lui restituât certains territoires[46] qu'il considérait bulgares, étant donné qu'ils avaient fait part de l'Etat bulgare à l'époque du premier royaume. La conception de la continuité entre le premier royaume et l'Etat des Asênides constituait donc, pour ce souverain et ses contemporains, une idée maîtresse qui réglait les rapports diplomatiques avec les autres Etats. Réminiscences historiques inspiraient les opérations de guerre de ce roi énergique: d'après l'historien byzantin Georges Acropolitès,[47] Kalojan — qui avait passé quelques années en esclavage à Constantinople — se donnait le nom de 'Romaioktonos', en déclarant de désirer venger les maux que l'empereur Basile II Bulgaroktonos avait causés, jadis, aux Bulgares.

L'idée de la continuité mise en premier plan à l'époque de la restauration de l'Etat, sous les premiers Asênides, trouva sa réalisation, un peu plus tard, dans toute l'activité ecclésiastique et culturelle. La ville de Tŭrnovo était, jusqu'alors, un centre sans rôle particulier dans la vie ecclésiastique. La consacration de cette ville comme centre de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique et comme résidence des souverains pouvait être effectuée, d'après les conceptions du Moyen âge, d'une manière charismatique — par la concentration ici de la *charis* (*gratia*) divine. On y apporta, à cette raison, les reliques d'un saint d'origine bulgare — l'anachorète saint Jean de Ryla, le fondateur du célèbre monastère.[48] La vénération de ce saint constituait un symbole de la continuité dans la vie religieuse entre les deux époques, avant et après la conquête byzantine. La continuité entre l'époque du premier royaume bulgare et l'Etat des Asênides et, en général, toute l'époque du second royaume bulgare (1185-1393/1396) trouva une manifestation remarquable dans l'activité littéraire du XIIIe et XIVe siècles. On copia, au cours de ces siècles, un grand nombre d'écrits — d'œuvres originales ou de traductions — de l'*époque d'or* dans le développement des lettres en Bulgarie, c'est-à-dire l'époque du roi Syméon et son successeur Pierre.[49] L'Eglise de Tŭrnovo se considérait

[45] Dujčev, *Prepiskata*, p. 61: ep. XXVIII, 78 sv.

[46] Le pape avait en vue les disputes entre les Bulgares et le roi de Hongrie.

[47] G. Acropolita, *Historia*, ed. A. Heisenberg, p. 23, 9-13. Cf. Zlatarski, op. cit., III, Sofia 1940, p. 242.

[48] Zlatarski, op. cit., II, pp. 465, 469, 479. I. Dujčev, *Rilskijat svetec i negovata obitel.* Sofia 1947, p. 226 sv.

[49] L'étude des recueils copiés au cours du XIIIe et XIVe siècles peut nous fournir des indications précieuses pour la solution du problème en question. Un exemple curieux de "confrontation" d'un monument écrit du premier royaume et d'un autre du XIIIe siècle: dans l'église des S. Quarant Martyrs à Tŭrnovo nous trouvons, l'une à coté

comme une institution qui continuait l'activité de l'ancien patriarcat de Preslav. Le patriarcat de Tŭrnovo, institué en 1235, n'était que l'ancien patriarcat bulgare restauré,[50] et non un patriarcat nouveau. Cette conception avait été adoptée non seulement par le roi Jean II Asên (1218-1241), mais également par l'empereur de Nicée Jean III Vatatzès.[51] L'idée de la continuité entre le premier et le second royame inspirait, aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles, des nombreux scribes et lettrés restés parfois anonymes.[52] En parlant de l'hérésie des Bogomiles, on y voyait une continuation par rapport aux mouvements dualistes de l'époque ancienne.[53] Un des plus grands écrivains bulgares du XIVe siècle, le patriarche de Tŭrnovo Euthymius, en parlant des événements en Bulgarie en 1185, de l'insurrection des Asênides et de la restauration de l'Etat, ne manquait pas de relever que cet Etat n'était que l'Etat bulgare rénové.[54] En copiant des *necrologia* des souverains, on mettait dans la même liste les noms des souverains du premier et du second royaume.[55] Ainsi, le second Etat bulgare à l'époque médiévale n'était, du fait et théoriquement, qu'une continuation de l'ancien Etat qui avait cessé son existence au début du XIe siècle sous les coups de l'empereur Basile II. La conquête turque des territoires bulgares, la prise de Tŭrnovo en 1393 et de Vidin en 1396, mettait fin, encore une fois, à l'existence de l'Etat bulgare. On continua pourtant à vivre, pour des siècles entiers, avec les traditions littéraires, artistiques et folkloristiques du Moyen âge, parfois jusqu'une époque récente.[56]

de l'autre, une inscription de l'époque du prince bulgare Omurtag (814-831) (v. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*. Berlin 1963, pp. 246-248 nr. 55), et de l'autre, l'inscription de 1230 au nom du roi Jean II Asên (Zlatarski, *Istorija*, III, pp. 587-596; I. Dujčev, *Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina*. II. *Knižovni i istoričeski pametnici ot vtoroto bŭlgarsko carstvo*. Sofia 1944, pp. XVI, 38-39, 317-319).

[50] Dujčev, *Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina*, pp. 44 sv., des textes.

[51] Le texte du Synodikon de l'Eglise bulgare: M. G. Popruženko, *Sinodik carja Borila*. Sofia 1928, pp. 82-87 nr. 113; traduction bulgare moderne: Dujčev, op. cit., pp. 43-46, 330-333, avec d'autres indications bibliographiques. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, p. 361 sv.

[52] Des nombreux textes ont été publiés dans mon livre: *Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina*, II, p. 69 sv., p. 97 sv., passim.

[53] Ainsi, dans le Synodikon de l'Eglise bulgare: Popruženko, op. cit., pp. 77-82. Dujčev, op. cit., pp. 27-29, 308-311. Cf. Zlatarski, op. cit., p. 291 sv.

[54] Texte en traduction bulgare moderne: Dujčev, op. cit., p. 209.

[55] Jord. Ivanov, *Pomenici na bŭlgarski care i carici.*, dans: *Izvestija* (= *Bulletin*) *de la Société d'histoire à Sofia*, IV (1915), pp. 219-229; Dujčev, op. cit., pp. XXVIII sv., 167 sv., 198-201, 395-397.

[56] Le problème reste à étudier. Dans mon étude *L'héritage byzantin chez les Slaves*, dans: *Etudes historiques à l'occasion du XXIe Congrès international des sciences historiques, Vienne, août-septembre* 1965. Sofia 1965, pp. 131-147, j'ai touché ce problème assez souvent.

SPEROS VRYONIS, Jr.

RELIGIOUS CHANGES AND PATTERNS IN THE BALKANS, 14TH-16TH CENTURIES

When the Byzantine and Turkish worlds came into contact in the 14th century, and until the former was subdued and the latter crystallized in the 16th century, there were two basic formal religio-political systems in the Balkans: The Orthodox Basileia and the Muslim Sultanate. Each political form was intimately affiliated with an intellectually refined theological dogma propagated and maintained by a sacerdotal class which enjoyed the political and economic support of the rulers and the bureaucracy. Thus one might assume that a discussion of religious changes and patterns in the Balkans during these two centuries would, essentially, entail an examination of the Orthodox religious structure and dogma in relation to those of triumphant Sunni Islam.

Inasmuch as one is dealing with a period in which religious thought and concern for salvation were still the foremost preoccupations of most people, it would be a serious failure were one to consider the present subject only in terms of the formal culture of the ruling classes. The latter usually formed less than 10% of the total population and most frequently the divergences between folk and formal cultures were extensive. Consequently the evolution and change which took place in the Balkans during the late medieval period occurred not only on the formal level of culture and society but also on the folk level. Though the developments on the formal level invariably exercise an important influence on the folk level, especially when the state is sufficiently centralized, long lived, and possessed of a vital urban network, the partial isolation and autarky of life on the folk level produce an evolution, particularly in religious life, which can preserve extremely archaic features even when these features are in direct conflict with the dominant strains of formal religion. Thus in examining the relations of Islam and Christianity in the Balkans during this crucial period of change we shall

be talking not so much about the relations of Orthodox Christianity and Sunni Islam on the formal level of culture, but rather about relations of Islam and Christianity (most broadly conceived) on the folk level.

In order to conceptualize the possible permutations and combinations of emerging religious changes and patterns one must, momentarily, dispense with the conceptualization of the Balkans as divided between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Sheyh'ul Islam of Istanbul. For neither the one nor the other was ever completely successful in imposing an absolute religious harmony and obedience upon his respective flock. In each following were to be found heretical, heterodox, and even pagan elements. Sometimes the heretical element constituted a state within a state, whereas heterodox and pagan elements were so firmly entrenched in the folk and formal culture that they were either accepted or else overlooked. There was a tension (among the various elements), therefore, within each of these two major religions, as well as a tension between the two religions themselves. The scheme of such religious variety becomes more complex if we include the categories of Catholics, Armenians, and Jews, who constituted the religious minorities in the area under consideration.

This paper will present a tripartite discussion of the subject: First it will list and describe the various types of religiosity in the Balkans at the beginning of this transitional period. Then it will examine the basic religious transition from Christianity to Islam from the 14th to the 16th centuries, its course, causes, and extent. Finally it will discuss examples and patterns of this change from Christianity to Islam and in so doing will try to illustrate the variety of combinations and of the resultant forms of Islam. The paper will be primarily concerned with the Orthodox core area of the Balkans, and will not discuss Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, or Rumania.

I. VARIOUS TYPES OF RELIGIOSITY IN THE BALKANS AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS PERIOD

Christianity

There is no evidence that large blocks of overt pagans existed in the Balkans at the time of the Turkish invasions in the 14th-15th centuries. Orthodox and Latin Christianity had spread throughout the area in two major waves: in the 4th-6th centuries and then again in the period

beginning with the 9th century. Thus the Turks found an area which was, at least formally, almost completely Christian, and of which the major portion was Orthodox. This Orthodoxy was characterized by a uniform dogma and set of canons which had emerged from the seven ecumenical councils and which had received further amplification at the hands of commentators. The formal religious apparatus was closely intertwined with political life and its history is a reflection of the political history of the area. As Byzantium declined and the Balkan states emerged, the administrative jurisdiction of the patriarchate receded and the Bulgars and Serbs acquired their own patriarchates. The crystallization of the Serbian, Bulgarian states and the retrenchment of the Byzantine Empire in this period produced three political entities which came to constitute the precursors of their modern counterparts. Their patriarchates were thus national-political churches. In spite of the national-political splintering of the body of the Orthodox in the Balkans, formal dogma and cult were identical.

Nevertheless the struggle between heresy and Orthodoxy had been a lively one in many parts of the Balkans, particularly since the 8th century when the emperors had settled colonies of Anatolian Paulicians in the southeast Balkans. The appearance of the affiliated sect of the Bogomils in the 10th century was to exercise governments of the Balkans for a long period of time. Byzantine, Bulgar, and Serbian rulers fought the sectaries tooth and nail and, it would seem, succeeded in reducing them extensively. In the case of Bosnia the appearance of a heretical sect from the mid-12th century and its subsequent history have occasioned a lively dispute in scholarly circles. This has ranged from the question as to whether the Bosnian Church was heretic, Orthodox, or Catholic, to the religious identity of the famous grave stones of the region. Though I do not enter into these thorny questions in any detail as they are the domain of a very few specialists, it would seem that the Bogomils had their most persistant effect in the regions of Bosnia, though the vague evidence as to their relative numbers in the 15th century does not conclusively prove that they were a majority of the population. There were other smaller and more obscure heresies such as those mentioned by the 11th-century author Psellus, but they need not detain us here.[1]

[1] On the relation of Bogomilism and Islamization, the two opposed points of view are represented by M. Okić, "Les Kristians (Bogomiles Parfaits) de Bosnie d'après les documents turcs inédits", *Südost-Forschungen* XIX (1960), 108-133, and B. Djurdjev, "Bosna", EI_2. Okić has stated that the majority of Christians in Bosnia prior to the Turkish conquest were Bogomils and implies that mass conversion of the Bogomils took place between the conquest of 1463 and the census of 1468-1469. Djurdjev is

Within this Orthodox enclave there were small groups of Latin Christians, especially in the Ionian and Aegean isles, in Galata and Constantinople, coastal Albania, and in the various commercial emporia of the Balkans. They were, of course, predominant in Dalmatia, Croatia, Slovenia, and the Magyar presence gave them strength in Bosnia. Jewish merchants and craftsmen (including the Keraites) had been present for centuries, but their numbers would become substantial only after the Ottoman conquests and the flight of the Jews from Spain.

Thus Byzantium, Serbia, and Bulgaria would appear as states which were predominantly Orthodox at the time that the first Ottoman invaders crossed from Anatolia to the Balkans. Though this assumption is absolutely true in terms of the formal institutional life of the Orthodox, it is invalid for the folk culture of the inhabitants of these three medieval states. The religious life of the Orthodox masses resided on a foundation which was heavily influenced by their pagan roots. It is a pity that many Byzantinists have so little interested themselves in the life of the peasantry, preferring to focus almost exclusively on the imperial and patriarchal courts. Consequently in discussing the religious history of Byzantium they have seen deviations almost exclusively in terms of heresy and so have emphasized heresy as the primary opponent of religious Orthodoxy. In actuality, paganism exercised a far more subversive effect on religious Orthodoxy, and one could even argue that, in the case of Balkan Orthodoxy, Christianity won a Pyrrhic victory at best. The price of this victory was the acceptance or toleration of entire categories of pagan beliefs, superstitions and practices. Consequently the popular religion of the Balkan peoples, even in modern times, displays many pronounced archaic features which predate the appearance of both Islam and Christianity in the Balkans. This is perhaps not so surprising if we consider the late appearance of Christianity among the Slavs (9th century) and that the Greeks of the southern half of the Peloponnese received Christian baptism only in the reign of Basil I (867-886). Christianity triumphed, but only after a long struggle and one in which it had to compromise repeatedly. Literati and religious leaders were conscious of the tenacious survival of paganism throughout the course of Byzantine history and have left a considerable testimonial to this fact. A 10th

convincing, however, in his demonstration of the opposite view, that 26 years after the conquest (in 1489) the Bosnian Christians still formed a large majority of the population. M. Wenzel, "Bosnian and Herzegovinian Tombstones and who made them and why", *Südost-Forschungen* XXI (1961), 102-143, has shown good cause to doubt the Bogomil nature of the Bosnian tombstones.

century scholiast (possibly Arethas) on the *Antigone* of Sophocles comments on line 264 of the drama, which deals with μύδρος (the red hot iron which one held when swearing an oath in antiquity) as follows: "Mudros: red-hot iron. The Rhomaioi still practice this today, erring in the Hellenic fashion in most everything else."[2] A later author, John Canabutzes (15th c.) in his commentary on Dionysius of Halicarnassus, relates that, "The Christians continue to reek and stink of Hellenic (pagan) obscenity."[3] This 'pagan obscenity', to which Canabutzes and Arethas referred, continued to people the world of nature with spirits of all kinds. The *lamia*, or weather spirits, it was believed, presided over storms and clouds and when they fought, the clashing of the steel caused hail to fall from the heavens. In a Slavo-Christianized version the prophet Elijah chased them across the heavens in his fiery chariot.[4] The forests, mountains, and waters were the domains of female spirits or nymphs, known to the Greeks as dryads, oreads, and nereids. It was this pagan belief, so widespread in the 15th century, which occasioned Canabutzes to remark that, "The Christians continue to reek and stink of Hellenic obscenity." The house snake as the protective spirit of the hearth is common to all the Balkan peoples and is obviously of very early origin, having nothing to do with Christianity. Zeus Ktesios, as protector of the hearth, usually took the form of a serpent, perhaps an indication that this element was absorbed by the ancient Greeks from their predecessors in the Balkans.[5] The cult of the tree, widespread in most areas of the inhabited world, survives today in the Serbian *zapis* or holy tree. Annually, at the time of the ripening of the crops, the priest led a procession (*litija*) to the tree, a lamb was sacrificed by the side of the tree, and then the blood was spilled upon it.[6]

The conceptions and practices which, among the Balkan Christians, were associated with the life cycle of the human being were no less rooted

[2] The scholium is edited by P. Papageorgios, *Scholia vetera* (Leipzig, 1888), p. 148. B. Lavagnini, "Sopravvivenze in Tracia di riti pagani e uno scolio bizantino all'Antigone", *La Parola del Passato* VII (1952), 145-148. I wish to thank my colleague, Prof. Milton Anastos, for first having called my attention to this interesting passage. Other authors and sources on the survival of such pagan elements include the proceedings of the Council in Trullo, Constantine Porphyrogennitus, Eustathius of Thessaloniki, Balsamon, and Joseph Bryennius.

[3] M. Lehnerdt, *Iannis Canabutzae magistri ad principem Aeni et Samothraces in Dionysium Halicarnasensem commentarius* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 42.

[4] E. Schneeweis, *Serbokroatische Volkskunde. Erste Teil: Volksglaube und Volksbrauch* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 12-13. M. S. Filipović, "Volksglauben auf dem Balkan, einige Betrachtungen", *Südost-Forschungen* XIX (1960), 246.

[5] M. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York, 1940), pp. 67-71, 71-72.

[6] Schneeweis, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

in pre-Christian traditions. In the eastern and southern Balkans the belief that the three *moirai* presided over the fate of the newborn child is a clear case of pagan survival.[7] The institution of marriage, both among Christian Greeks and Slavs, long remained a civil affair, and even after the church and state succeeded in making of it an ecclesiastical matter, many of the elements formerly attendant upon the institution were accepted, the most obvious case being the use of marriage crowns.[8] The Balkan Christians continued to observe the older customs accompanying death and burial: the employment of professional female mourners; the placing of money in the grave (Charon's obol); the preparation of boiled wheat with raisins, sugar, almonds, and pomegranate (*kollyva-panspermia*); the funeral meal; the official observance of mourning for a one year period. These are only some of the many pre-Christian observances.[9] The Christian concept of hell and the after-life was affected by the Greek Charon-Hades and more spectacularly by the Slavic fear of the returning dead, the *vukodlak*.[10]

Throughout the countless political and religious changes in the long history of the Balkans, the peasant's way of life changed remarkably little. His abiding concerns were the fertility of the soil and propitious climatic conditions. His religious and superstitious practices were all geared to promote this fertility. In this respect one of the most interesting pagan survivals among certain of the Bulgar and Greek peasants of Thrace are the so-called Anastenarides and the Kalogeros-Kukeri mimes. The former is an eight day celebration which the *thiasos* of the Anastenarides commences on the feast day of St. Helen and Constantine (in May) and is accompanied by animal sacrifice, dance-induced ecstasy, fire walking (*pyrobasia*) and *oreibasia* (nocturnal wandering in the mountains).[11] The Kalogeros or Kukeri mimes take place on Cheese Monday and are very obviously intended to assure the fertility of the fields. The

[7] Filipović, *loc. cit.*, 246. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15, gives an example from 19th-century Athens.

[8] Schneeweis, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-83.

[9] The important study of D. Loucatos, "Λαογραγικαὶ περὶ τελευτῆς ἐνδείξεις παρὰ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Χρυσοστόμῳ", Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ λαογροφικοῦ ἀρχείου, (1940), 30-117, demonstrates that the church fathers fought a losing battle against pagan funereal practices. Schneeweis, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

[10] Schneeweis, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-11, 33. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, 119-120.

[11] G. Megas, Ἑλληµικαὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ ἔθιµα τῆς λαϊκῆς λατρείας (Athens, 1963), pp. 197-203. On animal sacrifice among Greek and Slavic Christians see, L. Zotović, "L'egorgement rituel du tarueau", Старинар VII-VIII (1956-1957), pp. 151-157, and Megas, "Θυσία ταύρων καὶ κριῶν ἐν τῇ βορειοανατολικῇ Θράκῃ", Λαογραφία III (1911), 45.

protagonist of the drama, the Kalogeros, is very probably descended from the tauric Dionysios, and like him is born, killed, and reborn. The drama is accompanied by ceremonial plowing, sowing, phallic phenomena, *panspermia*,[12] the *liknis*,[13] sympathetic magic to induce rain, and magical obscenities drawn from the category of the sexual organs. Though the description of these cult practices comes from modern observations, Byzantine chroniclers testify to the existence of the Anastenarides in the 12th century and the pre-Christian Dionysian character of many elements has been accepted by Nilsson, Dawkins, and other scholars.[14]

Of no less concern than fertility, to the peasant, was health. The practice of dedicating silver or gold likenesses of parts of the body, which have been cured, to the saint's icon in the church is assuredly one of the most common sights in Orthodox churches. These *tamata* are not new with Christianity, however. The practice goes back to the cult of Aesclepius, and indeed the American excavations at ancient Corinth have discovered a whole series of body parts dedicated in the temple of Aesclepius. The Christian peasant continued to practice incubation in churches just as his pagan ancestors had incubated in pagan shrines.[15]

The Orthodox calendar contained not only feast days of a Christian nature but a great many which were only superficially Christian. The change of seasons was so intimately associated with agrarian, pastoral, and maritime life that the old magical practices which insured society persisted. On December 4, the feast day of St. Barbara, the Orthodox Christians offered *kollyva*, *kollyvozomon*, or *melitopitta* to the saint in order to assure a good crop in the next year, and to safeguard the flocks of the farmers. This is frequently referred to as *varvara* or *varica* and is

[12] On *Panspermia*, Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31, 38.

[13] The *liknis*, associated with the cult of Dionysios, was a sieve which contained various fruits and a phallus: Dawkins, "The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysios", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXIV (1906), 191-206. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund, 1957), pp. 21-37.

[14] The best and most detailed description of all these is Kakoure, Διονυσιακά (Athens, 1963), but her conclusions and analyses should be controlled by the reviews of Megas in Λαογραφία XXI (1963-1964), pp. 616-624, and Kyriakides, Ἑλληνικά XIX (1966), pp. 131-143. A. J. B. Wace, "Mumming Plays in the Southern Balkans", *Bulletin of the School at Athens* XIX (1912-1913), pp. 248-265, found differing versions of these plays among Greeks, Bulgars, Vlachs, Albanians, and Gypsies. Dawkins, "A Visit to Skyros", *Bulletin of the School at Athens* XI (1904-1905), pp. 72-80. For a detailed description of Dionysiac religious elements in antiquity: Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd. ed. (Munich, 1967), I, pp. 564-601.

[15] M. Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches* (London, 1906).

common to Serbs, Greeks, and Bulgars, though not to Croats. It is the ancient *panspermia* offered, usually, to the gods of fertility, to the souls of the dead, and to Dionysios on the third day of the Anthesteria.[16]

The most pronouncedly pagan of these Christian holidays is the cycle of Christmas and the Duodecameron which terminates with the celebration of Christ's baptism on January 6. December 25, as the supposed birth date of Christ, was not celebrated until the 4th century. Prior to that time it was a great pagan holiday, the Dies Natalis Solis Invicti. The choice of December 25, as the birthday of Christ, had as a consequence the superimposition of yet another Roman celebration, that of Calends. Thus this major celebration, which in the Orthodox calendar lasted for twelve days, was more pagan than Christian. It was a period when the mischievous *Kalikantzari* roamed the streets, jumping upon the shoulders of passers-by and seeking to enter houses through the chimneys. *Kollyva*, or panspermia, were offered to the dead and to the water spirits, fertility mimes and ceremonial renewal of the waters were performed in order to assure a prosperous New Year. The Duodecameron ended with the blessing of the waters by the priest who hurled the cross into rivers, sea, or wells, after which the cathartic powers of the waters were utilized to cleanse contaminations from the peasants' tools, icons, and other objects.[17]

Since Gibbon's time one of the most firmly rooted misconceptions among historians, about Christianity, was that it replaced the golden measure of reason and logic which alone swayed the ancient Greeks, with rampant superstition and a pathological infatuation with chresmology or oracle mongering. However most of this superstition which we find among Orthodox Christians is the legacy of the pagan past. M. Nilsson, in his study of ancient Greek religion, was emphatic on this point.

> The general opinion is that the Greeks of the classical age were happily free from superstition. I am sorry that I am obliged to refute this opinion. There was a great deal of superstition in Greece, even when Greek culture was at its height and even in the center of that culture, Athens.[18]

[16] Megas, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34. Schneeweis, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, pp. 30-31, the *panspermia* or *pankarpeia* is among the most long-lived religious practices in the Balkan area, and its existence can be documented from classical antiquity, through the medieval period, to the present.

[17] Megas, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-79. Schneeweis, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113. This is reminiscent of the Plynteria during which the ancient Athenians washed the statue of Athena.

[18] Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 111. The destruction of Athenian power in the Peloponnesian War was due, in part, to the superstition of the general Nicias during the Syracusan expedition.

Oracle mongers were, in the medieval as well as in the ancient period, one of the most important phenomena of religious life on the lower level.[19]

Of cult practices the most widespread and deeply rooted were hagiolatry and iconolatry. Both had strong connections with the pagan past. Hagiolatry bears many of the characteristics of the ancient hero cult and of polytheism. It is unimportant whether a particular saint can be derived from a particular hero or god, and I suspect that most attempts to trace such a derivation would be fruitless. Rather the similarity lies in the similarity of typology and function, and in the fact that both cults satisfied the same needs. The saint was above all a local religious figure whose cult usually centered about his relics. He was the immediate power to whom the needy could appeal, and very often he acquired certain specialized powers. Closely associated with the cult of the saints was that of the religious image. The icon, at least in terms of its function, replaced the pagan statue, and the miracles and magic which it was believed to perform were no less wonderous than those attributed to the statue. One church father had objected to the icon on the grounds that "if one allows pictures, then paganism does the rest".[20]

The discussion has focused primarily on the pagan survivals in rural society, for Christianity attained its earliest expansion in urban society. But in closing this discussion of paganism in Christianity I should like to mention briefly the longest-lived pagan feature of Orthodox urban life, the religio-commercial *panegyris*. According to Nilsson the *panegyris* came into being when the ancient Greeks began to experience urbanization and industrialization. From that time until the modern era, the *panegyris* (common to Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars under that name) remained essentially a religio-commercial phenomenon.[21]

Balkan folk Christianity in the late medieval period represents a syncretism of magic, animism, monotheistic dogma, polytheistic prac-

[19] Though the contents of this prophetic genre were influenced by Biblical material and by the changing facts of successive historical events, the form was the same. See S. Kougeas, "Ἔρευναι περὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας κατὰ τοὺς μέσους χρόνους. Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις του Ἀρέθα λαογρρφικαὶ εἰδήσεις", Λαογραφία IV (1913), p. 262, on the continuity of late ancient and Byzantine chresmology wherein he documents the continuity between the pagan and Christian inhabitants of Paphlagonia.

[20] E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* VIII (1954), pp. 83-150.

[21] Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-100. P. Koukoules, Βυζαντιντινῶν Βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, (Athens), III, pp. 270-283. For the *panegyris* during the Ottoman period, R. Brunschvig, "Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire des foires à travers l'Islam", *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin*, V (1953), 65-72. C. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien. Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, vol. LVI, iii (1913), pp. 55-56.

tices, monism and dualism.[22] Christianity succeeded in destroying or effacing the major gods and in replacing them with a triune surface. But underneath this surface the old spirits and forces retained their grip on the masses. The folk religions of the various Balkan Orthodox peoples display many common elements (as well as divergences). Taking as a model the technical language of Balkan linguistics one might refer to these similarities as religious Balkanisms. They arise from the fact that the religious life of these peoples passed through a number of identical historical stages and was subjected to periods of common political rule, i.e., Indo-European paganism, the Roman-Byzantine-Ottoman Empires, Christianization and eventually Islamization. Thus there was a variety of manner in which similar religious practices spread over the Balkans.

Islam

From that time in the 11th century when the Seljuk rulers acquired their legal position within the political world of the declining Abbasid caliphs until the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the Turkish sultans adhered formally to Sunni Islam. Consequently the formal religious structure with its *muftis*, *cadis*, *medresses*, and mosques was the instrument of Sunni Islam. However the elements of religious heterodoxy and heresy were perhaps more widespread in Turkish Islam than in Balkan Christianity at the time of the Turkish invasions of the Balkan peninsula. This was in part due to historical and political factors and above all to the emergence of the parareligious institution of the dervishes. Unlike Christianity, where monasticism had long ago been incorporated within and closely regulated by the Christian church, the dervish brotherhoods sprouted over the whole Islamic world, like so many mushrooms after a heavy rain, without any centralized control or regulation of their growth and development from the Islamic religious institution. Their widespread popularity and close knit organization over wide areas made of them indispensible adjuncts to both Islam and the sultans in Asia Minor and the Balkans. Because they ultimately appealed to the rural and urban masses, they had to satisfy those same basic passions and needs which we saw in the case of pagan survivals in Balkan Christianity. Consequently much of dervish religiosity is in essence popular religion. This dervish religious life, as it had developed in Turkish Anatolia up to the 15th century, consisted largely of mystical doctrines, popular superstitions and beliefs which errant dervishes had brought from Persia, Iraq,

[22] Filipović, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

India, and Syria. In spite of the pronounced unorthodoxy of such orders, certain of them received great economic, social, and political support of the sultans who found in them essential colonizing and socially cohesive elements. The close association of the Bektashis with the Janissary corps, and of the Mevlevis with court ceremony of the sultans are but two manifestations of the formal recognition of heterodoxy by the Ottoman state.

More disturbing to the sultans was the shiism of many Anatolian tribes, for with the rise of the shii dynasty of the Safavis just to the east of Anatolia, religious heresy became equivalent to political subversion and revolution. Though much of the dervish religiosity which the sultans tolerated was as far removed from Sunni Islam as shiism, nevertheless it had not the same political implications, and so the sultans of the 16th century attempted to repress shiism with severe measures.

It was also the strength and persistance of nomadic life among the Turks which made of Islamization a superficial religious phenomenon among the tribesmen for a long time. The survival of shaman elements among the tribesmen, depending as it did upon the age old concern for fertility of flocks, and war-like virtues to assure pastures and survival against other foes, was assured so long as the nomadic polity continued. The tribal religious *baba*, usually in dervish form, was in fact the old tribal shaman who communicated with the supernatural forces and constrained them. Among the more spectacular pagan survivals from this shaman past was human sacrifice associated with the warrior cult and to which both John Cantacuzene and Chalcocondyles clearly refer. Mummification of the dead seems to have been widespread as also the belief that the soul of the dead took the form of an insect or bird. We read of Tatar-Mongol tribesmen in Anatolia who were Bhuddists, and of Chagatays who had elaborate cults and idols dedicated to the productivity of their flocks.[23]

The conversion of tribesmen to Islam and their eventual sedentarization no doubt brought many of these elements into the popular version of Turkish Islam. Similar was the effect of the conversions of Anatolian Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and Syrians. The majority of the Anatolian Christians were converted to Islam between the 11th and 15th

[23] John Cantacuzene, "Contra Mahometem Apologia", in *Patrologia Graeca*, CLIV, p. 545. *Chalcocondyles*, ed. Bonn, 348. On the shamanist background of human sacrifice, J.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits* (Paris, 1963). See also A. Inan, *Tarihte ve bugün şamanizm materyaller ve araştirmalar* (Ankara, 1954), pp. 176-200. F. Köprülü, *Influence de chamanisme turco-mongol* (Istanbul, 1929).

centuries and their mass entry resulted in the further variegation of Islamic popular religion as the converts brought with them many of their own pagan and Christian practices. The genesis of Turkish Islam is thus as complex as the ethnogenesis of the Turks themselves.

Turkish Islam, when it appeared in the Balkans, represented a bewildering array of variations, perhaps more so than Balkan Christianity. The Turks converted to Islam later than the Balkanites embraced Christianity, so they were much closer to their pagan religious life. Even after conversion they retained nomadism to a significant degree and for extensive periods, hence they were only superficially Islamized. They had travelled through many lands, i.e., central Asia, Iran, Iraq, Azerbaidjan, Syria and Anatolia. Finally they represented an ethnic group which was in a constant and often violent state of ethnogenesis, absorbing other central Asiatic and Near Eastern tribal groups, as well as sedentary Persians, Arabs, Georgians, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.

II. THE BASIC RELIGIOUS TRANSITION FROM CHRISTIANITY TO ISLAM

On the eve of the Ottoman invasions the number of Muslims to be found in the Balkans was practically non-existent. They were to be found primarily in Constantinople, where they had their own quarter and mosque, and possibly in a few other commercial towns. There was also a number of Turks, primarily Gagauz and Tourkopouloi, who had adopted Christianity and were centered in the Dobrudja and in the diocese of the Vardar Turks. However two centuries later, in the census of the taxable hearths which the Ottomans prepared between 1520-1530, there were 194,958 taxable Muslim hearths, 832,707 taxable Christian hearths, and 4,134 taxable Jewish hearths.[24] Though this census is not absolutely accurate it nevertheless gives us a faithful picture of Balkan demography in the early 16th century. 18.8% of the population was Muslim, 80.7% Christian, and 0.5% Jewish. The Turkish historian Ömer Barkan has done us the great service of bringing together the demographic figures for the twenty-eight Ottoman Balkan provinces and for twelve of the more important towns. Of the 194,958 Muslim hearths, 165,980 or 85% were to be found in only ten of the twenty-eight

[24] For the figures which follow, O. Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux XVe siècles", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* I (1958), pp. 7-36. "Tarihi demografi araştirmalari ve osmanli tarihi", *Türkiyat Mecmuasi* X (1952-1953), pp. 1-26.

Balkan districts, and the remaining 15% were scattered throughout the other eighteen districts. They were most numerous in the districts of Pasha (66,684 hearths), Silistria (17,295), Bosnia (16,935), Tchirmen (12,686), Trikala (12,347), Vize (12,193), Nikopolis (9,122), Herzegovina (7,077), Kustendil (6,640), and Gallipoli (5,001). They formed a majority of the population in only four of these districts: Silistria (72%), Tchirmen (89%), Vize (56%), and Gallipoli (56%). They constituted between 20-46% of the population in six districts, and in twenty districts they were less than 20% of the population. From these statistics it emerges that the Muslim element was most numerous in Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Silistria. It was very sparse in Serbia, central Bulgaria, Albania, Montenegro, Epirus, Acarnania, Eubeoa-Attica, Morea and the islands.

A glance at the figures for twelve of the more important Balkan towns will help sharpen our focus on demographic concentration of Muslims. Barkan's figures are far less satisfactory here, for many towns are not included, and consequently we should approach these figures with greater reservation. In nine towns the Muslims outnumbered the Christians. The ratios for the nine towns are as follows:

	Muslim	Christian	Jewish
Istanbul (1478)	58.2%	31.6%	10.2%
Adrianople	82.1	12.8	5.1
Saloniki	25.2	20.2	54.3
Sarajevo	100.0		
Larissa	90.2	9.8	
Serres	61.3	32.8	5.9
Monastir	75.0	20.2	4.8
Skopje	74.8	23.7	1.5
Sofia	66.4	33.6	

In only three of the twelve towns were the Christians more numerous than the Muslims:

	Muslim	Christian	Jewish
Athens	0.5%	99.5%	
Nicopolis	37.7	62.3	
Trikala	36.3	41.5	22.2

Thus Islamization and demographic change are more spectacular in the towns than in the countryside in the early 16th century. By way of

example, the town of Sofia had a Muslim majority of 66.4%, whereas the district of Sofia was only 6% Muslim. Adrianople with a large Muslim majority (82.1%) was located in a district which had 74% Christian and 26% Muslim habitation. Sarajevo had a 100% Muslim population, whereas Bosnian Muslims constituted 46% of the population. Larissa had 90.2% Muslims, but the kaza of Trikala, in which the town was situated, had only 17.5% Muslim population. Skopje was 74.5% and Monastir 75% Muslim, and yet the kaza of Kustendil was only 10.5% Muslim. Though the Muslim population was most heavily concentrated in Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Silistria, it was most marked in the towns which constituted the administrative, commercial, and communication centers. It was from these centers that the forces of Islam radiated into the adjacent countryside and along the main routes.

One must deal with the perplexing question of the origins of this Muslim population in the Balkans at the time of the census of 1520-1530. The Muslim element had, of course, a double origin: Colonization of Muslims from outside the Balkans, and conversion of Christians and Jews within the peninsula. As yet we do not know what proportion of the entire Balkan Muslim population each of these two groups represents, for records of colonization and conversion from these two centuries of Ottoman rule are sporadic and incomplete.[25] However, a study of the hearth figures from the early 16th century provides a concrete starting point which may lead to an approximate solution or at least to an understanding of this question. In the census of 1520-1530 there are 37,435 nomad hearths of a total of 194,958 Muslim hearths, that is to say approximately 19% of the Muslim population in the years 1520-1530 consisted of nomads. This 19% represents an element which originated outside the peninsula and therefore belongs to that category of Muslim population which came as a result of colonization.

What was the origin of the remaining 81% of the Muslim population? The two principal authorities on the nomads and colonization, Gökbilgin and Barkan, have attributed a great, indeed a major, role to the nomads

[25] On colonization one may consult the following: Barkan, "Les deportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman", *Revue de la Faculté des sciences économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul* XI (1949-1950), pp. 67-131; A. Decei, "Etablissement d'Aktav de la Horde d'Or dans l'Empire Ottoman au temps de Yıldırım Bayezid", *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armagan* (Istanbul, 1950-1955), pp. 77-92; M. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân* (Istanbul, 1957); D. Angelov, "La conquête des peuples balkaniques par les Turcs", *Byzantinoslavica*, XVII (1956), pp. 263-275.

in the Muslim colonization of the Balkans. According to these scholars the social organization and mobility of the nomads, as well as the desire of the sultans to place them in an environment where they would be less troublesome, made of them a primary source for colonists. It is, nevertheless, difficult to find any systematic confirmation or refutation of this proposition in the sources. If it is true that the nomads were so significant, numerically, in colonization then the figure of 37,435 hearths may indeed be an important clue in ascertaining the proportion of Muslim colonists to converted Balkan Muslims.[26] It has emerged from the study of the Ottoman documents of the 16th-17th centuries that these Yürüks and Tatars preserved their nomadic status throughout the 16th century, undergoing basic sedentarization only in the 17th century. Undoubtedly some nomads were sedentarized earlier, and their appearance in the hearth census among the sedentary Muslims who constituted 81% of the Muslim population would obscure the question of their origin via nomadic colonization. However the survival of the nomadic system, as reflected by the Ottoman documents, would indicate that large scale sedentarization began to affect the nomads only in the 17th century. One might therefore assume that the majority of the Yürüks and Tatars remained in their nomadic status as of the census of 1520-1530, and that the 81% of the sedentary Muslim population contained only a small element of sedentarized nomads.

In addition to the migration of nomadic groups there is some general evidence that sedentary Muslim elements came from Asia Minor to the Balkans, some seeking farm lands, others military and administrative service, while still others came to establish the religions institutions of Islam. Undoubtedly a good portion of this element came as a result of specific colonization policies, whereas another segment crossed to Europe under the impact of the Timurid invasions and other upheavals. There is less specific information on the sedentary Muslim element in the colonization of the Balkans. But if we should accept the proposition that the nomads actually constituted a major source of colonists we arrive at the following interesting proposition: Perhaps 50% of the Balkan Muslim population of 1520-1530 had their origins (whether nomad or sedentary) in colonization from outside the peninsula. Thus, if one assumes that the nomadic 19% represents a very substantial proportion of the original colonizing element, that the majority of the nomads did not undergo major sedentarization prior to the 17th century, and that the ratio of

[26] This does not answer such questions as the comparative rate of growth among settled and nomadic peoples.

population reproduction between the sedentary and nomadic Muslims up to the early 16th century was not too different — if these propositions, based on the nomadic figures, are actually valid (and here I emphasize the propositional character of this sequence of reasoning), then it would follow that a large proportion of the sedentary Muslims in the Balkans had their origin in religious conversion. If all this is true, then we are dealing with a significant movement of Islamization, significant primarily in terms of the genesis of the Muslim Balkan population.

There are both general and specific indications that this conversionary process was effective throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule. The very conquests were accompanied by Islamization, in varying degrees, throughout the peninsula, a fact which dismayed the first Orthodox patriarch after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.[27] Though the Muslim rulers and religious men tolerated Christianity formally, and allowed the patriarchate to be resurrected after its temporary demise in 1453, the condition of the church prior to 1453 was anomalous. The Christian Empire and the Orthodox Church were inextricably intertwined prior to 1453, and as the Christian Empire was the principal foe of the sultans, the Orthodox church and bishops were politically suspect in Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and in other areas conquered before 1453. Consequently the church suffered economic impoverishment and administrative disruption in many of these areas prior to the reunification of all Orthodox lands under Turkish rule and until the resurrection of the patriarchate as a department of state in the new empire. The Turks removed the metropolitans from such sees as Adrianople, Serres, and Maeroneia, confiscated much of the church property, and gave the majority of these confiscated properties and serfs to the Muslim *timar* and *waqf* institutions.[28] The Ottoman administrative and religious institutions seem to have welcomed Islamization, and indeed contemporary observers describe the celebrations and joy which conversions of *dhimmis*

[27] A. Vakalopoulos, Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, II_1 (Thessaloniki, 1964), pp. 149-150. P. Petrov, *Асимилаторската политика на турските завоеватели. Сборник от документи за помохаменданчвания и потурчвания* (XV-XIX B) (Sofia, 1964), pp. 19ff.

[28] Both the Turkish and Byzantine sources are in agreement on this point. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. Vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar* (Istanbul, 1952); F. Miklosich et I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* (Vienna, 1860-1862), I-II; C. Amantos, "Zu den Bischofslisten als historischer Quellen", *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München*, 1958 (Munich, 1960), pp. 21-23; G. Ostrogorsky, "La prise de Serres par les Turcs", *Byzantion*, XXXV (1965), pp. 309-310.

occasioned.[29] The proselytizing spirit was perhaps most pronounced among the dervish orders, of whom the Bektashis and Mevlevis had already displayed remarkable success among the Orthodox Christians of Anatolia. These brotherhoods remained important conversionary instruments in the Balkans until early modern times. The administrative and military apparatus was an important channel of conversion, as is well known. The Janissaries and *gulams* of the palace service were the most spectacular aspects of government-sponsored conversion.[30] But conversion was also evident among the Christian *spahis* of the 15th-16th centuries, who frequently must have brought their serfs into the folds of Islam with them. The Christian naval personnel of Gallipoli eventually converted to Islam, as did many of the court and local scribes, tax farmers, and guildsmen.[31] Intermarriage, primarily between Muslim males and Christian women, had a long and fascinating history.[32] Finally there were instances of conversion under duress and the related phenomenon of Crypto-Christianity.[33]

The reasons for conversion may, I think, be reduced to three basic ones. First there were the very real or material advantages which would ensue upon religious conversion. A change of religious status meant, in effect, a basic movement in society from an inferior to a superior class. As members of the triumphant religion, Muslims enjoyed a lighter tax burden and a favored legal position in all their economic and social relations in the eyes of the courts which judged these relations. In this respect one need only recall that the testimony of a Christian was inadmissable as evidence in a Muslim court.[34] Second there was the success-

[29] Schiltberger and Bartholomaeus Georgiewitz give a clear picture of the proselytizing spirit as it affected much of Ottoman society.

[30] Vryonis, "Seljuk Gulams and Ottoman Dervishes", *Der Islam* XLI (1965), pp, 224-252.

[31] H. İnalcık, "Stefan Dusan'dan osmanlî imparatorluğuna. XV. asîrda Rumeli'de hîristiyan sipahiler ve menşeleri", in *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, I, (Ankara, 1954), pp. 137-184. Djurdjev, "Bosna", *EI*$_2$. S. Skendi, "Religion in Albania during the Ottoman Rule", *Südost-Forschungen* XV (1956), p. 314. Inalcik, "Gelibolu", *EI*$_2$. H. Duda and G. Galabov, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia* (Munich, 1960), *passim*.

[32] N. J. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Rule* (Thessaloniki, 1967).

[33] Dawkins, "The Crypto-Christians of Turkey", *Byzantion* VIII (1933), pp. 247-275. P. Karlin-Hayter, "La politique religieuse des conquérants ottomans dans un texte hagiographique (c. 1437)", *Byzantion* XXXV (1965), pp. 353-358. On forced conversion and on the execution (by burning) of those who refused to convert, *H. Dernschwamm's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* 1553-1555, ed. Babinger (Munich-Leipzig, 1923), pp. 11, 140-141.

[34] M. Grignaschi, "La valeur du témoinage des sujets non-musulmans (dhimmi) dans

ful appeal of religious preaching and social ministration of Muslim dervishes, *medresses*, mosques, and *imarets*. These combined effective preaching with the economic affluence assured them by the fact that the Ottoman state was Muslim. Finally, there was the element of fear, particulary in stressful times, which predisposed various Christian groups and individuals to convert. Conversion to Islam was a finality, for conversion, or reversion, to Christianity and Judaism was punishable by death.[35]

Islamization continued as a significant process of cultural change for three centuries after the census of 1520-1530. Albania is the most spectacular case in this respect, for in the years 1520-1530 the kazas of Scutari and Elbasan contained Muslim populations of only 4½% and 5½% of their respective total populations. The *timariots* in the *defter* of 1430 were predominantly Christian Albanians.[36] The original impact of Islamization seems to have been felt in central Albania, coming to the north in the 17th century and affecting the south even later.[37] In Bulgaria Islamization is discernible in the northeast, in the border regions of Thrace and Macedonia (before the census under discussion). A new wave of Islamization, with important consequences, cocurred in 1666-1670 and 1686-1690. As a result some 74 villages in the Rhodope and other regions turned Muslim. A third wave took place in the beginning of the 18th century. These conversions seem to have been of the group variety and were occasioned by the pressures of war and accompanied by the presence of expeditionary armies and heavy tax extortions.[38] Among Greeks the Islamization of the Vallahades in southwest Macedonia and of Cretans took place in the 17th-18th centuries. The latter seems to have been primarily the work of dervishes, while the former process proceeded from the tensions following the Russo-Turkish wars.[39]

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l'empire ottoman", *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin*, XVIII (1963), pp. 211-323. On the tax differences: İnalcık, "Osmanlîlar'da raiyyet rüsûmu", *Belleten* XXIII (1959), pp. 575-610.

[35] Nicodemus Agiorites, Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον, 3rd ed. (Athens, 1961).

[36] Barkan, "Essai", *passim*. İnalcık, *Hicrî* 835 *tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arnavid* (Ankara, 1954); "Timariotes chrétiens en Albanie au XVe siècle", *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* IV (1952), pp. 118-138.

[37] Skendi, *loc. cit.*, *passim*. P. Barth, "Das Bistum Sappa-Sarda in Nordalbanien nach einem Bericht aus dem Vatikanischen Archiv (ca. 1750)", *Südost-Forschungen* XXV (1966), pp. 27-37. G. Stadtmüller, "Die Islamisierung bei den Albanern", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N. F., III (1955), pp. 404-429.

[38] Petrov, *op. cit.*, p. 166, and *passim*.

[39] P. Hidiroglu, *Das religiöse Leben auf Kreta nach Ewlija Čelebi* (Bonn, 1967). Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), I, 8; II, pp. 474, 526-528.

Perhaps the most interesting case is that of Islamization in Bosnia. Though Islamization here was a significant affair it did not occur suddenly and in the beginning of Ottoman rule as some have maintained, but was more of a drawn out process.[40] A quarter of a century after the conquest (1463-1489) there were:

Christians:	25,000 hearths	1,300 widows	4,000 bachelors
Muslims:	4,500 hearths		2,300 bachelors

There were approximately five times as many Christian as Muslim hearths in 1489. However by the census of 1520-1530 the Muslim hearths numbered 16,935 and the Christian 19,619. In 1489 the Christians constituted 81.6% and the Muslims 18.4% of the population. But by 1520-1530 the number of Muslim hearths had more than tripled and the number of Christian hearths had dropped impressively. The ratio of Muslim to Christian hearths had changed to a ratio of 46% to 54%. Thus these statistics strongly suggest that the conversionary process was at its peak during the thirty years between the two census reports. It would also seem that though the Bogomils were in outlying, isolated districts, Islamization spread from the towns (the centers of Islam) to the immediate vicinities and finally into the rural areas. Consequently, though the factor of sectarian pluralism must still be considered in the question of Bosnian Islamization, the exact relation of Bosnian heretical life and the success of Islam in Bosnia, for me at least, remains obscure.

There is one aspect of Turkish Islam in the Balkans which is enigmatic and deserves some attention at this point. The Turkish conquerors inherited the old core lands of Byzantine culture, i.e. Asia Minor and the Balkans, and within these two peninsulas Islamization had two entirely different results. Let us return to the hearth lists of the early 16th century for a brief moment. In Asia Minor the Muslim to non-Muslim ratio was as follows:[41]

Muslim	953,997	or	92.4%
Christian	77,869	or	7.5%
Jewish	559	or	0.1%
	1,032,425 hearths		

In the Balkans:

[40] See note 1 above.
[41] Barkan, "Essai", *passim.*

Muslim	194,958	or	18.8%
Christian	832,707	or	80.7%
Jewish	4,134	or	0.5%
	1,031,799 hearths		

In Asia Minor the Muslims were a crushing majority of the population whereas in the Balkan they were a minority. How does one explain the greater success of Islamization in Asia Minor, and the mass survival of Christianity in the Balkans? At this point the historian can draw up a list of historico-social dissimilarities in the conditions of conquest of the two peninsulas and speculate as to the correlation between these dissimilarities and the differing fortunes of Islamization.

The first difference which one observes is in the length of the period of conquests in each area. The Turkish conquest of Asia Minor was characterized by longevity, the area not being completely conquered until four centuries after the first Turkish raids commenced in the 11th century. In the Balkans the conquest lasted for about one century and would have been shorter save for the Timurid interlude. Also, many of the Balkan states were first incorporated as vassal states before the final absorption into the Ottoman system.

Second, the conquest of the Balkans was effected by one strongly centralized state which soon imposed political unity on the whole area, and restored order and prosperity. In contrast, the conquest of Anatolia was a long, repeated affair, effected by several states and tribes, and transformed much of the area into a domain of war for extensive periods. Consequently destruction was much more widespread in Asia Minor than in the Balkans. The Turkish conquests of Anatolia replaced political unity with a bewildering political pluralism and the peninsula was not reunified until the 15th century. In the Balkans the Ottoman conquest replaced political pluralism with political unification.

On the level of ecclesiastical polity there was considerable difference too. Throughout four centuries of warfare and conquest in Asia Minor, the Orthodox Church of the area was closely connected with the patriarch of Constantinople, who was ultimately associated with and the instrument of the emperor, the principal foe of the Turkish conquerors. Therefore the church was politically suspect. As a result the Turks deprived it of practically all its properties, revenues, and expelled its bishops for long periods of time. In the Balkans the same pattern of economic confiscation and removal of bishops is visible in the first areas the Turks conquered. But the conquest did not last as long. Many of the regions

were under Turkish rule for only a few years prior to 1453, and when the Christian Empire was destroyed in 1453, the patriarch no longer had dangerous political connections. The hierarchy was revived and the church retained whatever was left of its properties, still considerable in comparison to the little property remaining to the church in Asia Minor. Consequently the Christian establishment of the Balkans did not have to suffer disruption for such long periods as in Asia Minor. Its position was regularized relatively quickly.

Demographically the bulk of Turkish settlement took place in Asia Minor rather than in the Balkans. In this regard most important were the Turkish nomads, a principal factor in the disruption of the Anatolian Christian society. It was this element which had effected much of the conquest of Asia Minor, and the sultans were able to control the nomads only during the 13th century. But when the central authority was weak, as in the 11th-12th and late 13th-14th centuries, they become independent agents, raiding and pillaging sedentary society. As a result much of the agricultural areas reverted to nomadic pastoralism. The economic life of the nomads was a further bane to the sedentary population because of their activity in the slave trade. In the Balkans the conquests operated under the control of a stricter centralized authority, and as the conquests ended the sultans exerted greater restraint and control of this particular element than had been the case in Asia Minor.

The greater disruption which the nomads wreaked in Asia Minor is related not only to the breakdown of central authority and to the existence of political pluralism, but also to the factor of their large numbers. Inasmuch as the Turks came to the Balkans via Asia Minor the greater number of the nomads was to be found in Anatolia. Though there are no figures as to the tribal numbers which came in the original conquests, the statistics which Barkan has tabulated for the early 16th century indicate clearly that the nomads of Anatolia were far more numerous than those of the Balkans. In the province of Anadolu alone (this includes central and western Anatolia, but excludes eastern Anatolia which had large tribal agglomerations) there were 77,268 nomad hearths. In the entire Balkans there were only 37,435, or slightly less than half of the numbers in central and western Anatolia. It is of further interest that the nomads of Anadolu, as also the nomads of the Balkans, constituted approximately the same proportion of the total Muslim population of their respective provinces, i.e. 19.7% and 19% of the total Muslim populations. But the truly significant figure in this respect was the ratio of nomad population to the entire population (Christian, Muslim, Jewish) of each

area. In Anadolu the nomads constituted 16.2% of the entire population, whereas in the Balkans they constituted only 3.6% of the entire population. This is, I would suggest, a very significant factor in both the questions of Islamization and disruption.

These differing factors in the conquests of the Balkans and Anatolia undoubtedly contributed to the differing fate of Christianity and the varying fortunes of Islamization in the two peninsulas.[42]

III. EXAMPLES AND PATTERNS OF THIS RELIGIOUS CHANGE CONCLUSIONS

The statistical approach to the question of continuity and change in the religious life of the Balkans, applicable for the first time in the case of the Ottoman period, is of great value to the historian. The statistics indicate clearly the continuity of Christian religious life of the majority of the inhabitants, and a change in religious life of that minority converted to Islam. But the statistics give only a two dimensional version of this continuity and change for they present a picture, in simple black and white, of a formal religious world which contains Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Thus in the question of religious change they convey the impression that converts to Islam simply abandoned Christianity and embraced a pure Islam. This is reinforced by the vision of a Sunni Islamic religious life centered in the *medresses* and mosques, accompanied by *namaz*, circumcision, polygamy, and the adoption of Muslim names. The statistics, however, tell us nothing of the everyday details or quality of the religious life among the converts. In short the statistics do not tell whether or not the new religious life of the converts represents a complete break with their pre-Muslim religious life.

Franz Babinger, perhaps the keenest student of Balkan Islam, had contended that two religious phenomena gave Balkan Islam its real content: hagiolatry and the dervish brotherhoods.[43] These two elements, the one Christian and the other Islamic, were essentially popular religion and they appealed to both Muslims and Christians. In addition, the Ottoman conquests of the Balkans brought no overall disruption and change to the rural population's attachment to the seasonal-religio-

[42] These conclusions have been developed at great length in my forthcoming book, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization, 11-15th Centuries* (University of California Press).

[43] Babinger, "Der Islam in Südosteuropa", in *Völker und Kulturen Südosteuropas, Schriften der Südosteuropa Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1959), pp. 206-207.

magical calendar or to its concern for health and fertility. The continuity in this type of religious life is clearly visible in the life of important segments of the converts and demonstrates the syncretistic character of popular Islam. What were the vehicles of transmission by which elements from this pre-Muslim religiosity passed into Islam? Most important were the mass conversions which occurred among the Albanians, Bosnians, Bulgar Pomaks, and Greeks. The larger the numbers of the converted group, the more diluted was the Islam of the converts. Largeness of number served to insulate the old religious practices and beliefs from thorough penetration by Islamic practices and beliefs. Conversely, individual conversion meant that the convert would enter the body of Muslims alone, and his previous beliefs and practices would expire with him at the end of his life. One may also assume that of the sedentary Muslims of Anatolia, who came to the Balkans as colonists, some were converts or the descendents of converts who had retained certain Christian elements in their version of Islam. Wherever large scale intermarriage of Muslim males and Christian women took place, and this was of frequent occurrence, there are indications that the women were the vehicle by which much of popular Christianity passed into Islam. The syncretism of the dervish orders in equating comparable Christian and Muslim religious practices and beliefs and in outright adoption of Christian items, made of the brotherhoods the most important Muslim religious institution in the epibiosis of pre-Islamic religious customs.[44] The vitality of Christian folk culture, the importance of Christians in Ottoman agricultural, maritime, and commercial life meant that the old forces and elements which the Christians had propitiated in the past to ensure health and prosperity would now enjoy a considerable continuity.

Before passing on to a very brief examination of pre-Muslim survivals in certain areas where group conversions occurred one should note three of the more widespread religious practices which passed into Balkan Islam: baptism, animal sacrifice, and hagiolatry. The practice of baptism was already widespread among the Anatolian Muslims of Asia Minor two centuries before the Turks crossed over into Europe and there is

[44] Hasluck, *op. cit., passim.* J. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1937). A. Gölpinarlï, *Mevlana'dan sonra Mevlevilik* (Istanbul, 1953). Kissling, "Das islamische Derwischentum als Bewahrer volksreligiöser Überlieferung", *Religiöse Volkskunde* XIV (1964), pp. 157-166. The history of the family of Bedr ed-Din contains elements both of intermarriage with Christians and of intense religious syncretism between Islam and Christianity: Kissling, "Das Menaqybname Scheich Bedr ed Din's des Sohnes des Richters von Samavna", *Zeitschrift der deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft*, C (1950), pp. 114-116, *passim.*

evidence that it remained important beyond the 17th century in the Balkans. A 12th century Byzantine commentator on the church canons relates that it was widespread among the Turks of Anatolia.[45]

...it is the custom that all the infants of the Muslims be baptized by Orthodox priests... For the Agarenes suppose that their children will be possessed of demons and will smell like dogs if they do not receive Christian baptism.

Many Muslim peasants believed, as did their Christian counterparts, that baptism was an effective agent against mental illness and against what they called the 'foul smell', so they employed it for its magical powers. It was still so widespread in the 17th century that a synodal decision of Constantinople threatened all Christian priests, who continued to baptize the children of Turks, with defrocking.[46]

Propitiatory animal sacrifice (*thysia, kurban*) is one of the remarkably stable factors in the folk religion of Greeks, Armenians, and Balkan Slavs, from antiquity until early modern times. The 16th century Croatian, Bartholomaeus Georgiewitz, who lived as a slave in Turkey, remarks upon the existence of a type of animal sacrifice among the Muslims which had apparently passed over from popular Christianity.[47]

The Manner of their sacrifice. (of the Turks)

In the time of anye disease or peril, they promise in certaine places to sacrifice either a Shepe or Oxe; after that the vowed offering is not burned, like unto a beast killed and layed on the aulter, as the custome was among the Jewes, but after that the beast is slaine, the skinne, head, feete, and fourthe parte of the flesh are gene unto the prest, an other part to poore people, and the thirde unto their neighbours. The killers of the sacrifice doo make readye the other fragmentes for thē selves and their compaynions to feede on. Neyther are they bound to performe the vow, if they have not bene delivered from the possessed disease or peril. For all things with them are done condytionallye I will geve if thou willte graunt. The lyke worshyppinge of God is observed among the Gretians, Armenians, and other realmes in Asia imitating yet y Christian religiō.

The specific detail which strongly suggests the passage of this type of sacrifice from the Christians to the Muslims is the description of the apportioning of the parts of the slain animal. This corresponds exactly to the *dermatikon*, or the priest's share, as it is described in Greek inscriptions from Greece, the isles, and Asia Minor in antiquity.[48]

[45] Rhalles and Potles, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, II (Athens, 1852), p. 498.

[46] Koukoules, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 54-55.

[47] Bartholomaeus Georgiewitz, *The Offspring of the House of Ottomanno* (London, 1570), under "The Manner of their Sacrifices".

[48] See Vryonis, "Byzantium and Islam, Seventh-Seventeenth Centuries", *East European Quarterly* II (1968), p. 239, n. 71. "Dermatikon", *Pauly-Wissowa.*

Finally, the effectiveness of the saint's powers was recognized in popular Islam, and frequently Muslims appealed to one or another of the saints. In the realm of syncretism certain Christian and Muslim saints were closely associated, enjoyed common attributes, and often one was interchangeable with another.[49] Baptism, animal sacrifice, and hagiolatry were among the most widespread borrowings of Islam from Christianity in the realm of popular religion. Baptism represents a specifically and uniquely Christian form, the particular type of animal sacrifice a classical pagan form, while hagiolatry constitutes a form which was common to both Islam and Christianity prior to the appearance of the Turks in the Balkans.

Folklorists, by their study of the Muslim Albanians, Bosnians, and Pomaks, have contributed to our knowledge of the continuity of Balkan folk religion within Islamic popular religion. It is significant that Vakarelski prefaced his study of the Pomaks by noting the survival of the old Bulgaro-Christian rural life and agricultural technology among the converts to Islam. The old magical practices associated with the harvest, threshing, sowing, survived and in this respect he observed that the old Kukeri dances and mimes associated with the Dionysiac fertility rites (and which are mentioned above) survived in some Pomak communities. In family life the Pomaks continued to believe that the Bogoroditsa aided the mother in the travail of birth, that the fates determined the life of the newborn child on the third night, and consequently they baked a pita for the former and left a meal behind the door for the latter on the third night after the birth of the child.

Many observed Easter by taking colored eggs from the Christians, which, they believed, would assure good health. In connection with health they brought ill children to church on Good Friday, visited the local *ayasma*, sought the blessing of the priest in church on feast days, and took holy water from the priest for the benefit of the family members and the livestock. They made offerings to church icons, frequently and covertly kept church books and icons in their houses, and continued to perform animal sacrifices in the courtyards of certain churches and monasteries.[50]

The converts in Bosnia, Serbia, and Macedonia similarly brought many old religious customs when they adopted Islam. Like the Pomaks they also observed Easter after a fashion by dying Easter eggs. They

[49] Note 44 above.

[50] Ch. Vakarelski, "Altertümliche Elemente in Lebensweise und Kultur der bulgarischen Mohammedaner", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, IV (1966), pp. 149-172.

celebrated the feasts of Sts. George, John, Peter, and on the feast day of St. Barbara prepared boiled wheat or *varica*, the ancient panspermia. Though they adopted the Muslim marriage ceremony they incorporated certain old practices with it. Many Muslim families knew who the old patron saint of the family had been in the days before Islam and invited family friends to their house on his feast day.[51] Among the Albanian converts the visitation of churches and baptism of their children were only two of the more prominent elements which the converts brought with them.[52]

CONCLUSIONS

This brief survey of the Balkan religious configuration in the 14th century, of the extent of Islamization during the following two centuries, and of the patterns and examples of religious change, lead to the following conclusions.

(1) At the time of the first Turkish invasions of the Balkans, paganism was a very marked characteristic of Balkan folk Christianity and shamanism of nomadic Islam.

(2) Though the Anatolian Christians largely succumbed to Islam, Islamization remained a peripheral phenomenon in the Balkans as a whole. The differing fate of Christianity and Islam in the two peninsulas was due primarily to the differing circumstances of the Turkish conquests in the two areas.

(3) Though the Islam which emerged in the Balkans was 'orthodox' on the formal level, on the popular level it was heavily influenced by the ancient pagan and Christian elements which the converts retained after their conversion. Consequently, though the entrance of the Turks and their long rule mark a real epoch in the history of the Balkan peoples, the changes which they wrought in the religious life of the Balkan masses were restricted. The majority of the Balkanites did not convert, and even those who did so retained a great deal of their pre-Islamic religious beliefs and practices. Thus, in spite of the religious change which accompanied Ottoman rule, continuity was the dominant feature of Balkan religious life in this period.

[51] Schneeweis, *op. cit.*, pp. 146ff. and *passim.*
[52] Barth, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

MANOLIS CHATZIDAKIS

ASPECTS DE LA PEINTURE RELIGIEUSE DANS LES BALKANS (1300-1500)

Le but de cet exposé est de traiter succintement de deux phases consécutives de la peinture religieuse dans les Balkans. Le point de démarcation entre ces deux phases sera un fait d'ordre politique d'importance capitale: la prise de Constantinople. Il s'agit d'abord de la dernière étape de la peinture byzantine après 1300, alors que par une expansion vertigineuse, due à la floraison de plusieurs états et principautés grecques et étrangères qui aspiraient toutes à la succession de l'Empire byzantin, cette peinture devint un langage quasi œcuménique pour l'Europe orientale.

L'approche de ce champs, parfois épineux, d'une manière autant que possible objective, n'est devenu possible aujourd'hui que par l'œuvre d'une jeune génération d'historiens d'art des pays balkaniques, débarassés d'un chauvinisme qui paraît maintenant vétuste, mais qui autrefois empêchait le traitement des questions concernant surtout les "écoles de peinture nationales" d'une manière scientifique. D'autre part, les études dediées à cette peinture de la part de savants tels que A. Grabar, Otto Demus et autres, a beaucoup aidé à éclaircir les problèmes et à les reduire souvent à leurs dimensions appropriées.

La phase suivante est celle qui commence au lendemain de la chute de l'Empire. On voudrait mettre en valeur d'abord qu'il s'agit de l'évolution de la même peinture qui continue sans aucune interruption; elle est réduite pourtant dans ces moyens et dans ses possibilités à cause de l'appauvrissement général. Puis, souligner que cet art est loin de ce que l'on considère généralement comme décadence. Reléver les faits essentiels qui se rapportent à l'activité des peintres pendant les cent années qui suivent l'année fatale de 1453, dans une vue d'ensemble dans cette partie de l'Europe, est un essai ardu, qui n'a d'ailleurs été rendu possible que grâce aux contributions de nos confrères balkaniques dans un rapport présenté au Ier Congrès d'Études du Sud-Est Européen à Sofia, en 1966;

il fait état des études relatives dans chacun des pays, l'Albanie, la Bulgarie, la Grèce, la Roumanie et la Yougoslavie. Le sujet en était la communauté et la diversité de la peinture postbyzantine dans les Balkans.[1]

I

Un des traits marquants de l'histoire de l'art du Sud-Est Européen pendant les deux derniers siècles avant la chute de Constantinople est que la peinture byzantine continue à tenir, d'une manière indiscutable, un rôle prédominant, dans l'art des peuples slaves des Balkans qui avaient formé des états voisinant avec celui de Constantinople et, d'une manière ou d'une autre, se trouvaient dans l'aire d'activité culturelle et religieuse de l'empire byzantin. On pense surtout à la Serbie et la Bulgarie, pays orthodoxes, qui conservent des monuments de tout premier ordre, qui forment avec ceux de Constantinople, de Thessalonique, de Mistra, etc., des témoignages précieux sur la peinture byzantine de l'époque des Paléologues, sur ses tendances et sur son évolution. Il n'y a pas de doute que ces ensembles de peinture monumentale religieuse, qui se trouvent sur le sol non byzantin, commandés par des princes locaux et ornant des bâtiments d'une architecture qui n'est généralement pas byzantine, devraient être considérés comme appartenant aux trésors de l'art propre à ces deux pays. Ces peintures expriment aussi, jusqu'à un certain point, les aspirations esthétiques du moins d'une élite, plutôt restreinte, de chaque pays. Il serait pourtant difficile de parler d'"écoles nationales" comme on le fait encore parfois, dans le sens d'écoles de peintures contemporaines mais séparées par des traits stylistiques et autres, dûs à la nationalité différente des artistes. D'abord, le sens de la nation, avec les perspectives actuelles, risque de déformer la réalité historique, et puis il est évident que aussi bien les artistes que ceux qui leur passaient les commandes voulaient faire de l'authentique "byzantin".

A ce propos nous croyons utile de citer la pensée d'André Grabar:[2] "C'est l'état plutôt que la nation, lorsqu'il s'agit du Moyen Age et des faits qui intéressent l'histoire de l'art en Europe orientale. En effet, ce n'est pas le même art qu'on trouve pendant toute la période médiévale et sur tout le territoire occupé par un peuple donné, mais des manifesta-

[1] *Association Internatinale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen, Actes du 1er Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes.* t. II Sofia 1969, p. 705-793. *Communauté et diversité de l'Art des pays balkaniques (XVIe-début du XVIIIe siècle).* Rapport pour la séance pleinière.

[2] A. Grabar, *L'art du Moyen Âge en Europe Orientale (L'art dans le monde)*, (Paris, 1968), p. 17.

tions artistiques qui ne durent que le temps et ne s'étendent qu' à l'espace qui appartiennent à une conjoncture politique et disparaissent avec elle". Une constatation d'un ordre différent provenant d'un savant russe, V. Lazarev,[3] complète cette pensée: "En dehors de Constantinople, qui avait sans doute une fonction de guide, à Salonique, à l'Athos, à Mistra, en Serbie, en Bulgarie, en Russie, en Géorgie et en Arménie florissaient des écoles, mais aucune d'elles ne se distinguait nettement par une physionomie particulière".

Vue de cet angle, la question de la nationalité des artistes et des "écoles nationales" a une importance mineure. Pourtant, on ne peut pas négliger le fait que les peintres les plus notoires qui signent leur œuvre sont des Grecs, car il indique une des données principales du problème.

Pendant la floraison de la Serbie des Némanides un atelier de peintres sous la conduite de deux maîtres nommés Eutychios et Michel Astrapas qui nous ont laissé leur signatures, a exécuté la décoration d'un certain nombre d'églises sur la commande d'abord d'un dignitaire byzantin (Périvleptos à Ochrid, 1295) et puis du Kral Miloutine (Prizren, 1307, Saint-Nikitas, 1307-1308, Staro Nagoričino, 1316).[4] D'autres églises, comme, Gračanica (1318-1321), Studenica (église des Rois, 1313-1314) sont dues à d'autres ateliers, étroitement liés non seulement avec celui d'Astrapas, mais aussi avec une série d'autres artistes, toujours difficile à distinguer: ce Georges Caliergis, le "meilleur peintre de Thessalie" (Macédoine), a décoré en 1315 l'église de Christos à Vérina; le peintre anonyme de la chapelle de Saint-Euthyme (1303), les artistes de l'église de St. Nicolas-Orphanos à Salonique, ainsi que l'atelier qui a exécuté aux Saints-Apôtres, dans la même ville, mosaïques et peintures murales. En outre, une série d'importantes décorations au Mont Athos (Protaton, Vatopédi et Chilandari) indiquent encore la multitude des ateliers con-

[3] V. Lazarev, *Storia de la pittura bizantina* (Torino, 1967), p. 357. Cf. Sv. Radojčić, *La pittura bizantina dal 1400 al 1453*, *Rivista di Storia Bizantina e Neoell.*, 5 (XV), (1968), p. 53: dans le vaste territoire de l'église orientale, en proie aux ordes turques et tatares, se trouvait en pleine floraison un art qui tendait de plus en plus à une unité de style.

[4] Pour les églises de la Serbie existe une trés riche bibliographie (V. Lazarev, *loc. cit.*, p. 427-431). Notons Sv. Radojčić, *Die Enstehung der Malerei der Paläologischen Renaissance*, dans: *Jahrb. f. Öst. Byz. Ges.* t. 7, (1958). O. Demus, *Die Entstehung des Palaologenstils in der Malerei*, dans *Berichte zum XI. Intern. Byzantinisten-Kongress*, *Münich*, 1958. R. Hamman-MacLean und H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Macedonien* (Giessen, 1963). P. Milikovič-Pepek, *L'œuvre des peintres Michel et Eutych* (Skopje, 1967). Cf. A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la peinture de Macédoine* (Athènes, 1955), et M. Sotiriou, *L'école Macédonienne et l'école dite de Miloutine* (grec rés. français) dans *Deltion de la Société d'Archéologie chrétienne*, pér. 4, t. V (1969), p. 1-30.

temporains qui travaillaient dans cette région et dans le même esprit.[5]

Le style de ces différents ensembles est plein de variations et de nuances, même entre des ensembles exécutés par le même atelier, quant à la représentation des choses vues et à celle des choses connues par la copie d'anciens modèles, de tradition antique.

Mais il y a une unité essentielle dans les moyens techniques, dans les idées iconographiques, dans l'esprit, enfin, qui reste novateur, souvent emphatiquement dramatique et expressif, mais, généralement tendant à l'élégance des formes et au raffinement extrême dans le traitement des couleurs.

D'ailleurs, à Constantinople même les peintures de Kahrié et Fétiyéh, d'un niveau artistique très élevé, sont exécutées dans le même esprit. Mais on y sacrifie l'accent dramatique au profit de la noblesse et de la gravité, tout en conservant la vivacité et la grandeur épique de certaines peintures de la Macédoine.

Toutes ces décorations peintes donc dans le premier quart du XIVe siècle se ressemblent, malgré une certaine différence quant à la qualité, ce qui est de nature à prouver que leur art dérive d'un même grand foyer central. Il ne paraît que plus naturel que derrière ces peintures contemporaines qui se ressemblent il n'y eut pas seulement parfois les mêmes hommes, mais surtout la même école, qui doit se situer à Constantinople ou à Thessalonique, ou dans les deux grandes cités.[6]

Pendant la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle on ne trouve pas le même degré d'homogéneité dans les peintures murales de ces mêmes régions grecques et balkaniques. A Mistra, capitale du despotat Grec de la Morée, la Périvleptos surtout mais aussi Sainte-Sophie et plusiers chapelles, dont la plus remarquable est la grande chapelle sud d'Aphendiko, furent décorées de peintures murales d'excellente qualité par des artistes venant probablement de Constantinople. Les tendances idéalistes se cristallisent de plus en plus, après la victoire de l'Hésychasme. Le sens de la monumentalité va en diminuant, les scènes se multiplient et deviennent plus petites; par leur technique minutieuse elles se raprochent du modelé aux petites surfaces éclairées de l'icône portative. Les compositions se compliquent, les architectures et le paysage prennent trop d'importance, de sorte que la figure humaine, animée, gracieuse et légère, perd son autonomie en se confondant avec son milieu un peu fantaisiste. Un

[5] Sur ces peintures v. bibliographie dans Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, p. 3, note 8. Cf. M. Chatzidakis, dans *Byz. Zeitschr.*, t. 61 (1968), p. 104-108.

[6] Cf. M. Chatzidakis, *La peinture byzantine*, dans: M. Chatzidakis. A. Grabar, *La peinture byzantine et du Haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1965), p. 33-35.

esprit analogue anime les fresques dans une grotte d'Ivanovo en Bulgarie, d'excellente qualité, mais ces tendances y sont poussées à leurs extrêmes conséquences. Dans l'église de Déčani, en Serbie, on trouve l'illustration la plus riche de cycles particuliers très développés, tirés des deux Testaments de l'histoire de la Vierge, des hymnes, etc., mais leur style est plus proche de celui du début du siècle. Seulement, avec l'usage, il devient plus académique, plus conventionnel. Le style des peintures de Curtea de Argeş, en Roumanie, en est très proche. A Lesnovo (1341 et 1349) une équipe de peintres grecs exécute des peintures d'un style un peu rude, vivant, expressif avec des détails "réalistes", dont on trouve le pendant dans l'église des Taxiarques à Kastoria (1366). Près de Skopje, Saint-Andréas est décoré en 1389 par le métropolite peintre Jean assisté de son frère Macaire, tous deux venant du monastère de Zrzé près de Prilep. Le style, plutôt retrospectif suit les traditions du début du siècle.[7]

Au XVe siècle, jusqu'à la chute de Constantinople, il n'y pas de changement notoire. En effet, les excellentes peintures qui décorent les églises de Stephan Lazarević, dans le seul territoire de la Serbie resté encore libre, après la défaite de Kossovo Pole (1389), en Morava orientale (Manasija, 1407-1408 et Kalenić, 1413-1417) sont l'œuvre de peintres anonymes, venant des "îles de la mer Egée", gens raffinés, dont le sens de l'élégance et de la distinction va de pair avec un certain lyrisme dans le sentiment décoratif fort prononcé. Ils continuent les bonnes traditions du XIVe siècle en insistant sur des détails pittoresques, comme les uniformes plus ou moins baroques.[8]

Les peintures de la Pantanassa à Mistra (1428) à peu près contemporaines et parmi les plus belles de l'époque, se distinguent par leur éclectisme raffiné; on ne fait que choisir des modèles parmi les peintures d'églises plus anciennes de Mistra même.[9]

Pendant ces derniers jours malheureux de la vie d'un Empire dont le territoire ravagé par des incursions se réduisait de plus en plus, on ne doit

[7] Sur les peintures de Mistra, G. Millet, *Mistra*, Paris 1910 et le même; *Recherches sur la peinture de l'Evangile*, 1916, passim cf. M. Chatzidakis, *Mistras* (en grec), (Athènes², 1956). Cf. D. T. Rice, *The Last Phase of Byz. Painting* (Londres, 1968). Pour la Bulgarie, A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928); D. Panajotova, *La peinture en Bulgarie au XIVe siècle* (Sofia, 1966); et A. Boschkov, *Die bulgarische Malerei* (Recklingshausen, 1970). Pour la Serbie ajouter V. Djurić, *Radionica Mitropolita Jovana zografa* dans: *Zograf*, t. 3 (1969), p. 18-33, et G. Millet-T. Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, fasc. 4, (Paris, 1969).

[8] Cf. en dernier lieu, Radojčić, *La pittura bizantina dal 1400 al 1453*, p. 56 qui s'oppose aux opinions de V. Lazarev, *La pittura bizantina*, passim, sur la "décadence" de la peinture byzantine de cette période.

[9] V. *supra*, note 7.

pas s'attendre à une nouvelle floraison de l'art religieux, ou au commencement d'une nouvelle phase de son évolution, même dans les cadres de ses propres traditions. D'ailleurs les états slaves voisins qui, dans leur effort d'émulation, avaient jadis participé et contribué à la nouvelle poussée de la peinture byzantine des XIIIe et XIVe siècles, se trouvaient maintenant dans la même situation dangereuse. On dirait que la peinture byzantine se contente d'exister en continuant d'une manière ou d'une autre les pratiques du passé. Mais le niveau aussi bien technique qu'esthétique reste toujours très élevé.

Ces traits conviennent à un art académique par excellence. Pourtant, cette qualification ne doit pas être appliquée à l'ensemble de la production de l'époque, comme on le fait souvent. Elle conviendrait en partie aux œuvres des régions libres — grecques et slaves — où une ambiance, formée surtout par le haut clergé et les nobles cultivés, favorisait la belle peinture traditionnelle. Dans le reste du pays — par excellence dans les régions des côtes de la mer Egée et des îles occupées par les Francs, Vénitiens et autres — un art régional, attaché à des traditions plus anciennes et sujet à des influences occidentales plus directes continue à s'exercer. Mais des contacts fréquents s'effectuent entre ces deux régions de niveau culturel et de situation politique différents renforcés par une sorte d'exode d'artistes qui se signale parallèlement avec celui d'autres, savants, etc. En partant des foyers centraux des artistes se dirigent ou bien vers le nord (v. plus haut) ou vers le sud; par exemple, à l'extrême fin du XIVe et au début du XVe siècle la présence d'au moins trois peintres venant de Constantinople est attestée en Crète; Alexis Apokavkos (1399-1421), Nikolas Philanthropinos (1396-1422) et Emmanuel Ouranos (1399-1414). Sans avoir identifié l'œuvre des trois artistes nommés, la présence des influences croissantes de l'"art moderne" de la zone de haute culture constatée dans les peintures murales de l'île jusqu'au milieu du XVe siècle, nous autoriserait à penser que cette immigration était en réalité d'une portée plus élevée. Nous connaissons maintenant les noms d'une quarantaine de peintres installés dans la ville de Candie, et dont l'activité s'étendait, paraît-il, pendant cette première moitié du XVe siècle, sur toutes les provinces de l'île: parmi ceux-ci il devait y en avoir plusieurs qui venaient des régions "libres".[10]

En jetant maintenant un coup d'œil sur l'ensemble de la période examinée (1300-1453) on constatera que les mêmes phénomènes artisti-

[10] V. M. Chatzidakis, *Essai sur l'école dite italogrecque etc.* dans: *Venezia e il Levante fino al XV sec.*, Atti del I Convegno Intern. di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana, San Giorgio Maggiore, 1-5, Giugno 1968, a cura di A. Pertusi, *Firenze* (sous presse).

ques caractérisent aussi bien les régions proprement byzantines que celles des états voisins, aux frontières mouvantes; ils forment tous un ensemble, elles suivent dans leurs idées et leurs idéaux une évolution à peu près commune, et, pour autant que cela dépende des conditions politiques, elles suivent vers la fin les mêmes chemins. D'autre part, les faits exposés et les monuments mentionnés à titre d'exemples par période, indépendemment de leur répartition géographique, donnent l'impression — qui correspond aux faits — que la grande tradition de l'art byzantin forme un substratum solide, une "source d'inspiration jamais épuisée à laquelle on se reporte à n'importe quel moment... C'est une force régulatrice sur laquelle, dans l'idéal, le temps n'a pas de prise".[11]

II

C'est la survivance étonnante de cette tradition byzantine permanente, enracinée dans les territoires du Sud-Est européen, qui assurera la continuité dans l'art balkanique jusqu' à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. En effet, dans les manifestations artistiques de ce vaste domaine après la chute de Constantinople un des traits dominants est la fidélité de la peinture aussi bien murale que d'icones portatives aux principes esthétiques, aux formules iconographiques ainsi qu'aux usages techniques de l'art byzantin. Cette constatation de base qui n'a jamais été mise en doute nous permet de procéder à l'examen des phénomènes artistiques dans ces régions, en tâchant de relever les traits communs, de localiser les divergences importantes et de les situer dans leur contexte historique.

La Turcocratie détermine des conditions à peu près communes pour tous les peuples balkaniques et les Grecs, sauf ceux parmi ces derniers qui vivent dans certaines villes (Nauplie, Modon, Coron) et sur les îles, qui se trouvent depuis longtemps sous la domination vénitienne. Le bouleversement survenu par la disparition de l'Empire byzantin (1453) était extrêmement important à tout point de vue. Entre autres, il mène petit à petit à l'établissement d'une nouvelle situation pour les activités artistiques, car elles deviennent maintenant surtout l'affaire de l'Église. Il est évident que la politique extrêmement conservatrice tracée par le premier patriarche après la chute, Gennadios Scholarios, devait avoir des répercussions sur la peinture religieuse des pays orthodoxes surtout quand on pense que le patriarche de Constantinople arrive à se faire

[11] Grabar, *L'art du Moyen Âge*, p. 16.

reconnaître par le sultan comme le chef de la communauté chrétienne. En suite les monastères commencent à pousser sur les montagnes, jouissant d'une certaine indépendence quant aux impots et quant à la construction de bâtiments religieux, ainsi que quant à leur décoration. Parmi ces fondations les régions "saintes," le Mont-Athos (la Montagne Sainte) avec ses nombreux monastères, ainsi que les couvents des Météores, dans une moindre mesure, aquièrent vite une importance toute particulière, conservant un prestige spirituel indéniable parmis tous les peuples orthodoxes. Des nouveaux bâtiments — églises, réfectoires, chapelles — ont pu être érigés souvent grâce aux riches donations des princes moldaves et plus tard russes, ou des prélats grecs. Ainsi dans les territoires ottomans la plupart des activités artistiques seront concentrées surtout dans les monastères, tandis que dans les régions vénitiennes c'est dans les villes que sont installés les peintres, honorables bourgeois qui, partant de là, travaillent aussi dans la campagne ou dans les monastères de la zone occupée par les Turcs.[12]

Dans les grandes villes de l'Empire, Constantinople, Smyrne, Thessalonique, Yannina, etc., il n'est pas question de voir fleurir la peinture religieuse pour des raisons facilement compréhensibles. Les brodeurs (-euses) p. ex. pouvaient exécuter à côté de leur travaux à destination mondaine, des travaux destinés au culte chrétien- épitaphios, épitrachilia, etc. — et on connaît les noms et les œuvres de plusieurs dames de Constantinople qui s'occupaient de ce genre de travaux, comme Despinetta et autres, mais pas avant le XVIIe siècle. De même les orfèvres, les tailleurs de bois, etc., mais pas les peintres qui ne pouvaient pas y avoir de clientèle non ecclésiastique. C'est pourquoi les peintres provenant de ces grandes villes ottomannes, aux fortes populations chrétiennes, ne sont pas connus ou sont extrêmement rares, p. ex., pour l'ensemble des villes mentionnees on ne connaît que le nom d'un seul peintre prétendant provenir de Salonique et aucun de Constantinople ou de Smyrne. Ceux qui au XVIIIe siècle, se ventent d'être originaires de Yannina, proviennent en réalité des villages de la région.[13]

Ce sont donc des mouvements centrifuges, commencés avant la Chute, qui continuent et prédominent et à la suite desquels des foyers culturels

[12] V. D. Zakythinos, *La prise de Constantinople et la Turcocratie* (en grec), (Athènes, 1954). Cf. M. Chatzidakis, *Contribution à l'étude de la peinture Postbyzantine* (Athènes, 1953), et dans le rapport "Communauté et diversité" (v. *supra*, note 1) p. 705 s. Cf. *ibidem*, les opinions aussi de A. Boschkov, p. 783s. et Th. Popa., p. 767s. Cf. Grabar, *op. cit.*

[13] M. Chatzidakis, *La peinture à Constantinople après la Chute* (en grec), dans Deltion de la Société d'Archéologie chrétienne, pér. 4, t. V (1969), p. 186.

et religieux se forment dans la périphérie, centres de formation d'artistes, voire de création d'"écoles" de peinture de durée et d'importance pourtant inégales.

Nous tâcherons dans les pages suivantes d'examiner autant que possible, parallèlement, surtout pendant la première période, quelle est la distribution et l'intensité des activités artistiques et quels sont les centres les plus importants. La périodisation n'est pas la même pour tous les pays en question. Pourtant nous pouvons considérer comme une première période, celle qui commence avec la chute de Constantinople (1453), et qui va jusqu' à la fin du XVe siècle pour la Bulgarie, jusqu'au milieu du XVIe pour la Serbie et la Moldavie, tandis que pour la Grèce elle ne s'étend que jusqu' à l'année cruciale de 1527. Bien que la soumission aux Turcs ne s'effectue au même moment ni pour chaque pays (Bulgarie 1396) ni même pour l'ensemble de chaque pays (p. ex. la Macédoine serbe 1395, la Serbie propre 1459, Herzégovine 1481, Monténégro 1499), bien que pour la science Albanaise cette première période ne commence que pendant le premier quart du XVIe siècle et, enfin, malgré que la durée de cette période soit également différente, le parallèlisme des manifestations artistiques dans les différents pays peut s'avérer utile.[14]

En commencant par le nord nous nous arrêtons à la Moldavie, qui, sous Etienne le Grand (1457-1504), a connu une période de prospérité. Comme il a été dit, "la Moldavie a connu l'esthétique byzantine par laquelle elle fut séduite, après la chute de Constantinople."[15] Des monuments de la fin du XVe siècle, Pătrăuţ (1487), Popăuţi (1497), Bălineşti (1493), et Hirlau (1530) sont décorés à l'intérieur par des peintres habiles, dont certains seraient formés probablement sur place. En tout cas, parmi les premiers maîtres il y auraient certains, et des plus importants, qui seraient venus de l'extérieur. On signale que l'ensemble le plus ancien (Patraut), aux figures élegantes, porte des inscriptions en grec. A Bălineşti (1493) œuvre du moine Gavril on reconnaîtrait volontiers le style vivant de certaines peintures contemporaines qui aiment parfois le cru, l'exagération expressive, l'abondance des détails réalistes, dont nous parlerons plus loin (v. infra p. 192s) et que l'on trouve aux Météores, à Kastoria, en Serbie et en Bulgarie dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle. Des reminiscences n'en font pas défaut au cours du XVIe siècle. Dorohoi, 1522; Hirlau, 1530.[15]

Chaque décoration en Moldavie se distingue par certaines traits plus ou moins particuliers mais toutes ont une certaine ressemblance surtout

[14] V. *Communauté et diversité*, passim.
[15] A. Grabar, dans *Les fresques de la Roumanie*, éd. Unesco, p. 5.

dans le traitement iconographique, ce qui indique la formation d'une certaine tradition locale, conforme aux conditions historiques du pays.

Une série de peintures de la première moitié du XVIe siècle qui fait suite à celles du groupe précédent se placerait à une seconde période. La particularité de ces peintures est de couvrir toutes les façades des églises. Conservées en plein air d'une manière étonnante, ces peintures, de couleurs toutes fraîches, offrent d'énormes compositions surtout de caractère moralisateur, parmi lesquelles se distinguent le Siège de Constantinople par les Turcs, illustration anachronique de la 1ère strophe de l'Hymne Acathiste, le Jugement Dernier, l'arbre de Jessé avec les sages grecs, et autres. Ces mêmes sujets ornaient les Refectoires athonites contemporains, mais les rapports entre ces peintures sont loin d'être définis d'une manière précise. Suceava (Saint-Georges, 1534, Saint-Démètre, 1537), Dobrovats (1529), Probota (1532), Hirlau (1530), Humor (1535), Moldovitsa (1537), Arbure (1541), Voronets (1547-1550) forment une série de monuments importants, d'un art souvent élégant, parfois maniéré, érigés et décorés sous des conditions d'une certaine indépendence, par des princes et autres grands seigneurs locaux.

Sur les artistes qui ont travaillé pour ces peintures on n'est pas très bien renseigné. On signale la présence du peintre grec Georges de Trikala avant 1500 (?), de Marco à Voronets, de Ménas en Valachie, de Stamatello Cotrona de Zante (1554) à Rasca, de Thomas, familier de Pierre Rarès, à Humor (1535), de Dragosin à Arbure (1541), des peintres probablement serbes David et Radoslave (vers 1535-1542) en Valachie, etc.[16] On peut probablement avancer maintenant encore un nom. La partie des peintures de Moldovitsa (1537) dues à la main du maître, qui se distinguent à bien d'égards du reste de la décoration intérieure, présente des similitudes frappantes avec l'œuvre du peintre Onouphrios, originaire de Berat (Albanie), protopapas de "Néokastron" (Elbasan) à qui est due, entre autres, la décoration de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Kastoria (1547).

[16] A. Grabar, *L'origine des façades peintes des églises moldaves.* Mélanges N. Jorga, Paris, 1933, p. 365-382. P. Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord* (Paris, 1930). M. Musicescu, A. Berza, *Monastirea Sucevista* (Bucarest, 1958). A. Stanescu, *Masteri constructori, pietrari si zugravi din timpul lui Stefan cel Mare* dans: *Studii si cercetarii de istoria artea*, t. II (1955), n. 1-2, p. 361-365. I. Stefanescu, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie* (Paris, 1928 et 1929). S. Ulea, "Cultura moldoveneasca in timpul lui Stefan cel Mare", *Gavril ieromonahul* (Bucareste, 1964), p. 419-461, Du même, *L'origine et la signification idéologique de la peinture religieuse moldave.* Rev. Roum. d'Histoire, Bucarest, t. I (1963), p. 29-71. Du même, *Gavril Uric, primul artist roman conosciat*, dans: *Studii si cercetarii de storia artei*, t. 2 (1946), 235-261. *Il storia Artelor plastice in Romania*, sous la direction de S. Oprescu (Bucarest, 1968). A. Grabar, *L'art du Moyen Âge*, p. 99-119.

Nous y reviendrons, mais la constatation de ce contact immédiat et concret entre la peinture de deux pays balkaniques suffisamment éloignés présente un intérêt particulier. (V. *infra*, p 190s).[17]

Les peintures de la Moldavie du XVe et du XVIe siècles forment un groupe à part, dont le caractère pourtant n'est pas facile à définir. Sûrement l'arrivée d'artistes étrangers, de provenances diverses, dans un pays dont on n'est pas bien renseigné sur la peinture monumentale des époques précédantes et sur le traditions artistiques propres, a du contribuer à la variété des styles, à la difficulté de la formation d'une "école", d'ateliers stables. C'est pourquoi après le dernier ensemble de Sucevitsa (1600) la peinture de la Moldavie disparaît probablément sans laisser de suite.

En Serbie orientale qui se trouve, après l'arrivée des Turcs, sous la tutelle de la métropole d'Ochrid, des voix autorisées nous informent que pendant les premières décades du XVIe siècle, il n'y eut pas de centre artistique sur place, pas d'ateliers établis; par conséquent, il est difficile de trouver d'uniformité dans le style ou un niveau artistique plus ou moins égal. Ce sont surtout des peintres étrangers, le plus souvent des Grecs et non les meilleurs, qui remplissent la tâche, d'envergure plutôt médiocre, de décorer des églises de peintures. Dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle les décorations les plus intéressantes se trouvent dans les églises de la Dormition au monastère Treskavac, près de Prilep (1483-1490), de Saint-Nikitas près de Skopje (1483-1484) de Saint-Nicolas près d'Ochrid, de Saint-Jean l'Evangéliste près de Poganovo (1499), ainsi qu'au monastère de Prochoros à Pčinja (1489). Ces décorations qui se ressemblent par leur style particulier doivent être l'œuvre d'un atelier aux maîtres anonymes que nous avons rencontré déjà en Moldavie (Bălineşti) et que nous retrouverons en Bulgarie et en Grèce. (V. *infra* p. 192s).[18]

Des peintres, grecs ou valaques, mais fortement influencés par l'art grec de l'époque, viennent, paraît il, de la Valachie à Kruşedol de la Fruška Gora (entre 1509-1512), pour orner la belle iconostase de l'église d'une série d'icônes imposantes, tandis que les peintures du monastère de la Vierge à Jasunja (région de Leskovac près d'Ochrid) appartiennent,

[17] Comp. P. Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie*, etc. pl. 24 avec S. Pélékanidis, *Kastoria* (album) pl. 199 et 203.

[18] V. Djurić, *Icones de Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1961). (Introduction), Sr. Petković, *Wall Painting on the Territory of the Patriarchate of Peć* (1557-1614), Novi Sad 1965, (serbe, rés. anglais), Le même, dans le Rapport "*Communauté et Diversité*" p. 715s. Sv. Radojčić, *Une école de peinture de la deuxième moitié du XVe siècle*, dans: *Recherches sur l'art*, Matica Srpska, Novi Sad, t. 1 (1965), p. 68-104, fig. 1-16, (en serbe, avec rés. français).

aussi par leur fondateurs (de la famille des Cantacuzènes), au domaine de l'art proprement grec. De même, le monastère de Saint-Jean dans la même région de 1517.[19]

En même temps, des nombreuses icones crétoises arrivent en Serbie, souvent par voie de mer, particulièrement au littoral Dalmate, où l'on trouve le plus grand nombre d'icones, dont certaines sont parmi les meilleures du genre, comme à Ston la Vierge d'Andréas Ritzos (Rico) de Candie, avant 1500, à Komolac une prédelle, œuvre d'Angélos Pizamanos de 1518, peintre également de Crète qui a dû séjourner sur place. Il paraît, pourtant que ces œuvres d'art, au style traditionnel, n'ont pas eu une influence importante sur l'art de cette région, qui, étant catholique, pratiquait depuis longtemps la peinture occidentale, voire vénitienne, tandis que des livres ecclésiastiques imprimés à Venise, au début du siècle, par Bojidar Vuković et décorés de gravures faites d'après des icones grecques, ont eu beaucoup d'influence, surtout en Serbie et en Herzégovine. "Il devinrent une des sources principales où les peintres et les orfèvres serbes allèrent chercher les modèles de leurs œuvres. Bien entendu, s'était uniquement une transposition des schémas de composition...".[20]

Il paraît que ce n'est qu'au moment où l'Eglise (serbe) de Peć a pu trouver son indépendence de la tutelle de la métropole (grecque) d'Ochrid (1557) qu'un élan nouveau a pu se déclancher dans la création artistique du pays; les premiers artistes serbes dignes de ce nom apparaissent alors, tel Longin et les peintres anonymes de Peć (1561) et de Studenica (1568). Mais ces faits dépassent les limites de la période examinée ici, puisqu'ils en constituent eux mêmes les points de démarcation.[21]

En Bulgarie les choses se présentent sous un aspect analogue pour le XVe siècle, autant que l'on puisse en juger d'après les données insuffisantes dont on dispose. En effet, pendant la seconde moitié du XVe siècle on signale, ici comme partout ailleurs, la présence de certains monuments intéressants, dont la plupart ne se trouvent pas loin de Sofia. Boboševo (1488) est d'un caractère fortement populaire, ainsi que Kalotino; plus tard, Dragalevski (façade ouest, début XVIe) et le narthex de Krémikovski (1503?) semblent continuer des traditions locales. C'est à une autre ligne que l'on peut attribuer les décorations de Orlitza (1491) et de Krémikovski (naos, 1498). C'est celle à laquelle nous avons déjà rattaché certaines

[19] L. Mirković, *La Déisis de l'iconostase de Krušedol*, Starinar, n. s. t. III-IV (1952-1953), p. 105. V. Djurić, *Icones de Yougoslavie*, p. 63-64, Sr. Petković, Rapport "*Communauté et diversité*", fig. 2. Myr. Ljubinković, Starinar, n. s. t. I (1950), p. 236.

[20] Djurić, *op. cit.*, p. 58-61.

[21] Sr. Petković, *op. cit.* et du même, *Wall Painting, passim.*

peintures en Grèce, celles de Dorohoi (Moldavie) de Trescavać, de Saint-Nikita et de Poganovo (Serbie). A Krémikovski nous pouvons ajouter comme indice sérieux des influences directes de l'iconographie occidentale qui sont l'un des traits de cette "école", la Dormition de la Vierge, où le Christ, entouré d'une mandorle, est porté par deux anges, comme on ne l'a jamais vu dans une image byzantine, tandis que ce motif est très fréquent dans les tableaux vénitiens du XIVe siècle. D'autre part, le groupe des donateurs présente un intérêt particulier, aussi bien au point de vue du costume que des personnages représentés.[22]

En ce qui concerne le XVIe siècle la situation présente des différences par rapport aux autres pays examinés jusqu'ici. Les monuments de ce siècle ne sont pas bien connus, mais il paraît que seules des églises de dimensions très réduites sont érigées pendant ce temps. Sûrement aussi, des parties d'églises d'époques antérieures ont été repeintes à cette époque, mais cela aussi reste à être prouver.

Cette pénutie relative d'activité artistique au cours du XVIe siècle et par la suite est due aux circonstances historiques particulières du pays. M. Bojkov affirme avec autorité que "les conditions préalables fondamentales pour l'existence de cercles artistiques font défaut: concentration naturelle des cadres, travail permanent, continuité entre les différentes générations. Ce qui est obtenu au Mont Athos ou dans la région côtière de l'Adriatique (...) est impossible dans les régions centrales de la Bulgarie. Des phénomènes tels que "l'école italo-grecque" ou la tendence "crétoise-vénitienne" (...) sont possibles seulement dans un milieu et une ambiance que la réalité bulgare n'offre point (...). Des "foyers" artistiques locaux ne se stabilisent et transforment en véritables écoles qu'au début de la Renaissance bulgare à peine"[23] (seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle).

Après ces remarques tranchantes on ne devrait pas conclure que toute activité cesse, en effet, jusqu' à cette date tardive. Des peintures sont exécutées au XVIIe siècle mais, comme le dit A. Grabar, "la Turcocratie y signifia le retour de l'art proprement grec (Tirnovo, Arbanassi, Bačkovo) dans ce que fut la Bulgarie médiévale".[24]

Enfin, pour l'Albanie cette première période ne commence, d'après les auteurs albanais, que dans le premier quart du XVIe siècle. Les populations chrétiennes et orthodoxes, souvent de langue grecque, se trouvent sous la dépendance spirituelle des métropoles gérées par des prélats

[22] A. Grabar, *La peinture en Bulgarie*, p. 233 et s. Cf. Boschkov, dans: "*Communauté et diversité*", (plus haut note 1), p. 789.
[23] Boschkov, *op. cit.* p. 67.
[24] A. Grabar, *L'art du Moyen Âge*, p. 87.

grecs, de Berat, d'Argyrokastro, de Delvino et autres, ce qui contribue plutôt à introduire après la conquête du pays par les Turcs — qu' à continuer la tradition byzantine. On n'est pas encore suffisamment renseigné sur les monuments existants — sauf de simples mentions de noms. Il paraît qu'un groupe de peintres d'origine locale, de la région de Dropoli se rattacherait à l'école de Crète. Parmi ceux-ci se distingue Ilia Llongoviti (1525). Plus important est ce que l'on appelle le "groupe de Berat" dont le chef de fil et la personnalité principale est le peintre Onouphrios, originaire de Bérat, qui dévient "protopapas" à Elbasan (Néokastron). Des œuvres portant sa signature — peintures murales et icones — se trouvent dans l'Albanie centrale dont l'une, celle de Sainte-Paraskévi de Valsh date de 1554.[25] L'église des Saints-Apôtres à Kastoria qui porte sa signature, date de 1547. Plus haut nous avons signalé comme très probable la participation d'Onouphrios en 1537 à la décoration de Moldovitsa, en Moldavie. On est encore loin de connaître vraiment l'œuvre de ce maître à l'activité ambulante, mais si l'on en juge d'après les peintures de lui les mieux connues par une publication accessible, celles de Kastoria, il s'agit d'un artiste qui se classe difficilement dans une des tendences connues de l'époque, aussi bien au point de vue iconographique, qu'au point de vue stylistique. Pourtant, ses figures étirées, aux visages plus ou moins stéréotypés à sa propre manière, ne sont pas dépourvues d'une certaine élégance. Il y a même des figures — surtout des jeunes personnes — dans les séries de médaillons qu'il aime particulièrement qui ont l'attitude contournée et recherchée, à l'instar de modèles italiens du XVe siècle, sinon du "style international".

D'ailleurs, ce ne sont pas les seuls traits italiens que l'on y reconnaîtrait. P. ex. dans la Nativité une sorte de corbeille sert de crêche, particularité pittoresque d'origine gothique, employée l'année d'après aussi par Frangos Katélanos aux Météores. Mais on trouverait difficilement des contacts plus essentiels avec l'art de ce peintre fougeux. D'autre part le Christ de Pitié tient les mains vers le bas et éloignées du corps avec les clous enfoncés dans le bois de la croix, type occidental par excellence, mais repété ici exactement comme il avait été formé dans les icones italocrétoises de la fin du XVe siècle. Théophane le crétois avait déjà appliqué ce même type vingt ans auparavant, en 1527, dans la décoration de la niche de Saint-Nicolas Anapavsa aux Météores. Pourtant rien n'indique des relations plus directes d'Onouphrios avec la peinture crétoise. D'autre part, dans le traitement des saints Constantin et Hélène il est évident

[25] Th. Popa, *Considérations générales sur la peinture postbyzantine en Albanie*, dans: *Communauté et Diversité*, p. 774s. fig. 1-3.

qu'Onouphrios s'inspire de modèles locaux du XVe siècle, où ses Saints impériaux sont habillés à la mode un peu lourde des petits princes régionaux.[26]

On y verrait un des rares signes d'attachement à la tradition locale. Onouphrios est donc plus ou moins éclectique. En plus, il aime à calligraphier non seulement le dessin marqué de ces figures, mais aussi les motifs décoratifs élégants qui remplissent les vides, et surtout les inscriptions, particulièrement longues, aux textes liturgiques ou autres, rédigées dans un grec parfait, ce qui n'arrive pas souvent à cette époque même chez certains des meilleurs peintres grecs. Ainsi le problème d'Onouphrios qui n'est pas une personnalité banale, se pose d'une manière plutôt intéressante, mais il ne peut être approché qu'après une meilleure connaissance de l'ensemble de son œuvre, qui a dû avoir une certaine influence dans le pays et créer, ainsi, une sorte d'école.

En effet, en dehors des monuments qu'il laisse sur place et qui doivent servir de modèles pour les peintres postérieurs du pays comme, entre autres, Onouphrios de Chypre, vers la fin du siècle, Onouphrios de Berat, laisse aussi un fils Nicolas, peintre d'icones par excellence, qui déploie son activité dans la région.[27]

C'est avec la fin du XVIe siècle que doit se terminer la première période en Albanie, période qui correspond en réalité avec la seconde période de la peinture religieuse en Grèce et dans les autres pays balkaniques.

La séparation de la Grèce pendant les deux premiers siècles après la conquête de Constantinople, en deux parties soumises à deux maîtres différents, a influencé l'évolution de la peinture religieuse dans le pays d'une manière décisive. Au cours de la première période (1453-1527) l'art de la partie de la Grèce occupée par les Turcs — à savoir la Grèce continentale et le Péloponnèse — présente plus de parenté avec celui des autres pays voisins, qui appartiennent également à l'empire ottoman, qu'avec l'art des régions occupées par les Vénitiens. Les conditions politiques, sociales et économiques communes, la facilité de la circulation des hommes et des biens à travers ces pays sans frontières, la solidarité

[26] Sur le peintre Onouphrios, A. Orlandos, *Les monuments byzantins de Kastoria, Archives des monuments byz. de Grèce*, t. IV (1938), p. 162-163, (en grec). S. Pélékanidis, *Kastoria*, pl. 189-203. G. Valentini, *Precisazioni intorno al pittore albanese metabizantino Onufrio*, in "Sheizat" 1962, n. 5-6, p. 183-184. Th. Popa, *Onufre, une figure éminante de la peinture albanaise*, "Studia Albanica", Tirana, t. III (1966), N. 1, p. 291-303. V. Puzanova, D. Damo, *Une figure éminante de la peinture médiévale albanaise*, Studia Albanica, t. III (1966), n. 1, 281-290.

[27] Sur Onufre de Chypre, v. Popa, *ibidem*, P. Poulitsas, *Inscriptions de l'Epire du Nord, Epétiris de la Société des Etudes byzantines* (Athènes), t. 5 (1928), p. 67. Pour le fils v. *supra*, note 26.

chrétienne et orthodoxe vis à vis des musulmans, enfin la subordination des églises locales au patriarcat de Constantinople, voilà certains des facteurs qui contribuent à cette parenté étroite. Là où l'on pourrait trouver des différences ce serait dans le nombre des monuments décorés à cette époque, ainsi que dans la fréquence des noms d'artistes.[28]

En examinant la peinture des autres pays nous avons souvent constaté la présence de peintres grecs un peu partout, aussi bien en Moldavie qu'en Serbie et en Bulgarie. Si on voulait pourtant, en prenant en considération les lieux d'origine de ces artistes, les mettre en rapport avec l'art de ces régions, on se trouverait dans une situation plus ou moins difficile. Quel art pouvait apporter en Moldavie ce mystérieux Georges de Trikala, enterré à Probota en 1500? Celui des Météores? Ou ce Cotronas de Zante? L'art de Zante du XVIe siècle ne nous est pas bien connu. Pourtant, c'est sûrement par le déplacement de peintres grecs, ainsi que, dans une moindre mesure, par celui de peintres de différents pays, et de qualité différente, que doit s'effectuer cette sorte de parenté, dont nous avons parlé plus haut.

Comme dans les pays voisins, en pays grecs aussi il n'est pas possible de localiser des ateliers importants, dont l'œuvre, aux contours précis, aurait créé une tradition même locale. On note seulement un atelier, celui dont nous avons signalé la présence à Dorohoi, à Treskavac, à Kremikovski, et dont l'œuvre la plus ancienne, et en même temps la plus importante se trouve aux Météores, dans le vieux catholicon (1483). Les décorations que nous pouvons attribuer au même atelier en Grèce sont: à Kastoria cinq églises: Saint-Nicolas de la nonne Eupraxia (1485), Saint-Nicolas de Magaliou (1505), et les restes de l'ancienne décoration de Saint-Nicolas de la Théologina, ainsi que ceux de la Vierge dite Rasiotissa. Nous pouvons ajouter les restes de Saint-Spyridon dans la même ville, ainsi que l'église de Saint-Démètre à Aiani, et l'église des Saints-Anargyres à Servia (1510).[29] Sept églises en tout, d'importance et de qualité différentes. Rappellons que les dates des décorations en Serbie

[28] Chatzidakis, *Contribution*, p. 5 s. et du même, *Considérations sur la peinture postbyzantine en Grèce*, dans: "*Communauté et diversité*", p. 15. A. Grabar, *L'art au Moyen Âge*, p. 87-97.

[29] A. Xyngopoulos, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la peinture religieuse en Grèce après la chute de Constantinople* (Athènes, 1957), p. 63 et s. (en grec). Pélékanidis, *Kastoria*, pl. 168-177 (St.-Nicolas-Magaliou) pl. 179-188, (St.-Nicolas d'Eupraxia), pl. 229 (Vierge Rasiotissa) pl. 249a (St.-Nicolas de la Théologina). Orlandos, *op. cit.* fig. 123 et 127 (St.-Spyridon). S. Pélékanidis, *Recherches en Haute Macédoine* (en grec) dans: *Makedonika*, t. 5, 1962, p. 386-396. (Aiani). A. Xyngopoulos, *Les monuments de Servia*, (en grec) (Athènes, 1957), p. 106 et s. L'auteur penche pour la date de 1610 plutôt que 1510. Voir aussi Sv. Radojčić, *Une école de peinture* (*supra*, note 18).

(voir plus haut, p. 187) et en Bulgarie (*supra*, p. 188s) attribuées à cet atelier, s'inserrent entre les dates-limites de l'activité de cet atelier en Grèce: 1483-1510.

Les traits qui distinguent et servent de liaisons entre les œuvres de cet atelier qui reste toujours anonyme, sont d'abord une parenté dans le traitement du modelé, plutôt mou, dans les physionomies sommaires mais fort expressives, dans la recherche du pittoresque, qui frise parfois la caricature, mais, le plus souvent, se contente du costume richement orné et des couvres-chefs bigarrés, alors à la mode. D'autre part, on y décèle une certaine tendance vers l'accent dramatique, proche, par son exagération, d'un réalisme plutôt cru. Plusieurs de ces traits, exprimés avec une verve qui va de pair avec un certain ton de vulgarité, sont dus à des contacts avec l'art occidental. On ne sait rien sur la voie par laquelle s'acheminent ces influences, (V. Kremikovski *supra*, p. 189), mais on ne peut pas ne pas remarquer l'étroite ressemblance entre les visages des soldats de la trahison de Judas à Treskavac et à Poganovo, et ceux du Crucifiement du crétois Andréas Pavias, à Athènes, tous caractérisés par la recherche de la laideur des visages, suivant la meilleure tradition du naturalisme "gothique" de l'Italie du Nord des XIVe-XVe siècles.[30] S'agirait-il d'une simple coïncidence entres ces œuvres contemporaines?

Localiser l'origine de cet atelier errant n'est pas chose facile. En prenant en considération d'une part que le plus grand nombre de ses décorations se trouvent en Grèce, ainsi que l'œuvre la plus ancienne et la plus récente, d'autre part que le seul antécédent valable, où l'on reconnaîtrait certains traits énoncés plus haut, serait la décoration de Saint-Athanase à Kastoria en 1385,[31] on pourrait supposer que cet atelier fécond, le seul qui devait avoir une certaine renommée dans tous les pays balkaniques, devait être formé quelque part dans la région de Kastoria.

On en trouve des reminiscences dans la peinture balkanique plus tardive (voir *supra* p. 185s.: Moldavie) et la dernière décoration que l'on pourrait rattacher à ce style, mais beaucoup affadi, serait celle d'une chapelle du Protaton (Athos) de 1526.[32]

[30] M. Chatzidakis, *Essai sur l'école dite "Italogrecque", etc.* (*supra*, note 10). Des contacts entre l'art de Crète et le Nord de la Grèce à cette époque sont prouvés. Non seulement des icones crétoises y arrivaient, mais des peintres aussi, comme Xénos Digénis, arrivent de Crète au Nord de la Grèce. V. M. Chatzidakis, *La date d'une icone de Castoria, Deltion de la Société d'Arch. chrétienne*, pér. 4, t. V (1969), p. 303-308.

[31] Orlandos, *op. cit.*, p. 147-158, fig. 104-110 (inscriptions et description), et Pélékanidis, *Kastoria*, pl. 142-154.

[32] Inédites. G. Millet, *Mont Athos, Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pl. 57, 2, et M. Chatzidakis, *Recherches sur le peintre Théophane* D.O.P. t. 23-24 (1970), fig. 131.

C'est sur ce point que nous croyons pouvoir arrêter la première période de la peinture de la Turcocratie en Grèce, car c'est en 1527 qu'arrive, pour la première fois, paraît-il, en Grèce continentale un peintre insulaire, le moine Théophane Strélitzas, dit Baths (†1559), de Candie (Crète), pour décorer la chapelle de Saint-Nicolas-Anapavsa aux Météores.[33] Lui, il est capable d'introduire et d'appliquer l'art savant d'une école formée pendant cette première période en Crète, (*v. infra*) et cet événement marquera le début d'une seconde période qui sera caractérisée justement par la prépondérance de l'école crétoise dans l'art grec.

En effet, en Crète, (v. *supra* p. 182) la peinture murale n'a pas continué à s'exercer après la chute de Constantinople avec la même vigueur. Dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle on n'a signalé qu'une dizaine de décorations d'églises de campagne portant une date, tandis que dans la première moitié nous en comptons plus de vingt cinq. Pourtant, pendant cette même période (1450-1500) une soixantaine de peintres vivant dans la capitale de l'île qui est Candie, sont signalés dans des actes de notaires, tandis que pendant la première moitié du siècle on n'en compte qu'une quarantaine. Pour expliquer ce renversement des proportions entre peintres et peintures — à part le rôle du hazard dans ces chiffres — il faudra admettre que le phénomène de la disparition du procédé de la peinture murale en Crète, en faveur de l'icône, déjà constaté pour le XVIe siècle, avait commencé à se produire dès la seconde moitié du XVe siècle. Donc la plus grande partie des soixante peintres mentionnés — chiffre déjà étonnant — seraient des peintres d'icones. On peut corroborer cette manière de voir en pensant que la qualité d'un assez grand nombre d'icones, œuvres de certains de ces peintres, comme Andréas Ritzos (Rico), Andréas Pavias, Nicolas Zaphouris, Nicolas Ritzos, est de loin supérieure à celle des peintures murales contemporaines arrivées jusqu' à nous.[34] D'ailleurs, la renommée de ces icones crétoises devait être grande, puisqu'elles étaient un objet d'exportation à grande échelle. C'est aussi ce qui explique le nombre étonnant de peintres actifs seulement dans une ville de Crète pendant une période précise. Les innombrables icônes, que nous pouvons maintenant placer dans ce XVe siècle finissant, et qui se trouvent un peu partout, en Serbie, en Italie, au Mont-Athos, au Sinai, aux îles, étaient exportées de Crète. Il paraît même qu'elles faisaient l'objet d'un commerce actif de la part des commerçants étrangers. On connaît le cas d'un vénitien qui, vers 1500, proteste à Candie parce

[33] V. Xyngopoulos, *Esquisse d'une histoire, etc.*, p. 94-112, pl. 20-25. M. Chatzidakis, *Recherches sur le peintre Théophane le Crétois* (v. note 32).

[34] Chatzidakis, *Essai sur l'école dite "Italogrecque"*, etc. (v. note 10).

que le peintre crétois à qui il avait commandé dix "ancone" ne les avait pas livrées à temps.[35] Ces peintres ne sont pas tous d'origine crétoise. Nous rappellons les cas de Xénos Digénis, venant en Crète (1462) de la ville de Mouchli en Arcadie et de Porphyros venant de Coron (1452-1491); sûrement il y en a d'autres qui se refugiaient dans l'île en apportant avec eux les particularités de l'art de leur propre région. L'île de Crète se trouvant sous la domination vénitienne, offrait aux peintres certaines garanties de sécurité et de liberté pour l'exercice de leur profession, surtout pour les citadins, même les Grecs. D'autre part, le "Règne de Crète" disposait d'une importante clientèle pour les produits de la peinture grecque, aussi bien locale, grecque comme vénitienne, qu'étrangère. Ces deux facteurs — provenances diverses des artistes et clientèle de deux nationalités — ne font qu'influencer la peinture pendant cette première période. D'une part, comme nous l'avons constaté ailleurs, apparaît une certaine incohérence qui ne doit disparaître que vers la fin du siècle et, d'autre part, se stabilise la tradition locale de la double capacité, au moins pour les meilleurs parmis ces peintres, à savoir, de travailler des deux manières en même temps: la grecque et l'italienne. La disparition de l'incohérence et le processus d'une cristallisation des principes, des manières et des procédés, s'effectuent grâce au prestige de certaines personnalités artistiques, prestige exercé non seulement par leur propre œuvre picturale, mais aussi par leur rûle d'éducateur dans le système d'apprentissage vénitien appliqué aussi en Crète.[36]

Ainsi, au cours de la seconde moitié du XVe siècle, se forme et se stabilise en Crète une école de peinture, parmi les rares qui soient digne de ce titre à cette époque dans toutes les régions du Sud-Est Européen. La renommée des peintres crétois les fait appeler au XVIe siècle dans les agglomérations monastiques de la Grèce continentale. Théophane Strélitzas, le moine, fait figure de chef de cette école crétoise dans son expansion. C'est grâce à ces propres capacités d'adaptation des hautes leçons de l'art de l'icone de son pays aux nouvelles conditions, que l'art crétois, art citadin par excellence, a pû conquérir les milieux monastiques les plus éclairés. L'art de chevalet devait s'adapter aux énormes décorations murales dans les grandes églises et les Réfectoires des monastères des Météores et surtout du Mont-Athos. En effet, la décoration des monastères les plus importants des grands centres monastiques du monde orthodoxe grec, dans le second quart du XVIe siècle est confiée au crétois

[35] M. Cattapan, *Nuovi documenti riguardanti pittori cretesi dal 1300 al 1500*, dans: *Actes du 2ème Congrès Crétologique*, t. 3 (Athènes, 1969), p. 45-46.
[36] M. Chatzidakis, *Essai sur l'école dite "Italogrecque"*, etc.

Théophane et à ses émules. Ces œuvres des Crétois en mission, couvertes du prestige du Mont-Athos, vont acquérir de plus en plus des dimensions de prototypes authentiques et canoniques pour les peintres orthodoxes des générations futures.

Cet essor étonnant de la peinture crétoise, icones et peinture murale, est dû à certaines vertus inégalables à l'époque: elle rélève d'un art extrêmement vivant et varié, lié à la vie de la société qu'il sert, tout en supportant le poids d'une tradition millénaire. Elle est pleinement organisée dans son iconographie — de grande pureté dogmatique — elle possède son propre style bien défini et ses procédés techniques sont perfectionnés. En plus, et cela faisait son charme pour sa clientèle pieuse et conservatrice, par force de ténacité et de persévérence religieuse, la peinture crétoise a su garder cette odeur de sainteté qui était perdue dans l'art du reste du monde non orthodoxe.

Enfin, par son attachement aux meilleures traditions de l'art de Constantinople, renouvelées en cours de route, la peinture crétoise a su garder comme traits particuliers la noblesse, la distinction, la retenue et l'élégance dans les attitudes et les gestes, une sorte de classicisme dans la composition calme et rythmée.[37]

C'est par ce genre de vertus que l'art crétois prolonge jusqu' à l'extrême Turcocratie ce qui a été pour l'art byzantin la tradition classique: l'humanisme inhérent dans cette peinture ne pouvait que satisfaire les gens d'une certaine culture.

A la fin de cet exposé nous croyons que certaines remarques d'ordre général s'en dégagent aisément.

D'abord, l'existence de l'unité de la tradition artistique byzantine, élément fromenteur et actif parmi les peuples qui participent d'une manière ou d'une autre au vaste domaine de la culture byzantine. Comme il est naturel, les principaux agents de cette unité étaient non seulement les exemples, les monuments-modèles, mais aussi, et surtout, les artistes grecs qui prêtaient leurs services à ceux qui le leur demandaient. D'autre part, la continuité de cet art après la disparition de l'empire byzantin, s'est effectuée d'une manière naturelle, puisque les peuples de ces régions sont les héritiers, à divers degrés, de l'immense fond commun de la culture byzantine et donc, dans la même mesure, ils sont aussi les héritiers de ces mêmes traditions artistiques. C'est ainsi que s'explique l'attachement farouche de tous ces peuples aux traditions esthétiques communes,

[37] G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, passim Xyngopoulos, *Esquisse de l'histoire*, etc. et Chatzidakis, études citées *supra*, notes 10 et 32.

qui étaient celles du moyen-âge; c'était en même temps un "attachement au glorieux passé national, face au pouvoir étranger et hétérodoxe".[38] P. ex. à la fin du XVIe siècle les bourgeois Grecs installés à Venise s'intéressent particulièrement à la sauvegarde du "véritable art grec."

Si les Grecs avaient à jouer un rûle primordial dans la continuité ainsi que dans les changements — lents et discrets — survenus au style et au contenu spirituel de la peinture religieuse, cela est dû aux conditions historiques qui les avaient favorisé. A la suite de la primauté de l'Eglise grecque que personne ou presque ne contestait, les capacités de ses artistes aussi bien au point de vue technique qu' à celui de la pureté dogmatique, étaient manifestement approuvées par tout le monde orthodoxe. En plus les artistes de Crète, ayant le privilège d'être habitants du territoire vénitien, ont su, d'une part tenir aux traditions les plus hautes de la peinture byzantine, et, d'autre part, renouveler, par les contacts immédiats avec l'art florissant de l'Europe occidentale, d'une manière discrète mais efficace, leurs conception de la forme, parfois leur thèmes aussi. En suite, il leur incombait le devoir important de transmettre au monde orthodoxe des territoires ottomans la nouvelle phase de cet art mûri en Crète, d'une tenue de beaucoup supérieure à celle de la peinture exercée dans ces territoires. Le Mont Athos, en continuant ses traditions œcuméniques, contribuera à ce que ce langage sous ce nouvel aspect devienne une sorte de "Koiné" pour tous les orthodoxes.

[38] Grabar, *L'art du Moyen Âge*, p. 8 et 87.

KATHARINE OTTO-DORN

NACHLEBEN BYZANTINISCHER TRADITIONEN IN DER MOSCHEE MURADS II. IN EDIRNE

Von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten her verdient die um 1433 zu datierende Moschee Murads II. in Edirne besondere Beachtung.[1] Sie präsentiert einmal den klassischen Bautyp frühosmanischer Moscheen, fällt zum andern durch die Besonderheit ihrer Innenausstattung auf und lässt schliesslich eine Reihe byzantinischer Einflüsse erkennen, die sich sowohl in der Architektur-Planung wie auch im Dekor des Innenraumes spiegeln.

Betrachten wir zunächst den Plan der Anlage (Fig. 1) so haben wir hier das Schema der typischen frühosmanischen "Iwan-Moschee" vor uns.[2] Ihm gibt der dominierende, weit vorgezogene, überkuppelte Haupt-Iwan (das heisst die nach einer Seite hin offene Halle) der auch den Mihrab enthält, zwei seitliche Kuppel-Iwane, ein zentraler Kuppelraum und eine in voller Breite vorgelegte Vorhalle das Gepräge. Es besteht kein Zweifel darüber, dass dieses frühosmanische Iwan-Schema von einem bestimmten Typ der kleinasiatisch-seldschukischen Medrese (Theologenschule) des 13. Jahrh. herkommt, für den der Haupt-Iwan, Seiten-Iwane oder an

[1] Die Moschee ist erstmalig veröffentlicht von G. Gurlitt, *Die Bauten Adrianopels*, *Orientalisches Archiv* I (1910-1911), S. 52f., Abb. 9, Taf. XVII; das exaktere Datum gibt E. Riefstahl in *Early Turkish Tile Revetments in Edirne*, *Ars Islamica* IV (1937), S. 259.

[2] Die frühesten Beispiele finden sich in Iznik, noch nicht in der Moscheeanlage, sondern in einem Imaret- und Zawiye-Typ, so im Nilufer-Imaret (1388-1389) wie in der Zawiye des Yakub Tschelebi (Ende 14. Jahrh.). Vgl. K. Otto-Dorn, *Das Islamische Iznik* (Berlin, 1941), S. 52ff., Abb. 21, 22 und S. 60ff., Abb. 28, 29. Die Hochburg der Iwan-Moschee ist Brussa, die zweite frühosmanische Hauptstadt, mit den Moscheen Murads I. (1366-1385), des Yilderim Bayezid (1391-1395) und der Yeschil Dschami (1413-1421); vgl. A. Gabriel, *Une Capitale Turque*, *Brousse* (*Bursa*) (Paris, 1955), Taf. 15-17, Abb. 34, 35. Das Schema setzt sich in Istanbul in zwei Hauptbeispielen fort, in der Moschee des Mahmud Pascha vom Jahr 1463 und der des Murad Pascha vom Jahr 1465; vgl. dazu K. Otto-Dorn, a.a.O., S. 67 und Anm. 5 und das Gesamtkapitel über "Die Entwicklung des "T-förmigen" Grundriss-Schemas", S. 64ff. Für die Bauten Istanbuls siehe auch A. Gabriel, *Les Mosquées de Constantinople* (Syria, 1926), S. 363, ff., Abb. 3, 4.

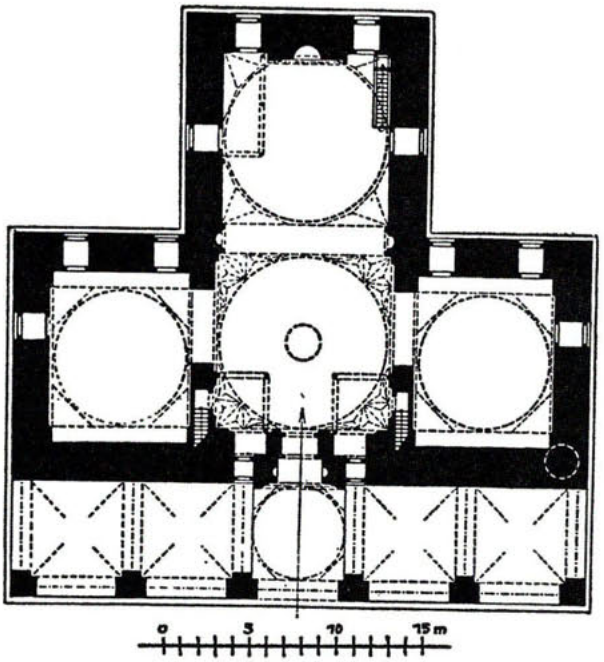

Fig. 1. Grundriss der Murad II.-Moschee, Edirne.

deren Stelle die Wohnzellen für die Studenten, der zentrale Kuppelraum (ehemals ein offener Hof) sowie das typische seldschukische Prunktor charakteristisch sind wie etwa bei der Indsche Minareli Medrese vom Jahr 1258 in Konya (Fig. 2).[3]

Dieses Schema dient erstmalig in frühosmanischer Zeit zum Vorbild der Moschee-Architektur, wird jedoch in grundlegenden Zügen abgewandelt, so in der starken Betonung des vorspringenden Haupt-Iwans wie vor allem in der Zufügung der bisher völlig unbekannten Vorhalle. Sie tritt an die Stelle des seldschukischen Prunkportales, ist dem Bau frontal in voller Breite vorgelegt, öffnet sich wie in unserem Fall in spitzbogigen Pfeilerarkaden und wird von Kreuzgewölben und einer Mittelkuppel überwölbt (Fig. 3).[4]

[3] Vgl. K. Otto-Dorn, *Kunst des Islam*, S. 153.

[4] Am frühesten tritt das neue Element in den Bauten Izniks auf. Sie wird hier der zentralen Kuppelmoschee vorgelegt, so im Beispiel der Hadschi Özbek-Moschee (1333 datiert) mit zwei Spolien-Säulen als Stützen, wie in der Yeschil Dschami (datiert zwischen 1388-1387), mit Stützenwechsel; vgl. K. Otto-Dorn: *Das Islamische Iznik*, S. 15ff., Abb. 5 und S. 20ff., Abb. 7, 8. In Iznik findet sich jedoch auch die Vorhalle verbunden mit dem Imaret, so im Nilufer-Imaret (1388-1398) wie in der etwa gleichzeitig anzusetzenden Zawiye des Yakub Tschelebi, in beiden Fällen mit Stützenwechsel;

Das Auftauchen dieses neuen, eindrucksvollen Elements der Vorhalle lässt sich nur mit Einflüssen aus einer andersartigen Kultursphäre her erklären, nämlich der von Byzanz, mit der die Osmanen bereits längst vor der Einnahme Konstantinopels, während ihrer Eroberungszüge durch Kleinasien und den Balkan, in engste Berührung kamen. Hier, im byzantinischen Kirchenbau spielt der Narthex seit dem 5. Jahrh. eine Rolle wie etwa in der Studios-Basilika in Istanbul,[5] in der Marienkirche in Ephesus (um 400)[6] oder in der Demetrios-Kirche in Saloniki.[7] Er wird vom 6. Jahrh. an häufig zum Exonarthex erweitert wie in der Hagia Sophia in Istanbul[8] und setzt sich kontinuierlich bis ins 14. Jahrh. hinein fort wie etwa in der Apostelkirche in Saloniki, datiert zwischen 1312-1315.[9] Selbst dem byzantinischen Zentralkuppelbau wird die Vorhalle vorgelegt wie in den justinianischen Bauten des Sergios und Bacchos in Istanbul und in San Vitale.[10]

Aber auch in strukturellen Details lässt sich der enge Zusammenhang mit byzantinischen Vorbildern verfolgen. So können wir den für die byzantinische Architektur charakteristischen Stützenwechsel an der Vorhalle einer weiteren Moschee Murads II.[11] in Brussa vom Jahr 1426 beobachten, wobei Pfeiler und Säulen alternieren (Fig. 4). Auch hier lässt sich wieder die nahe verwandte Parallele der oben erwähnten Apostelkirche von Saloniki anführen, die sich sogar wie in den osmanischen Bauten in Arkaden öffnet (Fig. 5). Auch für das Kuppelelement, an zentraler Stelle der Vorhalle der Moschee in Edirne eingefügt und in dreifacher Reihung an der Murad II.-Moschee in Brussa wiederholt, lassen sich byzantinische Prototypen vor allem des 8. Jahrh. heranziehen,

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vgl. K. Otto-Dorn, a.a.O.: S. 52ff., Taf. 24-28, Abb. 21, 22, und S. 60ff., Abb. 28, 29, Taf. 28, 29. Die nächste Stufe für die Vorhallen-Moschee sind die Iwan-Bauten in Brussa mit den Hauptbeispielen der Murad I.-Moschee (1366-1385) mit Pfeilern im Erdgeschoss und Stützenwechsel im 2. Geschoss (vgl. A. Gabriel: a.a.O.: S. 51, ff., Taf. 15-17, 19-21) und der Yilderim Bayezid-Moschee (1391-1395) (a.a.O.: S. 67ff., Abb. 27, Taf. 22-26). Bei der Yeschil Dschami in Brussa (1413-1421) ist die Vorhalle zu ergänzen (a.a.O.: S. 79ff., Abb. 34, 35, Taf. 30-40). Auch das osmanische Grabmal, die Türbe, erhält die Vorhalle, so etwa die Türbe des Yilderim Bayezid, vollendet 1406, mit Stützenwechsel (a.a.O.: S. 75f, Abb. 31).

[5] Vgl. M. Gough, *The Early Christians* (London, 1961), S. 141, Abb. 21.

[6] Vgl. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, 1965), S. 80f., Abb. 27.

[7] A.a.O.: S. 96f., Abb. 36.

[8] A.a.O.: S. 153ff., Abb. 61, 62.

[9] A.a.O.: S. 300f., Abb. 108.

[10] A.a.O.: S. 161f., Abb. 63 A, B. und S. 169, Abb. 64.

[11] Zur Murad II.-Moschee in Brussa vgl. A. Gabriel, a.a.O.: S. 105ff., Abb. 47-49; zur Apostelkirche in Saloniki vgl. Anm. 9.

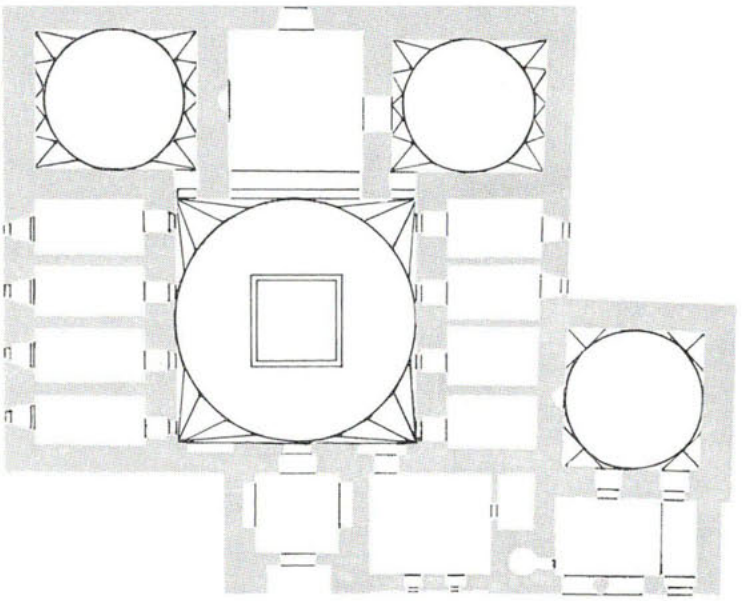

Fig. 2. Grundriss der Indsche Minareli Medrese, Konya.

Fig. 3. Vorhalle der Murad II.-Moschee, Edirne.

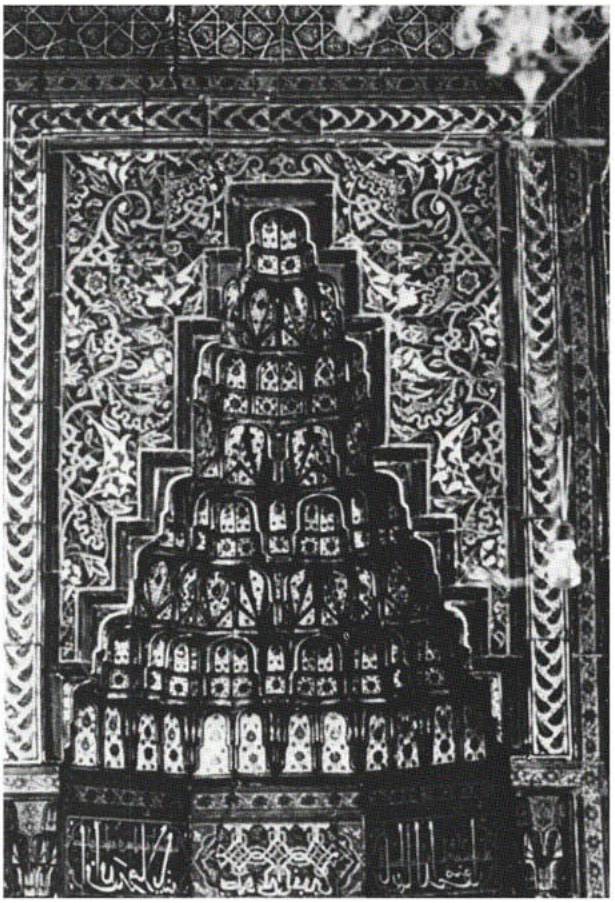

Fig. 6. Mihrab der Murad II.-Moschee, Edirne.

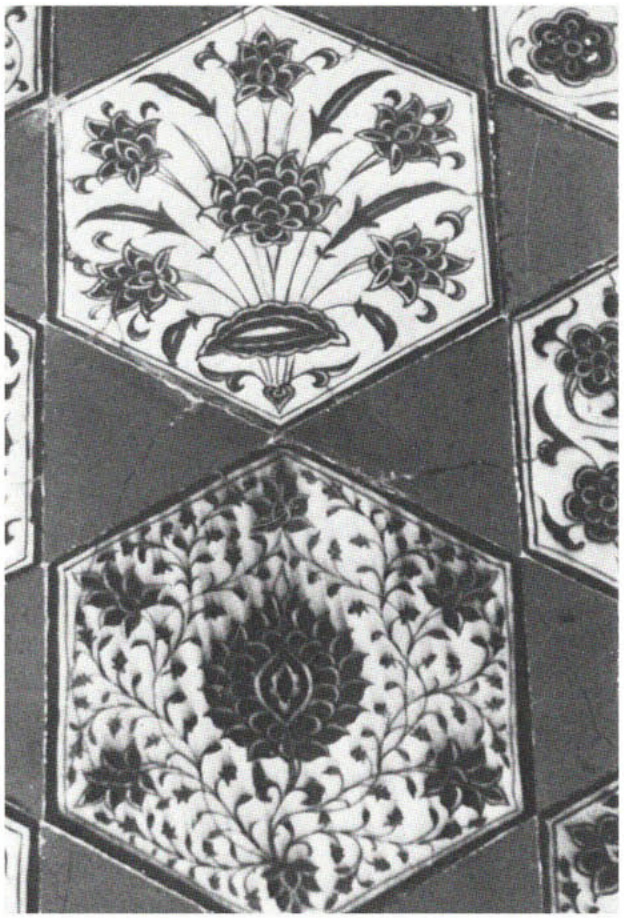

Fig. 7. Wandkacheln des Haupt-Iwans der Murad II.-Moschee, Edirne.

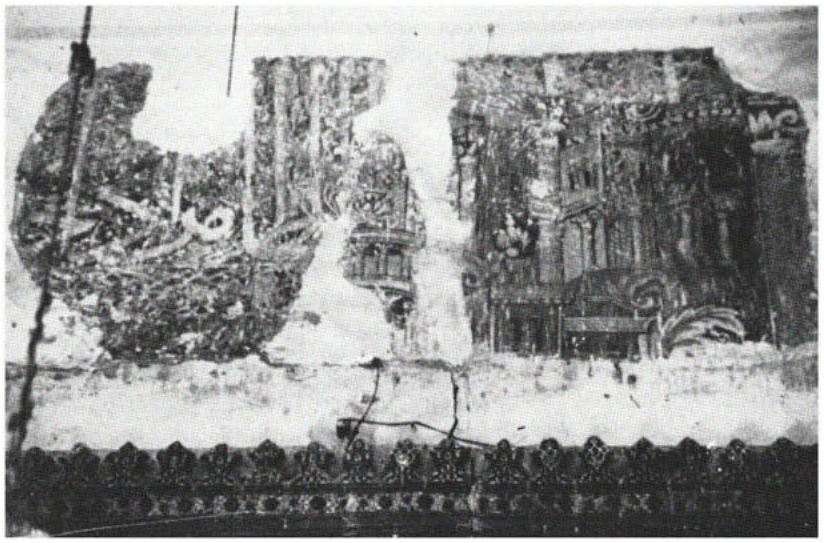

Fig. 8. Wandmalerei (Fresco) des Haupt-Iwans der Murad II.-Moschee, Edirne.

Fig. 9. Byzantinische Ikone, St. Clemens, Ohrid, 14. Jh., Skopje.

Fig. 12. Miniatur von Ahmed Musa, 14. Jh. Innenansicht des Felsendoms, Top Kapu Saray, Istanbul.

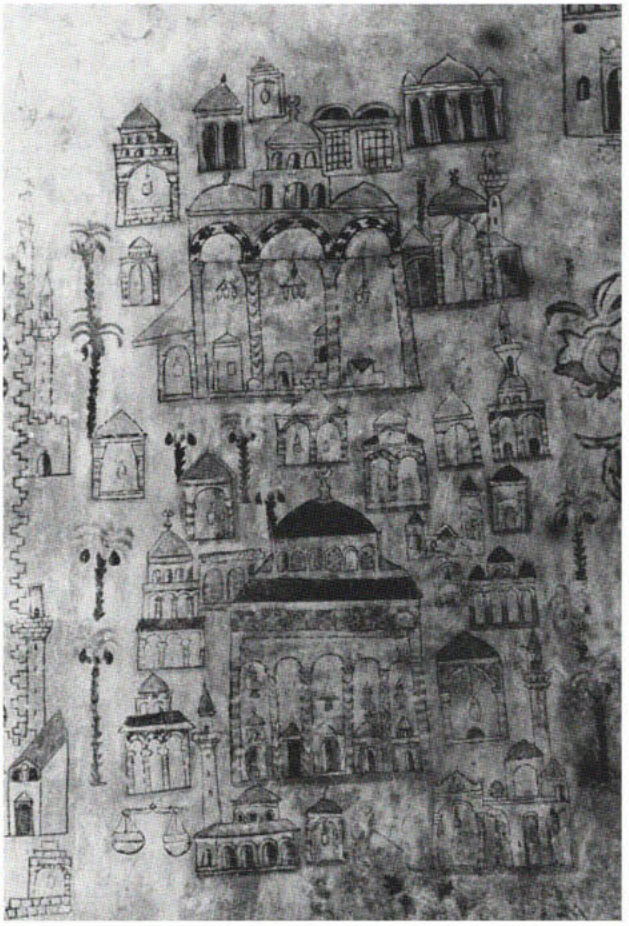

Fig. 13. Wandmalerei in der Haznedar-Moschee, Sivrihisar bei Ankara.

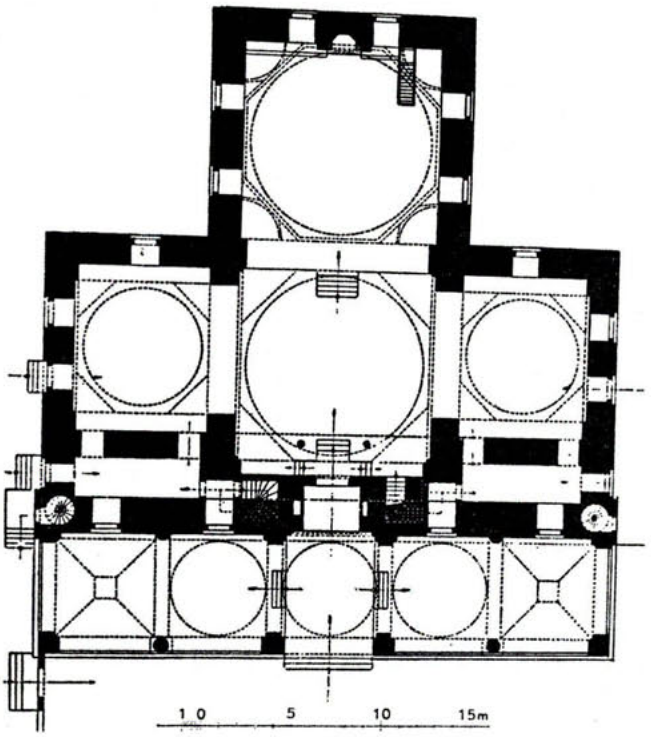

Fig. 4. Grundriss der Murad II.-Moschee, Brussa.

so aus Kleinasien die Nikolas-Kirche in Myra, Demre, die heute verschwundene Koimesis-Kirche in Iznik oder die Hagia Sophia in Saloniki.[12]

Selbst für den überkuppelten Zentralraum im Innern der Moschee stellt sich die Frage, ob hier nicht letzten Endes die halbbasilikale byzantinische Kuppelkirche nachwirkt, wie wir sie in monumentaler Auffassung in der Hagia Sophia in Istanbul vor uns haben und wie sie sich in späteren Jahrhunderten etwa in den oben erwähnten Kirchenbauten von Myra (Demre), Iznik und Saloniki fortsetzt.

Konnten wir so von der Architektur-Gestaltung her gesehen, in der Moschee Murads II. in Edirne zwei verschiedene Kulturbereiche aufzeigen, den seldschukischen im "Iwansystem" und den byzantinischen in Vorhalle-und-Kuppel-Idee, so lassen sich in noch verstärktem Masse auch im Innern des Baues gegensätzliche Einfluss-Sphären feststellen.

Zunächst heben sich hier zwei Meisterwerke keramischen Wandschmucks von völlig einmaligem Charakter heraus. In einem Fall handelt

[12] Vgl. R. Krautheimer, a.a.O.: S. 202f., Abb. 80, S. 205, Abb. 82, S. 205f., Abb. 83.

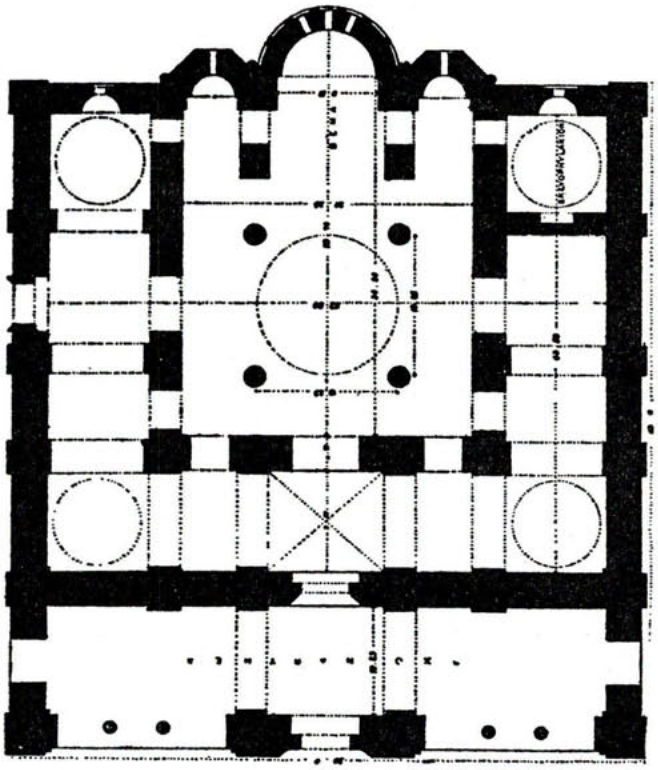

Fig. 5. Grundriss der Apostelkirche, Saloniki.

es sich um den an der Rückwand des Haupt-Iwans eingefügten, 1436 datierten Mihrab, der überaus reich mit Glasurfarben-Fayencen von emaillartiger Wirkung überzogen ist,[13] (Fig. 6). Ein pastellfarbig getönter Dekor aus Blatt-, Blütenranken und verknotetem Bandwerk füllt die innere Nische, während die Aussenrahmen Zonen mit arabischer Schrift, dem typisch islamischen Stalaktitwerk und geometrische Netz-Muster gliedern. Eine Fliesengattung steht hier vor uns, die, sehr wahrscheinlich in Iznik, dem berühmten osmanischen Keramikzentrum, hergestellt, eine ausgesprochenen Spezialität frühosmanischer Keramik-Kunst ist. Sie erlebt ihren ersten Höhepunkt in der Ausstattung der Gebetsnischen der 1420-1421 zu datierenden Yeschil Dschami und Yeschil Türbe in Brussa, von der uns auch die Namen persischer Meister überliefert sind, Inspira-

[13] Der Mihrab ist eingehender besprochen von R. Riefstahl: *Early Turkish Tile Revetments in Edirne*, *Ars Islamica* IV (1937), S. 261-267, Abb. 14-18.

toren eines neuen anatolischen Keramik-Stiles eigener Geschmacksrichtung.[14]

Was den Edirne-Mihrab jedoch aus dieser Gruppe heraushebt, ist das einmalige Zusammenspiel zweier Fayence-Gattungen von Glasurfarben-Fliesen und Feldern blauweisser Keramik, die die Stalaktitnische des Mihrab füllen. Auch sie sind eine typische Gruppe innerhalb frühosmanischer Fayence-Kunst, deren Herkunft jedoch in völlig andere Richtung weist. In ihnen spiegelt sich in der Unterglasur-Malerei-Technik, in der Blaumalerei auf weissem Grund sowie im neuartigen Blütendekor unverkennbar die Abhängigkeit vom chinesischen blauweissen Mingporzellan. Mit Sicherheit ist diese Gruppe, die sich vom beginnenden 15. Jahrh. bis zum ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrh. verfolgen lässt, eine Produktion der Keramik-Werkstätten von Iznik.[15]

Interessanterweise werden wir ein zweites Mal mit den gleichen Blauweiss-Fayencen innerhalb des Haupt-Iwans konfrontiert. Hier ist — ebenfalls eine einmalige Konzeption — der untere Teil der Seitenwände mit ganzen Serien der chinisierenden Fliesen überzogen, die gewissermassen den Mihrab an der Rückwand flankieren.

Sie sind zu grossen Feldern aus Sechseck-Kacheln zusammengefügt, zwischen denen türkisfarbene Fayence-Dreiecke sitzen.[16] Dominierend im Dekor sind die verschiedenartigsten Kompositionen stilisierter Päonien-Blüten (Fig. 7), untrügliches Merkmal chinesischen Einflusses, das nicht nur den Blauweiss-Fayencen, sondern dem gesamten frühosmanischen Dekor seinen Stempel aufdrückt.[17]

Der für uns überraschendste Effekt der Innenausstattung — und damit kommen wir wieder auf unser Hauptthema zurück — sind jedoch Dokumente von Wandmalerei. Sie wurden erst vor kurzem aufgedeckt, sind bisher kaum beachtet und noch unbearbeitet und stellen vor allem im Hinblick auf ihre Thematik eine Art Sensation dar. Sie geben Architektur-Prospekte wieder, die ehemals die oberen Wandzonen sowohl vom Haupt-Iwan wie vom Zentralkuppelraum überzogen, und sind heute leider nur mehr fragmentarisch erhalten. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit sind sie gleichzeitig mit Moscheebau und Keramik-Ausstattung anzusetzen, das heisst, wir haben sie zwischen 1433 und 1436 zu datieren.

[14] Zu den Glasurfarben-Fayencen der Yeschil-Moschee und Türbe und zur Frage des Produktionsortes vgl. K. Otto-Dorn, *Türkische Keramik* (Ankara, 1957), S. 60-63 und S. 85. Abb. 19a-27.

[15] A.a.O.: S. 83ff.

[16] Auch hierüber hat R. Riefstahl wie im Falle des Mihrab der Murad II.-Moschee eingehender gehandelt, a.a.O.: S. 259ff., Abb. 2-13.

[17] Vgl. dazu K. Otto-Dorn, a.a.O.: S. 58ff., 70 und Abb. 19b, 20, 33.

Einzelfragmente zeigen, dass Teile der Architektur-Malerei sehr wahrscheinlich später mit einer zweiten Schicht arabischer Inschriften überdeckt wurden. Wir beschränken uns hier auf das best erhaltene Fresco-Fragment an der rechten Wandzone des Haupt-Iwans, das also dem dominierenden Raumtrakt der Moschee zugehörig ist und schon allein aus diesem Grunde bedeutungsvoll gewesen sein muss. Dargestellt ist der Innenraum einer Architektur-Komposition in perspektivischer Ansicht mit Säulen verschiedener Grössenordnung, die Akanthuskapitelle tragen (Fig. 8). Und zwar lassen sich im Vordergrund drei hochragende Säulen erkennen, denen im Innern ein System aus vier perspektivisch verkürzten Säulen gegenübersteht, die eine Art Obergeschoss mit Fensteröffnungen tragen. Möglicherweise deuten die durch rote Bemalung hervorgehobenen Rechteckfelder zwischen den beiden Aussensäulen links und dem Säulensystem im Hintergrund auf monumentale Rechteckpfeiler hin. Dass hier in dieser Säulen-Architektur beziehungsweise im Säulen-Pfeiler-System von perspektivischer Ansicht Vorbilder spätbyzantinischer Architektur-Malerei wirksam sind, steht ausser Zweifel.[18] Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass wir in dieser Gesamtstruktur aus zwei verschiedenen "Säulenringen" mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit einen Zentralbau mit äusserem Umgang und innerer Rotunde vor uns haben.

Damit erhebt sich sofort die Frage nach der Deutung dieses eindrucksvollen Architektur-Prospektes, der an bevorzugter Stelle, innerhalb des Iwan-Raumes angebracht, sozusagen den Mihrab flankierend, einen speziellen Aussagewert gehabt haben muss. Mit anderen Worten, wir haben hier die Darstellung einer der meist verehrten religiösen Stätten des Islams zu vermuten.

Ausgehend von dem besonderen Charakter der hier dargestellten Zentralanlage mit doppeltem "Säulenring" bietet sich uns nur ein einziger der berühmten Sakralbauten zur Identifizierung an: der Felsendom (Qubbet es-Sakhra) in Jerusalem.[19] Dieses älteste islamische Bauwerk, ein von christlichen Vorbildern herkommendes, überkuppeltes Oktogon,

[18] Vgl. dazu etwa die Miniatur aus der Bibel des Leo Patricius vom 10. Jahrh. (*Biblioteca Vaticana*, Reg. Gr. 1) mit Tempietto-Architektur im Hintergrund und der Darstellun der Salbung Davids zum König und zwei Verkündigungen, eine, ein Miniaturmosaik vom 14. Jahrh. mit Säulenarkatur im Hintergrund (Victoria-und-Albert-Museum), und eine zweite, eine Ikonenmalerei ebenfalls vom 14. Jahrh. aus St. Clemens in Ohrid (Skopje, Makedonische Sammlungen) mit Säulenthron (s. D. T. Rice: *Kunst aus Byzanz* (München, 1959), Abb. 95, Taf. XXXVIII und XLI; s. Fig. 9).

[19] Eine eingehendere Besprechung des Monuments findet sich bei K. A. C. Creswel, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Penguin Books, 1958), S. 17-40, Abb. 2-5, Taf. 1-10.

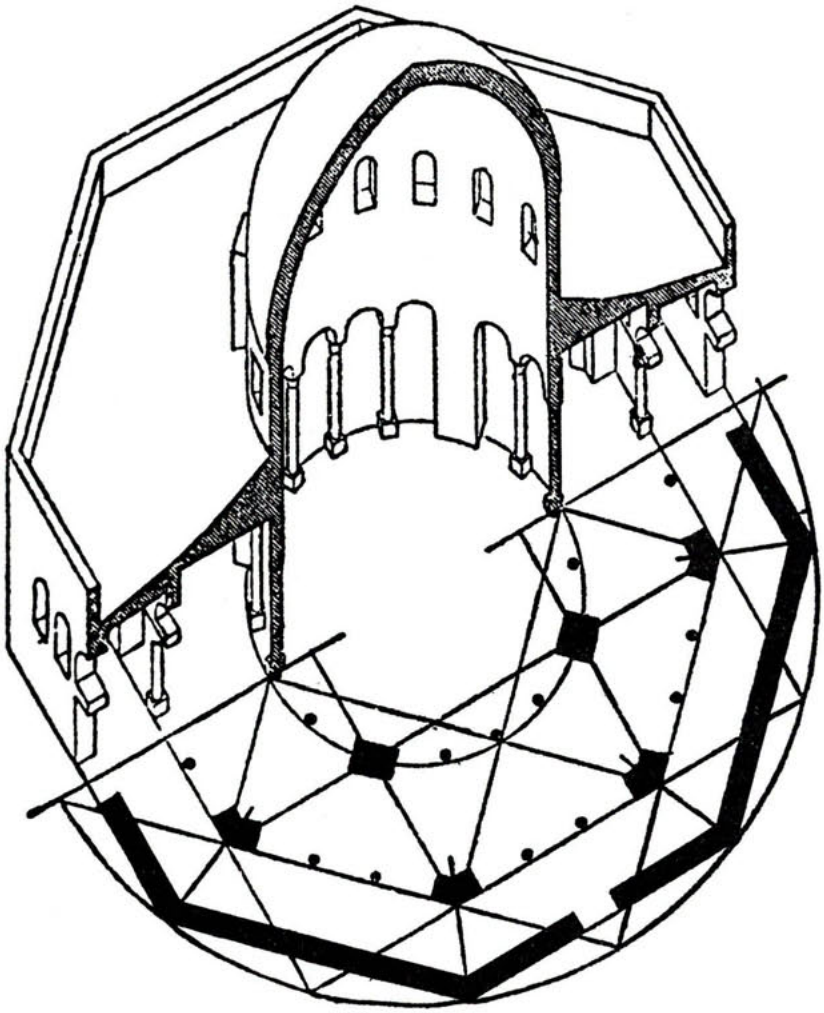

Fig. 10. Felsendom, Jerusalem.

unter dem Omayyaden-Khalifen Abd al Malik als eine Art politischen und religiösen Gegenpols zu Mekka zwischen den Jahren 669 und 691-692 begründet,[20] enthält die gleiche Grundstruktur wie die Malerei in Edirne: äusseres Oktogon mit innerer Rotunde, die den heiligen Felsen im Zentrum umschliesst und über der eine Fensterzone sitzt, dazu Stützenwechsel und byzantinische Akanthus-Kapitelle (Fig. 10).

Mit dieser Deutung gewinnt die Wandmalerei der Murad II.-Moschee

[20] Vgl. dazu K. Otto-Dorn, *Kunst des Islam*, S. 32-36.

Fig. 11. Mosaik, Hofarkade der Omayyaden-Moschee, Damaskus.

in Edirne einzigartigen dokumentarischen Wert, da bisher in der gesamten islamischen Kunst nur ein äusserst spärliches Material von Darstellungen des Felsendoms bekannt ist.

Wir dürfen vermuten, dass sich die früheste Andeutung des Themas in den Mosaiken der von dem Khalifen Walid I. zwischen 706 und 714-715 errichteten Omayyaden-Moschee in Damaskus erhalten hat,[21] und zwar in einem der Architektur-Prospekte der westlichen Hofarkade. Sie spiegeln fraglos bestimmte Städte-Bilder, denen jeweils das betreffende Wahrzeichen der Stadt als markantes Einzelmonument vorgesetzt ist. Auch sie sind nur verständlich als "Symbolträger", das heisst in diesem Fall als Demonstration des omayyadischen Machtbereichs, vergleichbar einer

[21] Die Mosaiken sind eingehender beschrieben von M. van Berchem in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford 1932), S. 229-259.

Triumphstrasse, die die Gläubigen in den Arkadengängen durchwandelten.[22]

Uns interessiert hier allein die Ansicht von Jerusalem, als welche wir die vertikal aufgebaute Architektur mit verschiedenen, übereinander gestaffelten Zonen "lesen" müssen (Fig. 11). Sie entspricht, in die Horizontale projiziert, in allen Hauptbestandteilen der ehemaligen antiken Rundstadt, bekannt vom Madaba-Mosaik in Jordanien aus dem 6. Jahrh.[23] mit Säulenstrasse, Mauern, Toren und wahrscheinlich der Grabeskirche als Bekrönung. Das entscheidendste Element jedoch für uns ist das Wahrzeichen der Stadt, eine überdimensionale Rotunde, aus antiken kannelierten, Weinlaub-umschlungenen Säulen bestehend, die Akanthuskapitelle tragen, mit der Andeutung von Gewölbe im Innern und einem phantasievollen geschwungenen Dach als Bekrönung. Nichts liegt näher als diesen "Tempietto", ähnlich wie wir dies von Darstellungen der Grabeskirche her kennen, als formelhafte Abkürzung der inneren Rotunde des Felsendomes zu interpretieren.[24]

Bei dem nächst folgenden, weit späteren Dokument von völlig andersartigem illustrativen Charakter handelt es sich um eine persische Miniatur wahrscheinlich aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrh. Dieses Blatt, einem der in späterer Zeit, möglicherweise um 1544 zusammengestellten Alben des Sultans Mehmed II. zugehörig, heute im Top Kapu Saray befindlich und sehr wahrscheinlich vom Meister Musa gemalt, gehört zu einer Serie von Miniaturen, die die Himmelfahrt Mohammeds illustrieren (Fig. 12). Dargestellt ist, um zunächst bei unserem Hauptthema zu bleiben, verwandt unserer Malerei in der Edirne-Moschee, eine ausgesprochene Innenarchitektur, die von R. Ettinghausen überzeugend als Innenraum des Felsendomes in Jerusalem interpretiert wurde.[25] Sie besteht aus überschlanken Doppelsäulen mit den typischen persischen Vasenkapitellen, die sich rotundenartig zusammenschliessen und Ansätze eines Gewölbes zeigen, fraglos die Kuppel des Felsendomes, das jedoch von

[22] Zur Deutung des Städte-Panoramas in den Arkadengängen vgl. K. Otto-Dorn: a.a.O.: S. 23-28, Abb. 6-8.

[23] Zum Madaba-Mosaik s. K. Otto-Dorn: a.a.O.: S. 25, Abb. 7.

[24] So finden sich Darstellungen der Grabeskirchen-"Rotunde" häufig auf den Monza-Ampullen des 5. Jahrh. (Vgl. dazu P. A. Underwood: *The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 5 (1950), Abb. 42, 51, 52, S. 92f., 103). Die Interpretation des Tempietto in Damaskus als Felsendom scheint mir nun von der Sicht des neuen, hier behandelten Materials her wie auch auf Grund der starken machtpolitischen Bedeutung dieses Baues für die Omayyaden überzeugender als die zuerst vorgebrachte Deutung der "Rotunde" als das Symbol der Grabeskirche (vgl. dazu K. Otto-Dorn: a.a.O.: S. 25 und 34).

[25] *Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century* (Academia Nazionale Dei Lincei, XII, 1957, S. 364ff.).

einem später zugefügten Miniaturfragment mit Wellendarstellungen im chinesischen Stil durchschnitten ist. Innerhalb dieser Architektur spielt sich, wie wir annehmen müssen, eine der Phasen von Mohammeds Himmelfahrt ab, während der er, von seinem Reittier, dem Fabelwesen Buraq getragen, von Mekka zum Felsendom nach Jerusalem gelangt, um von dort aus zum Himmel aufzusteigen. Mohammed selbst sitzt im Hintergrund in einer Art Gebetsnische, die der Originalbau nicht kennt, mit Engeln zu seiner rechten, die ihm die traditionellen mit Milch, Honig und Wein gefüllten Trinkschalen reichen, unter denen er die rechte zu wählen hat. Weitere, halbkreisförmig angeordnete Gruppen umgeben ihn. Auch das Fabelwesen Buraq erscheint, links im Vordergrund, sphinxartig, halb in menschlicher Gestalt, halb Reittier, mit goldenem Sattel und flammengleichem Flügel. Rechts von Buraq, axial ausgerichtet zur Figur des Propheten hin, ist der heilige Fels, das Zentrum der inneren Rotunde im Felsendom, angedeutet.

Noch ein zweites Mal lässt sich auf einer 1388 datierten persischen Miniatur eine Darstellung des Felsendoms nachweisen, der hier von zwei Engeln flankiert wird.[26] Interessanterweise nähert sich dieser Bildtyp in seiner formelhaften Abkürzung, wobei die beiden Hauptaspekte des Baues, Kuppel, und zwar in Aussenansicht, und innere Rotunde, vereint sind, stark dem "Tempietto"-Motiv auf den Damaskus-Mosaiken.

Das letzte Zeugnis einer Illustrierung des Felsendoms, dem, wie im Falle der Edirne-Moschee einmalige Bedeutung zukommt, haben wir in der Haznedar-Moschee in dem westlich von Ankara gelegenen Sivrihisar vor uns. Auch hier handelt es sich wie in der Edirne-Moschee um Wandmalereien, die sehr wahrscheinlich später als dort, in das 17. Jahrh. zu datieren sind.

Das Besondere dieser Malerei, die ebenfalls bisher kaum Beachtung gefunden hat und die wie die Edirne-Fresken noch unbearbeitet ist, liegt in der durch neuerliche Aufdeckungsarbeiten wieder völlig zum Vorschein gekommenen Gesamtkomposition von drei Rechteckfeldern mit Architektur-Prospekten, die an der Qiblawand, rechts vom Mihrab angebracht sind.[27] Sie enthalten das Bildprogramm der drei heiligsten Kult-

[26] Die Miniatur ist von R. Ettinghausen a.a.O.: S. 366, Anm. 1 erwähnt. Sie ist abgebildet bei E. Bochet: *Les enluminures des manuscripts orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1926), S. 80f., Taf. XXXb.

[27] Die Freilegungsarbeiten der Malereien der Haznedar-Moschee in Sivrihisar sind der Initiative des Direktors des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Herrn Prof. Dr. R. Naumann zu verdanken, dem ich an dieser Stelle meinen Dank aussprechen möchte. Eine Bearbeitung dieses neuentdeckten Materials vom Verfasser ist in Vorbereitung.

stätten des Islam; und zwar folgen einander von links nach rechts: die Moschee in Medina mit dem Grab des Propheten, die Ka'ba in Mekka und daran anschliessend und erstmals in diesem grösseren Zusammenhang nachweisbar eindeutig, das Thema des Felsendoms (Fig. 13). Der Bau erscheint in der Mitte des Vordergrundes umgeben von weiteren Architektur-Motiven, die fraglos auf den gesamten heiligen Bezirk Bezug nehmen, auf dem sich der Felsendom erhebt. Die Anlage steht vom Bildtyp her der oben erwähnten, von Engeln flankierten Darstellung auf der persischen Miniatur vom Jahr 1433 nahe. In ihr wiederholt sich in ähnlich formelhaftem Stil die "Zusammenschau" zweier verschiedener Aspekte: Aussenansicht der Kuppel und innere Rotunde. Jedoch ist das Ganze hier differenzierter ausgeführt mit der Andeutung des Schrägdaches des Felsendom-Oktogons sowie der Fensterzone im Kuppelrund.

Überblicken wir das hier vorgeführte Vergleichsmaterial, so müssen wir feststellen, dass sämtliche Beispiele dem gleichen Darstellungs-Schema folgen, das auch die Malerei in der Murad II.-Moschee charakterisiert: der Konzentration auf die innere Rotunde des Felsendoms. Unsere Identifizierung des Architekturprospektes in der Edirne-Moschee, in dem zusammen mit dem Rotunden-Motiv zugleich in den drei grösseren Aussensäulen ein zweiter äusserer Umgang angedeutet zu sein scheint, mit dem Felsendom in Jerusalem, den innere Rotunde und äusseres Oktogon kennzeichnen, erhält damit auch von dieser Seite her eine überzeugende Bestätigung. Als weiteres bedeutsames Zeugnis der bisher nur spärlich bekannten Felsendom-Illustrationen gewinnt damit die Malerei der Murad II.-Moschee besonderes Gewicht.

Dem Felsendom-Thema schlossen sich jedoch in den Edirne-Malereien des Haupt-Iwans weitere Architektur-Darstellungen an, von denen noch Reste, die teilweise später von arabischer Schrift überdeckt wurden, erhalten sind. Zu ihrer Deutung geben uns mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit die oben erwähnten Fresken aus der Haznidar-Moschee in Sivrihisar den Schlüssel in die Hand. Wie dort so müssen wir auch hier in nächster Nähe des Mihrab, das gleiche geschlossene Bildprogramm der drei heiligen Stätten des Islam erwarten: Felsendom kombiniert mit den Ansichten von Mekka und Medina.[28]

[28] Die enge Verbindung insbesonders der Ka'ba-Darstellungen zum Mihrab ist nur natürlich, da er der nach Mekka hin, also zur Ka'ba hin, ausgerichteten Qiblawand zugehört. So sind denn auch eine Reihe weiterer Belege für diese spezielle "Placierung" des Ka'ba-Bildes bekannt. Das früheste Zeugnis ist eine arabische Quelle (um 1340), die, den Mosaikschmuck im Innern der Damaskus-Moschee beschreibend, erwähnt, dass "über dem Mihrab die Ka'ba eingefügt war." (K. A. C. Creswell: *Early Muslim Architecture* I, S. 162). Überaus häufig finden sich spätere Ka'ba-Darstellungen auf

Fassen wir die Ergebnisse unserer Betrachtungen über die Moschee Murads II. in Edirne kurz zusammen, so kommen wir zu dem Schluss, dass was die Planung des Baues angeht, neben seldschukischer Tradition im Iwan-Schema, byzantinische Einflüsse im Element der frontal vorgelagerten Vorhalle mit Stützenwechsel-System und Überkuppelung sowie möglicherweise in der Idee des zentrales Kuppelraumes im Innern entscheidend einwirken. Auch in der Innenausstattung, deren keramischer Schmuck am Mihrab und im Haupt-Iwan Meisterwerke der Keramik-Werkstätten von Iznik darstellen, inspiriert von persischer beziehungsweise von chinesischer Geschmacksrichtung, ist das byzantinische Erbe in den Wandmalereien des Haupt-Iwans unverkennbar, und zwar sowohl in der perspektivischen Behandlung der "Rotunde" wie in deren architektonischen Details. Zugleich ergibt sich, wie wir annehmen müssen, mit diesem Architektur-Prospekt neues Anschauungsmaterial zum Thema der Felsendom-Illustrationen.

türkischen Fliesen des 17. und 18. Jahrh., die in die Qiblawand oder seitlich des Mihrab eingefügt sind. Vgl. dazu K. Erdmann: *Ka'bah-Fliesen*, *Ars Orientalis* III, 1959, S. 192-197, Gruppe A: No. 10 (Istanbul, Aya Sofya), Gruppe B: No. 2 (Top Kapu Saray, Karaagalar Mesdschid), No 7 und No 12, Abb. 5 (Nigde, Murad Pascha Dschami), No 10 (Üsküdar, Solaksinan Dschami), No 11 (Küre, Hodsche Schemseddin Dschami), Gruppe C: No. 6 (Kütahya, Ulu Dschami) Abb. 7, Gruppe D: No. 3 (Istanbul, Dscherzeri Kasim Pascha), No. 4 (Istanbul, Hekim Oglu Ali Pascha Dschami); vgl. zu dem Thema auch die Studie von R. Ettinghausen: *Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba im islamischen Kulturkreis*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Neue Folge, Bd. 12, 1934.

EDWARD V. WILLIAMS

A BYZANTINE *ARS NOVA*: THE 14TH-CENTURY REFORMS OF JOHN KOUKOUZELES IN THE CHANTING OF GREAT VESPERS

One of the salient manifestations of Byzantine civilization was the continuing ability of the Empire to recuperate its strength throughout a millennium of military, theological, and dynastic crises. After the Latin occupation of Constantinople during the first half of the 13th century, Byzantium once again channeled its creative forces for what was to be the final glow of its intellectual and artistic life. During the Palaeologan dynasty, which ruled the moribund Byzantine state from 1261 until its fall in 1453, a host of outstanding men emerged— mystics, theologians, philosophers, mathematicians, historians, statesmen, artists and their patrons, and composers of monophonic chants for the offices and liturgies of the Byzantine rite.[1]

The most important name associated with Byzantine chant in the 14th century is Ioannes (John) Koukouzeles, traditionally called 'a second John of Damascus', 'the second source of Greek music', or simply 'the master'. Notwithstanding Koukouzeles' preëminence as a composer of Greek Church music, his βίος or *vita*[2] offers substantial evidence that his

[1] Unlike the medieval church music of Western Europe which was to develop along polyphonic lines, the music of the Byzantine rite remained exclusively monophonic, chants of a single vocal line. The neumatic notational system of Byzantine music, which differs radically from the modern Western staff of lines and spaces, was a means of expressing relative pitch and rhythmic values through symbols placed above a Greek text. A given *neume* or sign indicates the size of the melodic interval in pitch from the *neume* which immediately precedes. For a discussion of the Byzantine system of notation, cf. H. J. W. Tillyard, *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Notation*, "Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Subsidia, I, fasc. i (Copenhagen, 1935) and Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1961), pp. 261-310. The musical examples which accompany the present study are transcriptions from the Byzantine system into Western notation.

[2] Eight manuscripts are known which preserve the *vita* of John Koukouzeles, who became a saint in the Greek Church and whose feast is celebrated on October 1. An edited collation of two 17th-century sources from the Great Laura on Mount Athos

ethnic background may have been at least half Slavic.[3] From the information provided in his hagiographical biography four conclusions can be drawn about the Balkan background of Koukouzeles: 1) He was born in Dyrrachium, some of whose citizens were Slavs;[4] 2) his native tongue was not Greek;[5] 3) his father may or may not have been Slavic;[6] 4) his

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(Laura I. 23 and I. 45) has been published by Sophronios Eustratiades in his article, "Ἰωάννης ὁ Κουκουζέλης, ὁ Μαΐστωρ, καί ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἀκμῆς αὐτοῦ", Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, XIV (1938), pp. 4-9. A Russian translation of the *vita* in Leningrad 239 (Porfiry Uspensky collection no. 5) by P. A. Syrku appears in his article, "Zhitie Ioanna Kukuzelîâ, kak' istochnik' dlîâ bolgarskoĭ istorii", *Zhurnal' Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvîeshcheniia*, CCLXXXII (1892), pp. 132-134. Two important printed versions of the *vita* can be found in Agapios of Crete's Ἁμαρτωλῶν σωτηρία (Venice, 1851), pp. 292-294 and in Stephanos Lampadarios' Κρηπὶς, ἤτοι νέα στοιχειώδης διδασκαλία τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς (Constantinople, 1890), pp. 125-128.

[3] Two major problems in the *vita* of Koukouzeles are his precise epoch and his ethnic origins. The dates of Koukouzeles' activity, object of much scholarly controversy, have been stretched across four centuries — from the beginning of the 12th century to the beginning of the 16th. Cf. Miloš Velimirović, "Two Composers of Byzantine Music: John Vatatzes and John Laskaris", *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music; a Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese* (New York, 1966), p. 818, n. 1, and Kenneth Levy, "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XVI (1963), p. 156, n. 47. The latest evidence and research now shows Koukouzeles to have been active in the first half of the 14th century. Velimirović has already pointed to certain Serbian relationships in the activity of two Byzantine composers of the 15th century: Ioakeim the Monk and Manuel Chrysaphes. See his article, "Ἰωακεὶμ μοναχὸς τοῦ Χαρσιανίτου καὶ δομέστικος Σερβίας", *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta*, VIII$_2$ (*Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky* II; Belgrade, 1964), pp. 451-454.

[4] Dyrrachium, the present city of Durrës on the Albanian littoral, was an Illyrian seaport which lay at a point where the Byzantine, Slavic, and Latin worlds converged. According to Šufflay, all Balkan types were to be found there: Greek, Rumanian-Bulgarian, Bosnian-Dalmation, and Serbian-Montenegrin. Names in historical sources and registers show that not only Greeks and Slavs, but Italians, Albanians, and even a Jewish colony were living in medieval Dyrrachium. Milan von Šufflay, "Das mittelalterliche Albanien", in Ludwig von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, I (Munich, 1916), p. 284. Cf. also Šufflay's "Die Lage und Vergangenheit der Stadt Durazzo in Albanien", in Thallóczy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 162.

[5] That Koukouzeles' native tongue was not Greek the *vita* indirectly divulges through an episode which relates the traditional origin of his name. The hagiographer discloses that Koukouzeles, when asked by his schoolmates in Constantinople what he had eaten that day, was not yet "in full command of the Greek language" and replied, "κουκία καὶ ζέλια" ('beans and cabbage' in Bulgarian). From this response his schoolmates are alleged to have fashioned the nickname "Koukouzeles". Eustratiades, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Cf. R. Palikarova Verdeil, *La Musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IXe au XIVe siècle)*, "Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Subsidia, III (Copenhagen, 1953), p. 196.

[6] Of his father, who died when Koukouzeles was very young according to the *vita*, nothing further is recorded: Eustratiades, *op. cit.*, p. 4. A few musical sources transmit the composer's surname as "Papadopoulos" which may indicate that Koukouzeles'

mother was almost certainly Slavic and in all probability Bulgarian.[7] During Koukouzeles' education in Constantinople as a protegé of the emperor, however, he must have been completely Hellenized for, when he abandoned the imperial capital for a monk's life on Mount Athos, he went not to the Bulgarian foundation of Zographou nor to the Serbian monastery of Chilandari but to the Great Laura of Saint Athanasios, the most venerable Greek establishment on the peninsula.

By the beginning of the 14th century a new type of music manuscript was being used in the services of the Greek Church. Officially called Akolouthiai (Ἀκολουθίαι), this book was an anthology and contained within a single volume a collection of chants, both ordinary and proper, for the orders of the morning and evening offices as well as musical settings for the three liturgies.[8] Although similar in general contents, the repertory of each Akolouthiai may reflect the preferences of a particular monastic establishment or even the tastes of an individual scribe. A scribe would copy the traditional repertory without any major alterations but would exercise his own editorial prerogatives in adding new chants by his contemporaries. In this way the repertories of the Akolouthiai were constantly in the process of being brought up to date.[9] The Akolouthiai were distinguished from other Byzantine music manuscripts by

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father was Greek, or that the Slavic name Popović at some point may have been Hellenized, or even that Koukouzeles may have been the son of a priest.

[7] The most striking 'Slavicisms' in the *vita* are words spoken by Koukouzeles' mother: "μόε δέτε μίλο Ἰωάννη γδέμησε" ('My dear child John, where are you?'). This lament, although transmitted in Greek characters in the *vita*, is a transliteration of Slavic speech: "Мое дѣте милъ Иване, гдѣ ли ми си?" These are the words which Koukouzeles is reported to have used as the text for his composition, the Polyeleos "Bulgara": Eustratiades, *op. cit.*, p. 5. The Polyeleos "Bulgara" has been studied by Mme. Lada Brashovanova-Stancheva in her article, "Prouchvaniîa vŭrkhu zhivota i deĭnostta na Ioan Kukuzel", in *Izvestiia na instituta za muzika*, VI (Bulgarska Akademiîa na Naukite; Sofia, 1959), pp. 30-33.

[8] This type of manuscript, thought to have been compiled by or under the direction of John Koukouzeles about the year 1300, is also found under such names as Ἀνθολόγιον, Ἀνοιξαντάριον, Ψαλτική, Παπαδική, or Μουσικόν. The official name however, in the plural, is Ἀκολουθίαι meaning 'Orders of Service'. Cf. Oliver Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Octoechos", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XIII (1960), p. 53. For a discussion of the Asmatikon and Psaltikon, the immediate musical predecessors of the Akolouthiai, cf. Levy, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 149, and 155.

[9] Strunk, *op. cit.*, p. 54. No less than fourteen Akolouthiai survive from the 14th century, and the number from the 15th century is more than twice this number. Of approximately fifty Akolouthiai manuscripts known to have been copied before the year 1500, the greatest number are located in three principal repositories: the National Library of Greece in Athens, the library of Saint Catherine's Monastery on the Sinai peninsula, and the numerous monastic libraries on Mount Athos (especially in the collections of Iviron, Vatopedi, and the Great Laura).

the predominance of those chants which were 'newly-composed' and which carried attributions to a number of Byzantine composers.[10] Although the chanted repertories and their sequence in the Akolouthiai vary somewhat from copy to copy, a representative manuscript will transmit the psalmody for the Prooemiac Psalm for Great Vespers.[11] A study of Koukouzeles' contributions to the psalmody of the Prooemiac Psalm will demonstrate the impact of his art upon Great Vespers.[12]

Stylistically and chronologically musical settings for Psalm 103 fall into two basic categories: 1) a small group of anonymous, 'quasi-traditional' chants,[13] and 2) an ever-expanding corpus of 'newly-composed'

[10] Velimirović points out that attributions to specific composers were common in Akolouthiai but were somewhat exceptional in other types of Byzantine music manuscripts. Miloš Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers in MS. Athens 2406", *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford, 1966), p. 8.

[11] The Prooemiac or 'Introductory' Psalm in the numeration of the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate is Psalm 103; in the Masoretic and King James Psalters, Psalm 104. Each verse of the Prooemiac Psalm is subdivided into two or more poetic lines. Verse 35, for example, the last verse of the Psalm, contains three lines, each of which carries a letter (*viz.* 35a, 35b, 35c). From verse 28b through verse 35c, that is, from the second line of verse 28 through the third line of verse 35, selected lines of Psalm 103 receive musical settings. Following verse 35c four previous lines of the Psalm are added to the musical performance: verse 19b and 20a with their striking evening imagery, and verses 24a and 24b which function as a summation of the Psalm's spiritual substance. For a discussion of the performance practice of the Prooemiac Psalm, see the forthcoming study by Miloš Velimirović, "The Prooemiac Psalm of Byzantine Vespers", in *Words and Music Dedicated to A. T. Merritt* (Cambridge, Mass., to be published).

[12] By the beginning of the 14th century a millennium of liturgical conflict and amalgamation in the Orthodox East between the rites of Jerusalem and Constantinople had produced Great Vespers (μεγάλος ἑσπερινός), a 'mixed' form of the evening office. Almost universally observed in the Empire during the reign of the Palaeologoi (1261-1453) Great Vespers embraced both monastic and urban features from the two important spiritual centers of the East. For a discussion of the liturgical processes which crystallized in Great Vespers of the 14th and 15th centuries, cf. Mikhail Skaballanovich, *Tolkovyĭ tipikon'*, I (Kiev, 1910), pp. 393ff, 492; N. D. Uspenskiĭ, "Pravoslavnaîa Verchernía (istoriko-liturgicheskiĭ ocherk)", *Bogoslovskie trudy*, I (Moscow, 1959), pp. 33-39; and Anton Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus", *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd series, II (1927), pp. 22-27.

When preserved in the Akolouthiai the evening office shows at least two, but more frequently three and four, different chanted texts: 1) the 'Invitatory' exclamations (Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν...); 2) the Prooemiac Psalm (Psalm 103); 3) the First Stasis (Psalms 1, 2, and 3); and 4) kalophonic (i.e. embellished) settings for Psalm 2. The second and third items above are to be found in all Akolouthiai which transmit Great Vespers.

[13] Only four settings for the Prooemiac Psalm bear the 'quasi-traditional' label "παλαιόν" or "ἀρχαῖον" ('old'): verses 28b, 29a, 35c, and 24b. Verse 29a is preserved only in Sinai 1293 and Athens 2406, both mid-15th-century sources. A unique 'quasi-traditional' setting for verse 35c appears in the very oldest source, Sinai 1256, and was never recopied. Because of its atypical construction with a Doxology, Alleluias, and

melodies, the work of individual Byzantine composers. The transmission of these two stylistic strata of the Prooemiac Psalm in five selected Byzantine music manuscripts copied between 1309—1453 is shown in Table 1, (p. 217).

The earliest sources which transmit chants for the Prooemiac Psalm are not Akolouthiai but two Heirmologia:[14] Sinai 1256 (copied in 1309) and Sinai 1257 (copied in 1332). Sinai 1256, the older of the two manuscripts, carries only three lines of the Psalm in 'quasi-traditional' musical settings: verses 28b, 35c, and 24b. The second Heirmologion, Sinai 1257, although it drops the 'quasi-traditional' setting for verse 35c, still transmits the same archaic settings of 28b and 24b.[15] In addition it carries three new unattributed chants for verses 29b, 31a, and 35a. A comparison of these three chant melodies in Sinai 1257 with the same repertory in Athens 2458 (copied in 1336), the oldest dated Akolouthiai, discloses that the three chants, although they bear no attribution, are by no means anonymous. They are in fact the first, second, and fourth melodies ascribed to John Koukouzeles in Athens 2458. Sinai 1257 is the earliest source to show the juxtaposition — although incognito — of two different musical strata in the repertory of the Prooemiac Psalm.[16]

With the transmission of the first chants of Koukouzeles for verses 29b, 31a, and 35a, Sinai 1257 discloses 'the master' as an innovator, the first composer of the 'newly-composed' repertory for Great Vespers. In Athens 2458 two more melodies by Koukouzeles were added to the repertory of the Prooemiac Psalm for verses 33a and 35c, the first complete transmission of the five chant melodies composed by Koukouzeles for the Prooemiac Psalm.[17] In addition to the five compositions of Koukouzeles, Athens 2458 also preserves one setting by Panaretos and

δόξα refrains appended to the conclusion of the Prooemiac Psalm, verse 24b will not be considered in this study with the other three 'quasi-traditional' settings.

[14] A Heirmologion contains the Heirmoi of the Kanon, a musico-poetic form sung during Orthros, the morning office. The anomalous inclusion of Great Vespers in the two Sinai Heirmologia occurs after the normal corpus of Heirmoi.

[15] All Akolouthiai which transmit Great Vespers preserve 'quasi-traditional' settings for verses 28b and 24b, the first and last lines of that portion of Psalm 103 which is chanted with refrains.

[16] The first known chant by Koukouzeles for the office of Great Vespers is transmitted, not in the repertory of the Prooemiac Psalm, but as a setting for verse 8c from Psalm 3 in the First Stasis. The rubric which accompanies the chant in Sinai 1256 (1309 A.D.) identifies it as "a new melody composed by John Papadopoulos Koukouzeles". This attribution records the oldest known example of a 'newly-composed' setting of Psalm text for Great Vespers and suggests through the adjective "new" that this composition of Koukouzeles, appearing at the beginning of the century, represents a significant break with the older repertory.

[17] The numerical identification of Koukouzeles' chants for the Prooemiac Psalm applies to their sequential order in Athens 2458.

Expansions of Composer Abbreviations

		Sinai		
Trad.	'Quasi-traditional'] 1256			
		Sinai		
Kkz.	Ioannes Koukouzeles	1257	Athens	
			2458	
Pan.	Panaretos			
				Athens
XenKor.	Xenos Koronis			899
Kontp.	Georgios Kontopetris			
Lamp.	Ioannes Lampadarios			
AgKor.	Agathonos Koronis			
Nik.	Nikonos the Monk			
Kam.	Kamarianos			
Anon.	Anonymous, composer unknown			Athens
				2406
Doukas	Ioannes Doukas			
Raid.	Demetrios Raidestinos			
Mosch.	Konstantinos Moschianos			
Sgour.	Georgios Sgouropoulos			
Myst.	Michail Mystakonos			
Ioasaph	Ioasaph the Monk			
Kas.	Kasianos the Monk			
Ioakeim	Ioakeim the Monk			
Gavalas	Gavalas			

three by Xenos Koronis.[18] Each succeeding copy of Akolouthiai shows a marked increase in the number of 'newly-composed' settings between verses 28b and 24b. Athens 2406, copied in 1453, the very year the Empire fell, transmits an extensive repertory for the Prooemiac Psalm.

Both 'quasi-traditional' and 'newly-composed' chants carry a refrain after the line of Psalm text. In its original form the refrain is the short acclamation: δόξα σοι ὁ θεός ('Glory to Thee, O God'). From a textual standpoint each setting is bipartite: 1) a line from Psalm 103, and 2) the δόξα refrain. See example 1, (p. 226).

The note count in Table 2 reveals that three melodies of Koukouzeles (chants 1, 2, and 4) for the Prooemiac Psalm are substantially longer than the 'quasi-traditional' settings. Of greater internal significance, however, is the ratio of proportion between the length of the music for the Psalm text and the music for the refrain in each type of setting. The refrain in the three 'quasi-traditional' settings occupies roughly one-fifth the entire length of the chant, or, in more obvious terms, the chant of the Psalm text in the older settings is considerably more important than the chants for the refrain.

[18] Xenos Koronis was probably a younger contemporary of Koukouzeles also active in the first half of the 14th century. Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

TABLE 1

Transmission of Chants For the Prooemiac Psalm in Five Manuscript Sources

		Heirmologia		Akolouthiai		
	Psalm verse	Sinai 1256 1309	Sinai 1257 1332	Athens 2458 1336	Athens 899 after 1427	Athens 2406 1453
	28b	Trad.	Trad.	Trad.	Trad.	Trad.
	29a					Trad.
	29b		[Kkz. 1]	Kkz. 1	Pan.	Pan. Lamp.
	29c					
	30a			Pan.	Kkz.	Kkz. Lamp.
	30b					
	31a		[Kkz. 2]	Kkz. 2 XenKor. XenKor.	Kkz.	Kkz. Kkz. Lamp. Nik.
	31b					Kam.
	32a			[XenKor.]	Kontp. Kkz. Lamp.	Kontp. Kkz. Lamp.
	32b					Anon.
	33a			Kkz. 3	Kkz. AgKor.	Kkz. AgKor. Lamp.
	33b					XenKor.
	34a				Kkz. Kontp. Lamp.	Kontp. Lamp.
	34b					
	35a		[Kkz. 4]	Kkz. 4	XenKor. XenKor. Lamp.	XenKor. XenKor. Lamp. Lamp. Doukas Raid.
	35b					Mosch.
	35c	Trad.		Kkz. 5	XenKor. Lamp.	Sgour. Lamp.
Added verses	19b					XenKor. Myst. Ioasaph
	20a				XenKor. Lamp.	XenKor. XenKor. Lamp. Kas. Ioakeim
	24a					XenKor. XenKor. Kam. Gavalas
	24b	Trad.	Trad.	Trad.	Trad.	Trad.

TABLE 2

Proportions of Psalm Texts and Refrains in 'Quasi-traditional' Settings and Chants of Koukouzeles for the Prooemiac Psalm

	Notes in Psalm text	Notes in Refrain	Totals
'Quasi-traditional'			
v. 28b (Sinai 1256)	63	9	72
v. 29a (Athens 2406)	51	11	62
v. 35c (Sinai 1256)	41	8	49
Averages	52	9	61
Koukouzeles chants (Athens 2458)			
Chant no. 1	45	73	118
Chant no. 2	36	72	108
Chant no. 3	29	21	50
Chant no. 4	54	51	105
Chant no. 5	32	29	61
Averages	39	49	88

In the chants of Koukouzeles, however, the refrains are never subordinated to the Psalm text either in their musical length or their liturgical import. The refrains in chants 3, 4, and 5 are almost as long as the portion of music which carries the Psalm text; Koukouzeles' chants 1 and 2, on the other hand, reveal that the musical length of the refrain not only greatly exceeds that of the Scriptural text but is roughly twice the length of the Psalm text segment. In striking contrast to the 'quasi-traditional' function of the refrain as a brief cadential appendage to the Psalm text, Koukouzeles has assigned his refrain settings much greater structural significance. He has shifted the emphasis by reversing the older structural relationship and has at the same time increased the overall musical dimensions of his settings.

Table 3 gives overall proportional progressions in the Prooemiac Psalm during the 14th and 15th centuries. The shortest chants are the 'quasi-traditional' settings; at the other end of the scale lie the 'newly-composed' examples of the 15th century. Between the two extremes proportional development moves steadily in the direction of an increase in the size of settings. Table 3 further reveals that this expansion was actually effected within the confines of the refrain alone. The length of the musical segment for the Psalm text remains relatively constant, although the refrain continues to expand in the hands of each succeeding generation.

TABLE 3

Averages of Proportions in Psalm Texts and Refrains for 14th and 15th-Century Settings of the Prooemiac Psalm

Setting	Notes in Psalm text	Notes in Refrain	Totals
'Quasi-trad.'	52	9	61
Koukouzeles	39	49	88
Xenos Koronis	39	84	123
Other 14th c. composers	38	92	130
Lampadarios	42	115	157
Other 15th c. composers	39	145	184

Not only is the text of the refrain itself unembellished in the 'quasi-traditional' chants — simply δόξα σοι ὁ θεός — but the musical settings for this acclamation are almost perfunctory. The refrain functions as no more than a brief formulaic ending to the chanted line of Scripture. The refrains of Koukouzeles' chants 3 and 5, however, may represent this composer's first cautious attempts to expand the text of the refrain and hence to enlarge the musical dimensions of each setting.

3. Glory to Thee, O God
Glory to Thee.

5. Glory to Thee
Glory to Thee, O God.[19]

The two texts merely repeat the first two Greeks words (δόξα σοι) of the refrain before and after the acclamation proper. The refrains for Koukouzeles' melodies 1, 2, and 4 reveal even more original and significant innovations by the composer and exhibit the first examples of textual 'troping', a technique which Koukouzeles' successors were to exploit in the 15th century.[20]

1. Glory to Thee, Father
Glory to Thee, Son
Glory to Thee, Holy Spirit
Glory to Thee.

2. Glory to Thee, Holy [One]
Glory to Thee, Lord
Glory to Thee, heavenly King
Glory to Thee
Glory to Thee, O God.

[19] Athens 2458, f. 12v: 3. δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς
δόξα σοι.

Athens 2458, f. 13r: 5. δόξα σοι
δόξα σοι ὁ θεός.

[20] The most significant feature of the δόξα refrains is their virtual function as a composer's signature. Each refrain, as troped and set by a given composer, remains attributed to that composer regardless of the source in which it appears. For a discussion of the troped refrains and the principle of melodic migration in the Prooemiac Psalm, see the forthcoming article by Miloš Velimirović, "The Prooemiac Psalm of Byzantine Vespers", in *Words and Music Dedicated to A. T. Merritt* (Cambridge, Mass., to be published).

4. Glory to Thee, Trinity without beginning
Glory to Thee, O God.[21]

From the elementary repetition and elaboration of certain elements in the original text, the troped refrain attained such proportions in 15th-century settings that it soon overshadowed the Psalm text both in its verbal length and musical emphasis. As a mere cadential appendage to the Psalm text in the 'quasi-traditional' chants the refrain soon grew to dominate the line of Scripture which it accompanied and eventually gave vent to elaborate utterances colored with the subtle nuances of Byzantine theology.[22]

A tabulation of the melodic ranges, in Table 4, for the three 'quasi-traditional' settings reveals in each case that the melodic range of the refrain is substantially smaller than the melodic range of the Psalm text. The range of each refrain, moreover, is confined to the melodic intervals of a fourth or a fifth.

Parallel to Koukouzeles' expansion of the refrain text through troping is his bolder exploitation of vocal range. Not only do the total ranges of the five Koukouzeles settings either equal or exceed the total ranges of

[21] Athens 2458, f. 11v: 1. δόξα σοι πάτερ
σόξα σοι υἱὲ
δόξα σοι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
δόξα σοι.

Athens 2458, f. 12r: 2. δόξα σοι ἅγιε
δόξα σοι κύριε
σόξα σοι βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε
δόξα σοι
δόξα σοι ὁ θεός.

Athens 2458, ff. 12v-13r: 4. δόξα σοι τριὰς ἄναρχε
δόξα σοι ὁ θεός.

[22] A refrain trope which echoes the *filioque* controversy between East and West is contained in the fifth melody by John Lampadarios:
Athens 899, ff. 44v-45r:

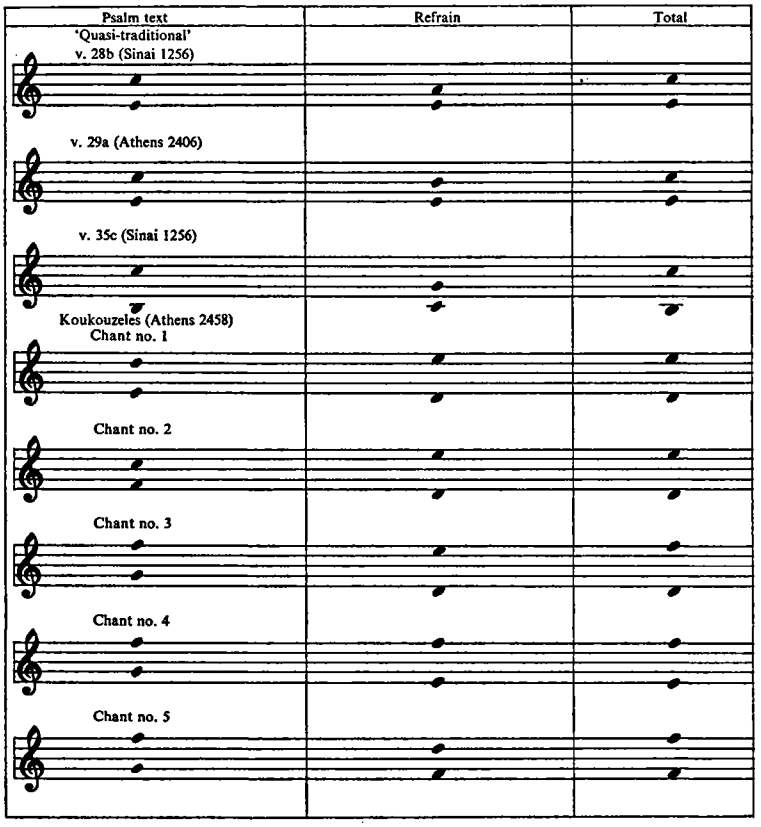
δόξα σοι πάτερ ἀγέννητε	Glory to Thee, unbegotten Father
δόξα σοι υἱὲ γεννητὲ	Glory to Thee, begotten Son
δόξα σοι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ ἐν υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον	Glory to Thee, Holy Spirit which proceeds from the Father and reposes in the Son
τριὰς ἁγία δόξα σοι	Glory to Thee, Holy Trinity
δόξα σοι ὁ θεός.	Glory to Thee, O God.

Another trope by Manuel Koronis, son of Xenos Koronis, alludes to the Hesychast controversy which split the Empire in the 14th century:
Athens 2401, f. 50r:

δόξα σοι κύριε ὁ φῶς ἄκτιστον τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἐμφανείσας ἐν τῷ θαβὼρ	Glory to Thee, Lord, light uncreated appearing to Thy disciples on Mount Tabor
τριὰς ἁγία δόξα σοι.	Glory to Thee, Holy Trinity.

TABLE 4

Ranges of Psalm text and refrains in 'quasi-traditional' and Koukouzeles settings for the Prooemiac Psalm



the three 'quasi-traditional' chants, but four out of the five refrains of Koukouzeles are larger in range than the preceding chant which bears the Psalm text. The refrain ranges in the older chants (a fifth) were significantly narrower than the ranges for the Psalm text. Koukouzeles has inverted the relationship of melodic range between the two portions of a setting and has again through his own compositions shifted the ratio of range in the 'quasi-traditional' chants. By mid-14th century Koukouzeles had established the ninth as the preferred melodic interval and the tenth as the maximum vocal spectrum. That later 14th and 15th-century composers demonstrate a preference for even wider *ambitus* (as shown in Table 5) is no doubt linked to the general increase in the overall length

TABLE 5

Total Ranges of 14th and 15th-Century Settings of the Prooemiac Psalm

Interval of Range	'Quasi-trad.'	Kkz.	Xen Kor.	Other 14th c.	Lamp.	Other 15th c.	Totals
6th	2						2
7th			4	2	1		7
8ve		1	3	2	2		8
9th	1	3	3	2	4	3	16
10th		1		2	1	3	7
11th			1		1	2	4
12th					1	4	5

of settings and from the innovations of 'the master'.[23] With the exception of a single chant by Xenos Koronis, not until the advent of John Lampadarios[24] and his 15th-century contemporaries did composers venture beyond Koukouzeles' conception of range.

Although the melodic range of the chant for the Psalm text in the 'quasi-traditional' chants is somewhat greater than the range for the refrain, this relationship was gradually reversed during the 14th and early 15th century until by mid-15th century the size of the melodic range for the refrain was considerably greater than that for the Psalm text. The relationship between the two portions of a chant is illustrated in Table 6. The *ambitus* of the chant for the Psalm text, like its length, became a frozen component — the conservative element in a setting; the range of the refrain, on the other hand, like the troped expansion of its text, increased untrammeled. Although disjunct melodic motion (i.e. leaps of a third or more) in the predominantly conjunct or stepwise 'quasi-traditional' lines is mainly limited to the interval of the third, the greatest amount of disjunct writing falls in the Psalm text portion of the setting while the melodic line of the refrain remains relatively conjunct. Since the majority of thirds are descending thirds, this feature suggests that the vocal writing is predominantly stepwise in ascent but tends to descend by leaps. The five chants of Koukouzeles for the Prooemiac Psalm, as shown in Table 7, reveal not only a substantial increase over the 'quasi-

[23] This phenomenon in range may connote certain virtuosic developments in late Byzantine vocal art. For a study of the kalophonic or 'beautified' repertory for Psalm 2, see my forthcoming article, "The Treatment of Text in the Kalophonic Chanting of Psalm 2", in *Studies in Eastern Chant*, II (to be published by the Oxford University Press).

[24] The work of Ioannes (John) Lampadarios first appears in music manuscripts of the later 14th century. Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 156, n. 47.

TABLE 6

*Ranges for Psalm Texts and Refrains of 14th and 15th-Century Settings of the Prooemiac Psalm**

	'Quasi-trad.'		Kkz.		XenKor.		Other 14th c.		Lamp.		Other 15th c.		Totals	
Interval of Range	Psl.	Ref.	Psl.	Ref.	Psl.	Ref.	Psl.	Ref.	Psl.	Ref.	Psl.	Ref.	Psl.	Ref.
4th		1									1		1	1
5th		2	1		5		3	1	1		3		13	3
6th	2			1	3		2		1	1	5		13	2
7th			4		2	4	2	1	5	1	2	1	15	7
8ve					1	2	1	2	2	1		2	4	7
9th	1			4		3		2	1	4	1	3	3	16
10th						2		2				1		5
11th										2		1		3
12th										1		4		5

* Figures indicate the number of settings within each category which show a given range.

TABLE 7

Melodic Intervals of Psalm Texts and Refrains in the Settings of Koukouzeles for the Prooemiac Psalm

Koukouzeles' chants (Athens 2458)		Ascending		Descending	
		Psalm text	Refrain	Psalm text	Refrain
1	3rds	2	2	2	9
	4ths		3	1	
	5ths	1			
2	3rds	1	5	1	7
	4ths		1		1
3	3rds	2		2	2
	4ths			1	
	5ths	1			
	8ves		1		
4	3rds	3	4	2	4
	4ths	1			1
5	3rds		1	1	3
	4ths	1	1		

Totals

Ascending 3rds: 20
Ascending 4ths: 7
Ascending 5ths: 2
Ascending 8ves: 1

Descending 3rds: 33
Descending 4ths: 4

TABLE 8

Melodic Intervals in 14th and 15th-Century Settings of the Prooemiac Psalm

	Ascending							Descending							
Interval	'Quasi-trad.'	Kkz.	Xen Kor.	Other 14th c.	Lamp.	Other 15th c.	Total	'Quasi-trad.'	Kkz.	Xen Kor.	Other 14th c.	Lamp.	Other 15th c.	Total	Total
3rd	4	20	56	38	71	93	282	19	33	72	61	65	80	330	612
4th	1	7	25	15	22	25	95		4	5	1	8	10	28	123
5th		2	13	11	19	21	66			7	4	7	9	27	93
6th				1	1	1	3								3
7th			3	2	2		7								7
8th		1	3	2	1	2	9								9

traditional' settings in the disjunct motion of their melodies but also employ a variety of intervals larger than the ascending or descending third. His chants, furthermore, contain unprecedented instances of two and three consecutive leaps and the upward leap of an octave.

Koukouzeles' first, second, and fourth chants which contain the most pronounced textual troping in the refrains also display the most disjunct motion in the melodic line of the refrains. The refrains of chants 3 and 5, on the other hand, with the simplest textual elaboration exhibit the most conjunct lines. From the character of their melodic lines the five Koukouzeles melodies for the Prooemiac Psalm may have been composed in the sequential order 5, 3, 4, 2, and 1. Chants 3 and 5 may represent the composer's stylistic bridge from an older 'quasi-traditional' repertory to the more characteristic 14th-century style revealed in his first, second, and fourth chants.

Table 8 discloses that the frequency of descending thirds, although substantially greater in the 14th century than ascending thirds, is exceeded in the mid-15th century by ascending thirds. This development in the line implies that ascending melodic direction is more conjunct than descending in the 14th century. In the 15th century the opposite is true — ascending motion is more disjunct than descending motion.

The musical structure of the five Koukouzeles chants rests upon three distinctive melodic segments: 1) an initial recitation formula; 2) an inner melodic bridge; and 3) a cadential formula. See example 2, (p. 226).

The recitation formula is a stereotyped pattern for chanting the opening words of the Psalm text. The basic recitation pitch is G, the finalis of the fourth plagal mode, but accented syllables in the Greek text receive a corresponding musical inflection a whole step higher on A.[25] What at first appears to be a random choice in the number of syllables which carry the recitation formula was actually determined by the syllable count in a given line of the Psalm. The amount of text subjected to formulaic recitation was apparently determined by the length of a given line from the Psalm. Since the last four or five syllables of a line received a more melodic and often more melismatic setting, the portion of the line which preceded, whatever the number of syllables, was relegated to the recitation formula. The longer the line, the more words fell to the

[25] Two notable exceptions to this formulaic treatment of the beginning of the Psalm text are the first and second melodies of Koukouzeles whose initia stand closer to a more melodic aspect in the 'quasi-traditional' settings. These chants may reflect the influence of the older tradition upon Koukouzeles' art.

EXAMPLE 1
'Quasi-traditional' setting for Psalm 103, verse 28b (Sinai 1256, ff. 209v-210r)

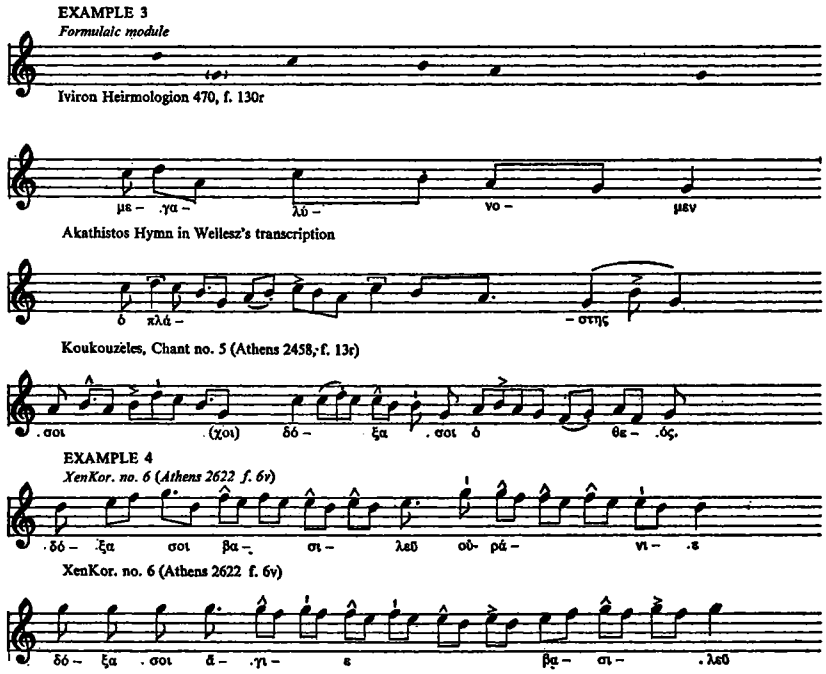
EXAMPLE 2
Koukouzeles Chant no. 5 for Psalm 103 verse 35c (Athens 2458 f. 13r)

formula; the shorter the line, the less text would be sung to the formula.[26]

The inner melodic bridge, supported between two conservative formulae, serves as the outlet for the most individual and original expressions of the Byzantine composer. The pitch of the central segment may rise gradually from that of the recitation formula (e.g. Koukouzeles' chants 1 and 2) or may break abruptly from the level of the note of recitation and immediately commence on a higher tonal stratum (e.g. Koukouzeles' settings 3, 4, and 5). The inner bridge in chant melody 5 sustains the melodic line around D which serves briefly as the center of melodic gravity, a perfect fifth above the finalis of the mode.

[26] Some chants are even transmitted in 'truncated' form in which the inner melodic segment alone is copied out in full with new words. The recitation formula is omitted entirely and only the incipit of the refrain is copied. From such an abbreviated version of a setting the singers were obviously expected to fit the initial words of text to the recitation formula. The melody of the Psalm text proper they then sang with new words from the manuscript in hand. The chant for the refrain had previously been copied in full.

The cadential formula returns the melodic line to the finalis of the mode. Comparative examples of a cadential formula in the fourth plagal mode shown in Example 3 reveal the same melodic skeleton as the structural foundation of earlier Byzantine chants as well as for the Koukouzeles settings in the 14th century.


EXAMPLE 3
Formulaic module
Iviron Heirmologion 470, f. 130r
Akathistos Hymn in Wellesz's transcription
Koukouzèles, Chant no. 5 (Athens 2458, f. 13r)
EXAMPLE 4
XenKor. no. 6 (Athens 2622 f. 6v)
XenKor. no. 6 (Athens 2622 f. 6v)

Since the cadential formula normally concludes on the same pitch from which the initial recitation pattern began, the melodic structure of each setting may be described as a departure from the finalis, an excursus, and a return to the finalis.

One of the most telling ways through which Koukouzeles reveals his new attitude is in the structure of the 'joint' or textual hiatus between the end of the Psalm verse and the beginning of the refrain. This joint in both the 'quasi-traditional' and Koukouzeles settings is exclusively conjunct (either a unison or a second). Quite unlike the structures of the three 'quasi-traditional' chants which treat the refrain as an addition to the Psalm text, in four of his five settings Koukouzeles regards the refrain as an integral part of the total setting.[27] By avoiding a disjunct interval

[27] Chant 3 is the only one of the five by Koukouzeles which shows a cadential ending at the end of the Psalm text.

and a cadential finality on G at the beginning of the refrain, Koukouzeles composes his musical line across the textual rift in a larger melodic arch and demonstrates that his musical concept of a setting is continuous rather than bipartite. Most Byzantine composers after Koukouzeles, however, treat the structure of Psalm text and refrain in the bipartite manner of the 'quasi-traditional' settings and preserve the independence of Psalm verse and refrain.

Aesthetically and musically Koukouzeles' melodies 1 and 2 are his most distinguished works for the Prooemiac Psalm. The more abrupt phrases and common melodic figuration in chants 3, 4, and 5 are replaced by vocal passages of imagination and musical sensitivity. Within the formulaic limitations of a conventional musical vocabulary Koukouzeles composed lines with a vocal coloration not to be found in the more restricted ranges and contours of the 'quasi-traditional' settings. Unlike Koukouzeles' restrained use of formulaic devices, Xenos Koronis, his 14th-century contemporary, relies upon chains of stock melodic figures to attenuate his lines.

Whereas Koukouzeles discreetly employs the same formulae with an inner musical logic, Koronis seems to propel his melodies more through determination than through melodic momentum. In the hands of later 14th and 15th-century composers lines often degenerate into unrelieved roulades of melodic clichés. John Lampadarios, even more than Koronis, depends upon successions of formulaic patterns to construct his lines.

EXAMPLE 5
Lamp. no. 3 (Athens 899 f. 43r)

EXAMPLE 6
Lamp. no. 8 (Athens 2406 f. 23r)

Lampadarios may also extend lines through immediate repetition of short modules joined by melodic 'mortar'.

Such techniques of composition are much more transparent than Koukouzeles' more integrated methods. Only a handful of later settings in the large repertory for the Prooemiac Psalm echo the melodic sophistica-

tion found in the works of 'the master'. Of other 14th and 15th-century settings only three chants by Mystakonos, Doukas, and Raidestinos appear to follow the style of Koukouzeles.

A comparison of the repertories in the earliest sources which transmit chants for the Prooemiac Psalm of Great Vespers reveals that by 1332 this psalmody had entered an epoch of new musical enrichment. The 'newly-composed' settings, however, were established between façades of an older and accepted musical practice, a choice which may represent a reluctance among Byzantine composers to alter appearances. The two 'quasi-traditional' buttresses (verses 28b and 24b) support an immense span of new musical activity between 1332 and 1453. Both the troped text of the refrain and the more vigorous and original inner melodic segment of the chant poise a precarious balance between traditional forces of stability and new impulses toward artistic freedom. In their musical litanies Byzantine composers, like Byzantine artists, cast new ideas in archaic crucibles and shaped each new work in the molds of an ever-valid past.

Statistical calculations for proportion, range, melodic line, and structure thrust a revolutionary light upon the work of John Koukouzeles, the first composer to turn his back upon an archaic, anonymous musical practice and the first to offer a 'new art' for the evening office. As a Byzantine musician Koukouzeles stands preëminent among figures of the Palaeologan renaissance. As the composer who launched an *ars nova* in the Orthodox East, his innovations in 14th-century Byzantium parallel those of Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut, his contemporaries in the West.

† BASIL LAOURDAS

GREEK RELIGIOUS TEXTS DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

I

1. My purpose in this paper is to attempt an answer to the question of what happened to Byzantine literature after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Did literature which was formed during the millenial existence of this Empire cease to exist after the latter ended its life or did it continue to exist, and if so, in what form and with what intention? This problem, an important aspect of the problems connected with the history of an empire, is important also from the point of view of the history of literature in general. What happens to the literature of a state after this state ceases to exist?

2. Byzantine literature was polymorphous — it included poetry, romances, philological and theological studies, historical and biographical works, linguistic treatises, exegetical and edifying texts —, but in spite of the editorial work done by numerous scholars from the beginning of the 16th century to the present day, a great number of texts, preserved in many manuscripts and scattered in almost all the libraries of Europe, are still awaiting their editors. A *History of Byzantine Literature* was composed more than sixty years ago by Karl Krumbacher.[1] After its publication the material has been immensely enriched and chronological and other data have been changed, but no one has attempted so far to replace this history with another one more up to date.

3. Still, in spite of these shortcomings which we all expect to be gradually changed by the growing number of young scholars entering the field of Byzantine studies, we do have a definite image of Byzantine literature especially in its main branch, that of religious works, which is

[1] *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1897).

after all the best of what this literature produced.[2] This part of the literature had already commenced before the Byzantine Empire was created and it continued until its end. The purpose of my paper is to follow its aftermath, its possible continuation and the changes which it eventually experienced after the Ottoman Turks overran the Byzantine territories and destroyed the political form under which this literature was created.

II

The non-Muslim *rayas* of the Ottoman Empire were distinguished from their rulers by their Orthodox religion. It was because of the power of their religion that they survived and it was in it that they offered all they could — their intellectual and their meager capacities — in order to preserve it and this in order to preserve their own identity. The desire to survive explains the intensity of their religious life and explains also the very large number of religious works produced during this period. I am speaking here only of religious literature. An intensive study, however, of the religious life of the Christian *rayas* of the Ottoman Empire should extend also to the field of religious art which is of the highest importance.[3] The literature about which I am going to speak flourished against a particular artistic background characterized by a very large number of small churches spread all over the Balkans and which were decorated with beautiful frescoes and iconographic plans which in some ways follow the traditional pattern and in others change and transform it according to the new experiences and to the new needs. That the military saints were now painted more intensely than in the past, that new saints were added, that the martyrdoms of the faithful were stressed more than in the past and that the Last Judgement with the punishment of the sinners and with the glorification of the righteous was painted in all the churches and, very meaningfully, at their entrance — all these trends of the religious painting during the Ottoman rule are closely related to the religious literary production of the same time and jointly with it express the spirit of the inner resistance against the danger of assimilation by the conqueror and the danger of eventual annihilation.

[2] H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959).

[3] A. Xyngopoulos, *Schediasma istorias tes threskeutikes zographikes meta ten alosin* (Athens, 1957).

III

As my topic is GREEK RELIGIOUS TEXTS DURING THE OTTOMAN RULE I will restrict myself to religious texts written in Greek, which was also the language of Byzantine literature. I should state, however, that numerous religious texts were also written by all the Balkan national groups. Though these latter were certainly less numerous than the ones written in Greek and some of them simply translations from the original Greek, they were nevertheless extremely important both for the study of the impact of Byzantine literature upon the enslaved peoples as well as for the study of the religious life of these national groups. I do hope that my paper will offer the possibility to scholars of other Balkan countries to present us with their own version of my topic and to contribute thus to the understanding of the whole problem of religious texts in the Balkans during the Ottoman rule.

Byzantine religious literature both in verse as well as in prose (with a few minor exceptions), was written in archaic Greek, in an attempt to continue, to compete and even to surpass classical Greek literature. On the contrary the post-Byzantine literature, especially in prose, was written mostly in the popular, spoken language. The reason for this change was FIRST that most of the authors of these texts were less educated than the authors of the Byzantine times and SECOND that they addressed themselves to a larger number of people and not only to the imperial establishment for which the Byzantine authors were writing their works.

The language of the post-Byzantine religious texts is simple in grammar and syntax and, I may add, more honest than the Byzantine, because it avoids the ornaments, the references to the classics, and the other stylistic characters of the Byzantine religious authors. However, because of the themes with which it deals, it employs foreign words more infrequently than the spoken language of its time. The Greek language of the Ottoman times in some cases, for example in legal documents, contains plenty of foreign, mainly Turkish words. From this point of view the language of the religious texts is almost devoid of any foreign lexicological influences.[4]

The forms of the Greek religious texts during the Ottoman period could be classified in three categories, LIVES OF SAINTS, INSTRUCTIVE TREATISES and HOMILIES, and LITURGICAL POETRY. Each one of these categories has its own characteristics.

[4] E. Kriaras, "Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance: naissance de la litterature néo-hellenique", *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 1967), 283ff.

The LIVES OF SAINTS produced during the Ottoman rule are of two types. One consists of translations into the vernacular or adaptations of lives written during Byzantine times, Texts of this kind have been preserved in innumerable manuscripts and their study is interesting from two main aspects: the linguistic evidence and the change or transformation of tradition. As far as the first aspect is concerned, these texts are actually a great mine of linguistic wealth. There are texts in Cretan dialect, in Cypriot, in the peculiar dialect of the Ionian islands, of Pontian and of the dialect spoken in Asia Minor — and the phonetical, syntactical or lexicological material they contain has always fascinated the historians of the Greek language.[5] Equally important are the changes of the texts which are translated. In most of the cases the long theological passages of the original are ommitted or changed according to the main theological problem of the Greeks under Ottoman rule — the antagonism with the Ottoman religion. In addition to this, there are other changes which express a quite different mentality. An eloquent change of this type is in the Life of the Ten Martyrs of the island of Crete. The original text presents as their leader the oldest of them. In the Cretan translation, composed in the end of the 17th century, the leader is the youngest.[6] Examples of this type are numerous.

More important, however, than the translations or adaptations of earlier texts is the group of texts dealing with the lives of saints who suffered martyrdom during the Ottoman rule. A very large number of people refused to join the Ottoman religion or fought against it and they paid with their life for the devotion to their Christian faith. There are more than 400 texts of this type, a number of which unfortunately are still unpublished. The subject is always the same: A young man — sometimes a young woman — is forced to join the Ottoman religion. He or she refuses and the end is martyrdom and death. Most of these people became saints right after their martyrdom in the eyes of their fellow Christians, and a monk or a teacher or simply a friend writes their *vitae* in order to instruct all the others with the examples of the martyrs. Some of the names of these authors have been preserved. For a lot of other Lives we have no evidence concerning authorship. This philological problem of authorship became more complicated when a distinguished religious personality, the monk Nicodemus from Mount Athos (1749-1809), collected a large number of manuscripts containing the biographies of these Neomartyrs and rewrote them, thus eliminating as least as far as

[5] Several of the studies of K. Amantos and Ph. Koukoules refer to it.

[6] B. Laourdas, "Metabyzantine Agiologia", *Nea Epoche* (1960), 140-148.

circulation was concerned, the earlier texts. He wrote his *Martyrologion* also in vernacular language and he tried to follow as close as he could the text he was using. Still, a comparison of some of the texts he wrote, shows that, at least as far as language and style are concerned, he put his own personal seal on the texts he composed.[7]

A perusal of these Lives, in their original form or in the adaptation of Nicodemus, is a source of deep insight into the mentality of their authors. First of all, there is no nationality problem at all. The martyrs, no matter if they are Serbians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Rumanians or Greeks, are all presented with equal understanding and devotion. There is also no distinction of class. Some of them belong to wealthy families, others are poor, some are educated, others are illiterate peasants, shepherds or manual workers in the cities. Let me cite some examples: The first martyr in the *Martyrologion* of Nicodemus was a merchant from Trebizond and he suffered martydom in Rumanian territory (1492). His Life was originally written in Slavonic. The second martyr was Serbian, a goldsmith who died in Sofia, Bulgaria (1515), and his Life was first written in Slavonic. The third was from a village near Kastoria, a shepherd, and he died in Thessaly (1520). The next one was from Ioannina, a haberdasher, who died in Constantinople (1526). The narrative pattern is always the same: The saint, most of the time very young and good looking, lives quietly in his community. Either because he is very prominent or because he is thought to be Turk the authorities are informed that he is really Greek Orthodox, and he is then confronted by the Turkish governor of the place in which he lives. The Turk tries to persuade him to accept the Ottoman religion. He refuses and argues at length about his own religion, and the irritated Turk finally orders his death.

Hardly any other text in any period of the post-medieval world was so popular as were the Lives of the Neomartyrs among the Greek speaking subjects of the Ottoman Empire. They were copied time and again, they were printed in Venice, but also in the Greek presses of Rumania, in Constantinople, or in Vienna and were read avidly by young and old alike.

The prototype for the composition of these Lives was certainly the Byzantine type of the Lives of saints and more specifically the lives of the first martyrs and of the martyrs during the Iconoclastic period. The pattern is the same: the faithful who confronts the authorities, defends his faith and dies for it. But the changes are considerable: except for the language and the data of names, dates and other historical details, the

[7] *Neon Martyrologion*, last edition (Athens, 1961). An analysis of it in Theokletos Dionysiates, *Agios Nicodemus o Agioreites* (Athens, 1959), 236-240.

most important change is in the enemy himself who now is the Ottoman Turk. Almost all these texts contain lengthy and bitter attacks against the Muslim religion. That such violent attacks against the faith of the ruler were written and circulated throughout all the period of the Ottoman rule is one of the most striking characteristics of the history of Orthodoxy after the fall of Constantinople. Did the Turks know these texts? Did they permit their circulation? How did they react to this type of resistance against their power and how did they face it? This is one of the most important problems in the relations between the Ottoman rulers and their subjects. However it may be, we may conclude this short survey of the Lives of the Neomartyrs written during Ottoman rule by stating that one of the reasons the Orthodox religion survived the new hardships was the existence of these texts which served as a type of propaganda pamphlet circulating all over the Greek Orthodox world.

The second group of texts, that of INSTRUCTIVE TREATISES and HOMILIES consists of a large number of texts in prose, some of them preserved only in manuscripts and others printed in various editions, again mainly in Venice but also in other parts of Europe, as in Vienna or in Bucharest. The instructive treatises are of two types: The first consisted of Byzantine treatises copied time and again or rendered in the vernacular. A systematic research of this material is yet to be made. We could, however, state that the most popular of the Byzantine texts were the sermons of Saint John Chrysostom, the dogmatic works of Saint John of Damascus, and treatises written against the addition of *filioque* in the Creed. The second type of instructive treatises are original cathechetical texts, dealing mainly with moral problems as, for example, with the importance of prayer, of fasting, and of chastity.[8] Most of these texts were written by monks. To the same group of instructive treatises belong also a long series of studies against the practices of the Catholic Church. Treatises against the Moslem religion or against Judaism are by far less numerous than the texts against the Latins. There is no need, I think, to explain in detail the reason of the limited texts against the Moslem religion: The Lives of the Neomartyrs were sufficient for that. On the other hand, the activities of the Catholic Church in the Orthodox world during the Ottoman rule, both on the level of the hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church as well as among the simple people, were so bold and so dangerous that they needed constant refutation.

Three more texts of instructive character deserve a special presentation

[8] K. Kourkoula, *E theoria tou kyregmatos kata tous chronous tes Tourkokratias* (Athens, 1957).

here. One of them was the *Agathangelos*, a curious text of late Byzantine period, rendered into the vernacular and containing a series of visions and prophesies. This text circulated all over the Greek Orthodox world, was translated in all the Balkan languages and was extremely popular. In its obscure prophesies and apocalyptic visions the oppressed peoples of the Balkans found the answers to their problems, fortitude for the present and hope for the future. Innumerable are the manuscripts which contain this text and innumerable also are its printed editions.[9]

Parallel to it and enjoying the same wide circulation was another text, the *Chresmoî* or prophesies attributed to Leo the Wise. Of late Byzantine and early post-Byzantine origin, existing in prose as well as in verse, it described the doom of the Byzantine Empire and its future resurrection.[10] A detailed study of it has shown that its different versions correspond to various events during the Ottoman rule.

A third text, again very popular and widely circulated in manuscripts and in printed editions, was the *Revelation of the Holy Virgin*. It contains a visit of the Holy Virgin to the Underworld, where she met both the sinners and the innocent. The anonymous author intended it as a moralistic guide and as such it was avidly read throughout the Ottoman rule.[11]

I should like to mention two more religious works which, although of Catholic origin, were adapted to the Orthodoxy, translated into Modern Greek and circulated for centuries all over the Orthodox world. The first of them is the "Salvation of Sinners", a compilation of stories taken mostly from Catholic sources to which stories from the Orthodox tradition were added. The simple language of this book, the clarity of thought and the deep religious feeling which pervades it, have made it one of the most instructive religious books read during the Ottoman rule.[12]

The "Salvation of Sinners" in its Greek version was written at the end of the 17th century. A hundred years later another book, the "Invisible War" became one more extremely instructive religious manual. The original was an Italian book published for the first time in 1589 under the title "Combattimento Spirituale". The Greek who translated and published it in 1796 in Venice, changed it here and there eliminating its strictly Catholic elements and adding some of his own. Immediately after

[9] K. Demaras, *Istoria tes neoellenikes logotechnias* (Athens, 1968), 170ff.

[10] C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise", *Zbornik Radova*, 6 (Belgrade, 1960), 66ff.

[11] Richard M. Dawkins, "Kretike Apokalypsis tes Panagias", *Kretica Chronica* 2 (1948), 487-500.

[12] Agapios Landos, *Amartolon soteria*, last edition (Athens, 1959).

the first edition it became very popular and was later reprinted several times.[13]

The homilies, which are the other part of the second group of texts, consist of sermons on those chapters of the Gospels which are read on Sundays in the Greek Orthodox church. This collection of sermons is commonly called *Kyriakodromion*, which means exegetical homilies on the Sunday Gospels. As it is with the other texts, several of the *kyriakodromia* which circulated during the Ottoman rule are well known Byzantine exegetical texts, copied and printed in the original or in modern Greek translation. In addition to them, a long series of homilies of this type were composed by eminent clergymen with an excellent command of ideas and of language. The best of these texts originated in Greek Orthodox communities outside of the Ottoman domain but they circulated widely and are still now read if not for their theological importance, at least for their literary value.

Of all the literary tradition the homilies are the best evidence for the intellectual life of the Greeks under the Ottoman rule. Long before the fall of Constantinople a large part of the Greek territories was under Western rule, mainly Venetian. Some of these territories later succumbed to the attack of the Turks, while others always remained free from the Ottoman rule. The homilies which were written in territories under the Turks are radically different from the homilies which were written in territories under the Venetian rule or in Western European cities with large Greek Orthodox communities. The homilies of authors living under the impact of the Ottoman rule are closer to the Byzantine tradition and the monastic spirit. On the contrary, homilies written in the Ionian islands, in Crete before its fall to the Turks, in Venice, in Vienna, in Bucharest or in Jassy, are influenced by Western authors, theologians or preachers. In the homilies of the Turkish territories the style is austere, the ideas conventional and the material of the sermons, examples and references are taken from the traditional stock of the Byzantine literature. The homilies of the non-Turkish territories are written in a baroque style, under the influence of the stylistic technique of Italian orators, with examples from and references to the Greek classical tradition — in accordance with the Western humanistic spirit of their time. Some of the westernized ecclesiastical orators are also influenced in their ideas, however not so far as to deviate from the Greek Orthodox tradition. These homilies are far better than the traditional homilies. They are

[13] *O aoratos polemos*, last edition (Athens, 1965).

fresher, more vivid than the others and they also mark the gradual approach of the Greek literary world to Western civilization. We may therefore summarize the survey of similarities and differences by stating that the Greeks in the territories under the Ottoman rule remained very conservative, while all the others, those who were living in territories under Western rule or Western influence, were opening new roads.[14]

Still, all the homilies, no matter where and by whom they were written, with their moral admonitions and their theological arguments, express in no uncertain terms the faith that sooner or later Orthodoxy will prevail and the enslaved peoples will regain their freedom. In true Byzantine fashion the triumph of the Ottomans is attributed not so much to their bravery and to their military genius, as to the punishment of the Orthodox inflicted upon them because of their sins. The phrase "because of our sins" comes time and again from the pen of all the religious authors of the post-Byzantine times — and the expected liberation would be materialized only after bitter repentance and return to a true and wholly dedicated Christian life. Most of the homilies end with a prayer for liberation and an exhortation for a new inner spiritual life.

One of the most popular and influential preachers was Kosmas o Aitolos (1714-1779) an itinerant monk who suffered martydom at the hands of the Turks and who gradually became a legendary figure, still very much alive in the hearts of the peoples in the mountain villages of central and northern Greece. Kosmas kept constantly travelling throughout the mountainous regions, meeting people, explaining the Gospel and teaching his audience their duty to return to Christian life. Though he never wrote anything, what he said was immediately committed to writing, copied and distributed all over Greece. His style is simple, folkish, a sort of 'talks of father to his son'. The main line of his sermons, which are now collected and published in one volume, is that the Orthodox Christians would regain their freedom if and when they became educated, build schools and return to the pious and moral life of their forefathers. More than anyone else it was Kosmas o Aitolos who with his homilies supported the Christian *rayas*, fortified them against the hardships of slavery and prepared them for their rehabilitation. And more than with what he said it was with his martyrdom that Kosmas o Aitolos, now officially proclaimed Saint, influenced and still influences the mountaineers of Greece.[15]

[14] A good selection of texts with general remarks in *Skoutos, Meniates, Voulgaris, Theotokes*, by V. Tatakis, (Athens, 1957).

[15] F. Michalopoulos, *Kosmas o Aitolos* (Athens, 1940).

The RELIGIOUS POETRY of post-Byzantine times deserves special attention because of its literary and aesthetic value. In spite of that, however, its study is very much neglected, because it is overshadowed by the Byzantine religious poetry which also in its turn has been unduly neglected so far, the students of Byzantium being more interested in facts — dates, names, and events — or in theological arguments than in pure poetry.

The religious poetic production of the post-Byzantine times consists mainly of Offices composed for the services to the memory of the Neomartyrs. For each one of the Neomartyrs, who was almost immediately canonized in the hearts of his compatriots, a memorial service was established for which usually a monk or a priest or even a layman composed a series of hymns to be read in the Matins. The pattern was already established in Byzantine times; the composers followed it closely, adapting their poems to the traditional religious music. Sometimes the text for the new saint is simply an adaptation of the text which was written for an earlier saint. In most of the cases, however, the text is an original work and sometimes of high literary value.[16]

Apart from the offices for the Neomartyrs, other new elements were added to the liturgical service. The texts which are read at Holy Friday, being a sort of public announcement of the Crucifixion of Christ, and a series of dirges, were composed in their present form during the Ottoman rule. Lamenting for the death of their God the enslaved faithful were lamenting for the death of their freedom and in the prayer for His resurrection they were praying for their own resurrection from the bonds of slavery. Very few names of religious poets have been preserved and most of them remain simply names, without any further details.

With no relation to the practices of the Church, religious poems of no high value were composed by monks and by teachers and were sung in the schools and during the religious feasts. The most popular of them were the songs of Christmas, New Year and Epiphany — of a semi-religious didactic character. They were composed during the Ottoman rule and are now still sung by children in the streets, on the eve of these feasts.[17]

Other religious poems of didactic character were composed in various times and circulated in manuscripts, a large number of them now published in various periodicals. Although they do not mean very much as poetical works, they do testify, however, to both the religious fervor of

[16] L. Petit, *Bibliographie des Acolouthies grecques* (Bruxelles, 1926); S. Salaville, "Pour un repertoire des neosaints de l'église Orientale", *Byzantion* 20 (1950), 224-237.
[17] E. Kakoulidi, *Neoellenika threskeftika alphavetaria* (Thessaloniki, 1964), 16-26.

the people and to the vitality of the language. Special mention should be made of a collection of religious poems which was published in 1708 in Venice under the title "Flowers of Piety" (*Anthi Evlavias*). The poems — in Italian, in classical and in vernacular Greek — were composed by the members of a Greek school in Venice for their own religious instruction. Their modern Greek version is excellent, their general spirit, however, is influenced by the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Virgin and as such is an important document for the gradual penetration of Western ideas into the Orthodox world.[18]

IV

This rather eliptical survey should be supplemented with a few remarks on the religious centers out of which derived the literary activity outlined so far. We should start, of course, with Constantinople, the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In spite, however, of the extreme importance which the Ecumenical Patriarchate had for all the Orthodox peoples during the Ottoman rule, its literary and general intellectual activity was not as great as it was in other Orthodox centers. In Constantinople the headquarters of the vast Ecumenical Church, was more concerned with administrative and financial problems than with intellectual activities. The ever present and demanding Ottoman government, the attempts of the Catholic Church to infiltrate into the Orthodox communities, the continuous clashes of the subjected peoples with their rulers, and later the antagonism of the various nationalities among themselves left little room to the Greek church for interests in other fields. Centers of Orthodox intellectual activities were outside of Constantinople in the places where the Greeks were beyond the reach of the Ottoman power.[19]

One of the most important centers for the preservation and continuation of the Greek Orthodoxy was the Greek community in Venice. A great number of theological books were written and printed there and most of the important Greek theological personalities were either residents of Venice or at least they were visitors there.[20]

Crete, at least before its fall to the Turks (1669), was also an important

[18] Last edition by Ang. Papakostas, (Athens, 1950).

[19] N. Tomadakis, *E symrole ton Ellenikon koinoteton tou exoterikou eis ton agona tes elephtherias* (Athens, 1953).

[20] Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), with detailed bibliography.

center, especially of studies related to the differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic doctrine. Some of the best authors of theological treatises, of homilies and of religious poems were Cretans — even long after the capture of the island by the Turks, when a large number of Cretans escaped to Venice.[21] The list of similar centers is quite long. In the Ionian islands, especially in Corfu and in Zante, in Vienna, in Bucharest, in Jassy, in Odessa, in Budapest, the wealthy Greek communities were eager to support Greek Orthodoxy by establishing schools, offering scholarships, subsidizing publications and supporting needed theologians. A great part of the religious literary production in Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia were translations or adaptations of Greek religious books produced by the emigrant Greeks in the cities in which they were residing and from which they radiated all over the Balkans.[22] In Greece proper the main center of religious literary activity was Mount Athos. Most of the religious authors living in the Turkish-controlled Greek territories were either monks or at least for some time residents of Mount Athos. The powerful influence of the spirit of Mount Athos over Greece — and of course over all the Balkans — explains the clash between the Greek-proper intellectuals and the Greeks of the Diaspora at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. The conservatism of Mount Athos erupted violently when Western ideas started entering slowly into the Greek world through the writings of the Greek intellectuals who were trained and were living in the West. But this is another story which belongs to the history of ideas and not to the more restricted field of religious works, which is the subject of my paper.

V

In concluding my paper I should like to summarize what I have said so far.

1. The Greek religious texts during the Ottoman rule in some cases preserved and continued the Byzantine tradition and in some other cases enlarged and changed it.

2. The enlargement of the tradition was due to historical circumstances, i.e. to the events produced by the Ottoman rule.

[21] There is no comprehensive study so far. The main bibliography is included in the journal *Kretika Khronika* (1948,f).

[22] Details on it and bibliography in Ap. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou neou Ellenismou* (Thessaloniki, 1961), 394ff.

3. The gradual change of the tradition was due to the influence of the West on those authors who were living in territories beyond the control of the Turks.

4. On the whole, during the Ottoman rule the large and polymorphous Greek religious literary activity sustained the Greek Orthodox peoples in their religion and helped them more than anything else to preserve their identity.

5. The evaluation of the role played by the 'Great Church in Captivity' upon the Balkan national groups during the Ottoman rule is beyond the limits of my paper. I think however that the Greek religious literary activity was of the highest importance both for the Greeks as well as for the other Orthodox inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula.

6. Byzantine literature continued its history long after the end of the Byzantine Empire because its main core, the Greek Orthodox religion, survived the fall.

HENRIK BIRNBAUM

BYZANTINE TRADITION TRANSFORMED: THE OLD SERBIAN *VITA*

It goes without saying that only a few of the many intriguing facets of the particular literary form of biography or life-writing as pursued with remarkable zeal and success in medieval Serbia, can be discussed within the limits of a conference paper. In particular, after a few preliminary remarks concerning the historical background of Old Serbian biography, its general literary and stylistic characteristics, and the shifting appreciation it has met among historians and literary scholars, I would like to focus on the relationship of this genre (if indeed it can be defined as constituting an autonomous literary genre) to its nearest Byzantine models and counterparts which fall largely within the well-established, traditional kinds of hagiography and historiography.[1] Furthermore, I will endeavor

[1] Generally on Byzantine hagiography (including certain kinds of religious panegyric) and historiography, see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed., vol. I (Munich, 1897), 160-205 and 219-408. Specifically on Byzantine hagiography, cf. also H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 267-275, 402-413, 459-467, 506-514, 557-582, 638-642, 697-701, and 793-796. See further, for example, Xr. Loparev, "Vizantijskija Žitija Svjatyx VIII-IX věkov", *Viz. Vrěm.* XVII (1910 [1911]), 1-224. On Slavic saints in Byzantine hagiography, cf. esp. I. Dujčev, "Slawische Heilige in der byzantinischen Hagiographie", *Südost-Forschungen* XIX (1960), 71-86; see further *id.*, "Les rapports hagiographiques entre Byzance et les Slaves", *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Oxford, 1966)*, (London, 1967), 363-370. On historical data in Byzantine hagiography, see recently F. Halkin, "L'hagiographie byzantine au service de l'histoire", *ibid.*, 345-354; and on Byzantine-West European hagiographic relations, E. Follieri, "I rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel campo dell'agiografia", *ibid.*, 355-362. For a discussion of the independent genre of secular (or 'historical') biography, not recognized as such by K. Krumbacher, but, in fact, revived in Byzantium in the 10th century (with the Life of Emperor Basilius I, written by his grandson Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, a work paralleling such Western secular biographies as those of Charlemagne by Einhart or of King Alfred by Asser) and emerging from 'semi-secular' hagiography and biography (including panegyric), see P. J. Alexander, "Secular Biography at Byzantium", *Speculum* XV (1940), 194-209.

to comment briefly on the parallels and interrelations obtaining between the Old Serbian variety of life-writing and its other Slavic (that is to say, Church Slavic) predecessors and contemporaries which include, in addition to the Old Church Slavic prototypes, its Old Russian and, to a lesser extent, Old Czech equivalents or near-equivalents. These, too, were ultimately patterned on Byzantine examples. By comparing, quantitatively and qualitatively, the Old Serbian Lives (*žitija*) of rulers and princes of the Church to what can be thought of as their closest Slavic correspondences, and by making reference to recent discussions as to the possibility (or impossibility) of assuming an independent genre, as elsewhere in medieval Slavic writing, of secular biography (having its roots in hagiography, but in some respects essentially different from it),[2] I will attempt to set forth some of the particular characteristics of the Old Serbian *Vita*. (Outside the Byzantine-Slavic sphere the Latin biographies of St. Stephen of Hungary in particular seem to have had some impact on medieval Serbian life-writing.)[3] Throughout my presentation the texts under discussion will be viewed primarily as works of literature, i.e., in terms of their artistic qualities, rather than as — more or less reliable — historical documents, designed largely for the purpose of legitimating the twinned dynastic and ecclesiastic claims of the Serbian rulers and archbishops of the Middle Ages. This is not to say, however, that a reappraisal of the Old Serbian Lives as testimonies of by-gone events and long-deceased personalities (which in modern times have provided a rich source of inspiration for the upsurge of Serbian national consciousness) could not also be arrived at if we were to adopt an approach different from the one suggested here.

I

There can be no doubt that the emerging Old Serbian literature of the 12th and early 13th centuries was largely patterned on Byzantine models in terms of thematic range and conceptual framework, as well as in respect

[2] Cf. most recently N. W. Ingham, "The Limits of Secular Biography in Medieval Slavic Literature, Particularly Old Russian", *American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists (Prague, 1968)*, vol. II: *Literary Contributions* (The Hague and Paris, 1968), 181-199.

[3] On the two *Vitae* of St. Stephen, written in the late 11th century and subsequently combined into one 'legend' by bishop Hartwig (Hartvic) early in the 12th century, see J. L. Csóka, *A latin nyelvü történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI-XIV. században* (Budapest, 1967), esp. 105-199 and 623-646.

to the various forms of specific literary genres as realized by the use of their particular sets of stylistic devices. In this sense, then, medieval Serbian writing formed part of the literary output produced by what has been referred to as the Slavic Orthodox community of the Middle Ages. This community, at certain levels of education and literacy, may be viewed as an integrated whole (if only an extension of Byzantine civilization), sharing, among other things, a common literary language with only minor local variations — Church Slavic.[4] More immediately, at the peak of the Middle Ages, the literary activity of the Slavs (including the Serbs) can be regarded as a continuation of the work of the Slavic 'apostles' or, rather, 'teachers', Constantine and Methodius, and their disciples.[5] As is well known, after Methodius' death in 885 and the subsequent suppression of the Slavic liturgy in Moravia and Pannonia, several followers of the Thessalonian brothers found refuge in Bulgaria where Old Church Slavic writing could continue to develop and flourish, first in its western, Macedonian region (in and around Ohrid) and soon thereafter also in the new capital of Preslav. The other Orthodox Slavs, namely, the Eastern Slavs of Kievan Russia and the Serbs (after some hesitancy between Byzantium and Rome) could thus draw on the foundations provided by Old Bulgarian writing when creating their own national varieties of literature. It has long been established that, as a result of the political and cultural setting of Bulgaria in the 10th-12th centuries (Bulgaria forming a part of the Byzantine Empire from 972 and 1018, respectively, to 1185-1186 when the Second Bulgarian Empire came into being), Byzantine elements thoroughly permeated this early Bulgarian literature on all levels.

It is in the development of the specific kind of biography, unmatched elsewhere in Slavic writing, that Serbia made its unique contribution to

[4] For the concept of the *Slavia orthodoxa* as a unified cultural-linguistic whole, see esp. R. Picchio, "Die historisch-philologische Bedeutung der kirchenslavischen Tradition", *WdSl* VII (1962), 1-26; *id.*, "O cerkiewnosłowiańskiej wspólnocie kulturalno-językowej", *Sprawozd. z posiedzeń Kom., Lipiec-Grudzień* 1962 (*PAN, Oddział w Krakowie*, 1963), 449-454; *id.*, "A proposito della Salvia ortodossa e della communità linguistica slava ecclesiastica", *Ricerche Slavistiche* XI (1963), 105-127. For an overall view of Church Slavic literature, cf. R. Jakobson, *Harvard Slavic Studies* I (1953), 37-55 ("The Common Slavic Written Tradition", in: "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature"); H. Birnbaum, "Grundkonzept und Aufgabenkreis einer vergleichenden kirchenslavischen Literaturforschung", *Das heidnische und christliche Slaventum*, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1970), 127-147.

[5] For a comprehensive treatment of the life and work of Constantine and Methodius and their literary legacy, see F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method, Lehrer der Slaven* (Wiesbaden, 1960) (commenting on the preference for the term "teachers" over "apostles", 66-67).

medieval Slavic literature. While based on traditional genres and styles, Old Serbian life-writing combined these with some new, original ingredients. Even F. Dölger, an ardent advocate of the superiority of Byzantine civilization over its neighboring Balkan sub-cultures had to single out some of the Old Serbian biographies as literary works which, in his words, "zum erstenmal von der byzantinischen Schablone loskommen und einen frischeren und lebendigeren Zug aufweisen".[6]

Old Serbian life-writing, along with the monuments of monasterial architecture, the most impressive achievement of medieval Serbian culture, follows a rather consistent line of development.[7] Starting with hagiography (both in its popular-narrative as well as in its rhetorical-learned varieties) Serbian biography opens with the two *Vitae* of Stephan Nemanja (d. 1200), the first independent ruler of a united Serbia, written by his sons, Rastko (St. Sava, d. 1235), the first archbishop of Serbia and

[6] Cf. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), 276 (in: "Die mittelalterliche Kultur auf dem Balkan als byzantinisches Erbe", 261-281, where also a gradation of the Byzantine influence on the Balkans is suggested); see further *id.*, "Byzanz und Südosteuropa", in: *Völker und Kulturen Südosteuropas. Kulturhistorische Beiträge* (Munich, 1959), 57-67 and 270-271 (references). For some negative aspects of the Byzantine impact (and partly contradicting Dölger), see J. Matl, *Die Kultur der Südslawen* (Frankfurt a/M, 1966), 25-26. Cf. further also several papers by I. Dujčev, among them, "Les Slaves et Byzance", *Études historiques à l'occasion du XIe Congrès international des sciences historiques* (*Stockholm*, 1960) (Sofia, 1960), 31-77; *id.*, "Les rapports littéraires byzantino-slaves", *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines* (*Ohrid*, 1961), I (Belgrade, 1963), 411-429; *id.*, "Bisanzio e il mondo slavo", in: I. Dujčev, *medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I (Rome, 1965), 3-22. On Byzantine-South Slavic literary relations, see *id.*, "La littérature des Slaves méridionaux au XIIIe siècle et ses rapports avec la littérature byzantine", in: *L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle* (Symposium de Sopoćani, 1965), (Belgrade, 1967), 103-115. On Byzantine-Serbian relations, particularly in the 14th century, see, for example, G. Ostrogorsky, "Problèmes des relations byzantino-serbes au XIVe siècle", *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, 41-55; with a supplementary contribution by G. C. Soulis, *ibid.*, 57-61.

[7] Cf. J. Matl, *Die Kultur der Südslawen*, 75; see also *id.*, *Südslawische Studien* (Munich, 1965), 15-16. For a general survey of Old Serbian biography in its cultural and literary context, see, for example, A. Schmaus, "Zur Frage der Kulturorientierung der Serben im Mittelalter", *Südost-Forschungen* XV (1956), 179-201, esp. 195-201; S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter: Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*, vol. I: *Stefan Nemanja nach den Viten des hl. Sava und Stefans des Erstgekrönten, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1962), 13-18; Dj. Sp. Radojičić, *Razvojni luk stare srpske književnosti: Tekstovi i komentari* (Novi Sad, 1962), esp. 21-39 (the introductory essay first appeared in *Letopis Matice srpske*, knj. 385, sv. 3/4, 1960, 189-205, 328-346, and was again reprinted in *Stara književnost*, Dj. Trifunović, ed., [Belgrade, 1965], 15-52). See also the older, to be sure, strongly biased presentation by V. Jagić, *AfslPh* II (1876), 31-47 (in his study "Ein Beitrag zur serbischen Annalistik mit literaturgeschichtlicher Einleitung"), and M. Murko, *Geschichte der älteren südslawischen Litteraturen* (Leipzig, 1908), 155-164.

head of its newly established autocephalic Church, and King Stephan the First-Crowned (Stefan Prvovenčani, d. 1227 or 1228).[8] To be sure, in addition to their purely hagiographic origins, supplemented by elements of annalistic historiography (chronicle-writing), a significant tie can be shown to exist between these biographies, particularly the less secular though stylistically more popular *Vita* of Stephan Nemanja by St. Sava, and the two Charters (*chrysobulla*) for the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mt. Athos, issued by Stephan Nemanja (aided by St. Sava, in 1198-1199) and Stephan the First-Crowned (in 1200-1201), respectively. These Charters were patterned on corresponding Byzantine imperial documents. As was convincingly and in great detail demonstrated in a recent study by S. Hafner, a self-contained ideology, unequivocally making reference to the Nemanja dynasty and characterized by an all-pervasive religious motivation as well as by political realism, is already evident in the first of the two Charters for the Hilandar Monastery. This ideology, with some further literary embellishment, was then incorporated by Stephan the First-Crowned into his, the second Charter and subsequently by St. Sava (probably the co-author of the original Charter of 1198-1199) into his Life of Stephan Nemanja. The fusion by St. Sava of large portions of a charter text (*prooemium* and *narratio*) with components of a different nature and origin (monastic legend, *laudatio*, *translatio*, i.e., account of the transfer of the remains of a saint or a holy man not yet canonized — here of Stephan Nemanja from the Athonite monastery of Hilandar to the Studenica Monastery in Serbia — historical family or clan tradition, etc.) into an integrated whole was an achievement unprecedented in Slavic writing.[9]

[8] On Stephan Nemanja and St. Sava, see most recently I. Dujčev, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XI (Rome, 1968 [1969]), coll. 522-529 and 1163-1165 (*s. vv.* SABA and SIMEONE STEFANO NEMANJA, with bibliographical references).

[9] See S. Hafner, *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie* (Munich, 1964), 54-77 ("Herrscherurkunden als Ausgangspunkt und ideeller Kern der altserbischen Herrscherbiographien"); cf. also *id.*, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 16 and 31-32. On St. Sava's role in church and cultural history, see, for example, J. Matl, "Der heilige Sawa als Begründer der serbischen Nationalkirche. Seine Leistung und Bedeutung für den Kulturaufbau Europas", in: *Südslawische Studien*, 32-44. On the artistic motif of Paradise as represented in the Hilandar Charter of Stephan the First-Crowned, St. Sava's Life of Stephan Nemanja, and medieval Serbian miniature painting, see, by way of example, S. Radojčić, "Hilandarska povelja Stefana Prvovenčanog i motiv raja u srpskom minijaturnom slikarstvu", *Hilandarski zbornik*, 1, G. Ostrogorsky, ed. (Belgrade, 1966), 41-50 (with French résumé). On Sava and his Life of Simeon (Nemanja), see further *Stara književnost*, 271-305 (articles by P. Popović, M. Panić-Surep, B. Kovačević, and M. Crnjanski, published previously elsewhere). Cf. also D. Pavlović, *Iz naše starije književnosti* (Sarajevo, 1964), 17-42 ("Sava Nemanjić [Sv. Sava]").

The Life of Prince Vladimir of the Zeta region (by and large corresponding to present-day Montenegro) has until quite recently also been mentioned among the sources of Old Serbian life-writing. This biography is contained in the Latin version of the so-called Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclitia (or Dioclia, Serbian Duklja, an earlier name for Zeta), *Letopis popa Dukljanina* (also known as *Barski rodoslov*), which was hitherto believed to represent a translation of a Slavic original written in the 12th century; the part containing the Life of Vladimir allegedly dated even further back, to the 11th century.[10] However, the newest edition of this text by S. Mijušković suggests that we have to do here with a purely fictional literary product rather than with an historical account, that its historical trustworthiness therefore is virtually nil, and that this belletristic piece actually belongs to the late 14th or early 15th, rather than to the 12th century. It is further believed to be the work of only one and not two (or even more) authors as was previously assumed. (Usually one distinguished at least two authors, both referred to as Dukljanin iz Bara: one, supposedly living in the 11th century, also called Zećanin, and the author of the original Life of Prince Vladimir; and a later one, the 12th century writer of the *Letopis*.) The author of the original Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclitia was, according to Mijušković, definitely a Serb and not a speaker of a Romance dialect writing in Latin. The preserved Latin version must therefore indeed be considered a translation.[11] Thus, if this reversal in chronology and the reassessment of the *Letopis popa Dukljanina* as an historical document and a work of literature turn out to be correct, it should be eliminated from among the texts considered for the prehistory of Old Serbian biography and rather be viewed as paralleling, in some respects, certain of the late medieval representatives of this genre. The preserved text not being in the vernacular and its origin highly controversial to say the least, it will here be excluded from any further consideration.

[10] For a discussion of the *Letopis* as a possible source for Old Serbian life-writing and of the more advanced culture of littoral Zeta (Diocletia, Duklja) as compared to that of less developed inland Rascia (Raška), see S. Hafner, *Studien*, 19-20, 40-53, and 58. See further also Dj. Sp. Radojičić, *Südost-Forschungen* XIX (1960), 87-89 and 91-92 (in the paper "Die politischen Bestrebungen in der serbischen mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung", Serbo-Croatian version in *Književnost* XXXII, 1961, 150-161, reprinted in the volume of the author's essays, *Tvorci i dela stare srpske književnosti* [Titograd, 1963], 317-335).

[11] Cf. *Letopis popa Dukljanina*. Uvod, prevod i komentar: S. Mijušković (Titograd, 1967), esp. 7-120. For the two authors referred to as Dukljanin iz Bara, see further, e.g., *Stara književnost*, 557.

St. Sava's *Žitije* of Stephan Nemanja (who assumed the monastic name Simeon, hence also *Vita Simeonis*), designed to preface the *Typicon* (*tipik*) of the Serbian monastery of Studenica, can perhaps still be considered to fall largely within, or at least be closely related to, the genre of hagiography in its popular-narrative variety, in spite of its heterogeneous constituents, its implied dynastic claim, and the fact that Nemanja here — contrary to what is the case in King Stephan's Life of his father — is never referred to as a saint (thus suggesting a pre-canonization date for its recording). By contrast, his older brother's biography of their father, though framed in a heavy, ornate hagiographic-rhetorical style, served primarily a secular purpose, focusing on Stephan Nemanja's worldly rather than on his monastic life. Hagiographic elements and literary devices, among them frequent quotations from the Scriptures and, though more rarely, from the Apocrypha, are abundantly present in the far more elaborate Life of Nemanja by Stephan the First-Crowned and, indeed, play a more prominent role here than in St. Sava's stylistically somewhat more unassuming account of his father's life (cf. also, for example, the enumeration of miracles, partly patterned on those ascribed to St. Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica, and an established hagiographic device). Nonetheless, the first Serbian king's biography of his parental predecessor, with its close-to-life realism and deliberate political historicism very much in the foreground and only superficially veiled by the abstract spiritual wording of hagiography, can, generally speaking, be said to mark the introduction of a more pronounced secular note into Old Serbian biography. Though King Stephan's *Vita* was probably written a few years later than St. Sava's parallel work, little direct influence of Sava's *Vita Simeonis* on Stephan's biography could, strange as it may seem, be ascertained. Where such influence exists, it is limited primarily to common elements from the Hilandar Charters, to some shared *loci communes*, etc.[12]

[12] St. Sava's Life of Simeon is believed to have been written, along with the *Typicon* of the Studenica Monastery, sometime between 1208 and 1217; King Stephan's biography of his father is known to have been completed no later than by June, 1216. On the relationship between the two earlier *Vitae* of Stephan Nemanja (a third one was subsequently authored by Domentijan, cf. below), see V. Ćorović, "Medjusobni odnošaj biografija Stevana Nemanje", in *Svetosavski zbornik*, 1 (Belgrade, 1936), 1-40, esp. 8-13. On Stephan the First-Crowned and his Life of Nemanja, see also *Stara književnost*, 309-315 (reprintings of articles by M. Savković and D. Kostić). For some historical and literary commentaries to Sava's and Stephan's Lives of Nemanja (Simeon), cf. further S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 31-34, 68-71, and 131-170.

II

Subsequently, a third Life of Stephan Nemanja was written by the Hilandar monk Domentijan (completed ca. 1264). In terms of actual biographical data, Domentijan's Life of St. Simeon does not go beyond the *Žitije svetoga Simeona* by Stephan the First-Crowned, his primary source. However, Domentijan's *Vita* of the founder of the Nemanja dynasty is considerably longer. The reason for this is that, while King Stephan's biography of his father was also characterized by an ornate style (thus contrasting with Sava's *Vita Simeonis*), Domentijan's Life of Stephan Nemanja is not only distinguished by the same heavy, ornamental style as its model, but in addition is abounding in a vast number of inserted panegyrical-rhetorical, allegorical, and lyrical passages and amplifications, not to mention the numerous, often lengthy quotations from the Bible. While no doubt having a well-defined stylistic function within medieval learned hagiography (of which this work must essentially be considered a specimen, cf. below), they nevertheless distract the reader (or listener) from the main narrative. Among the biographically irrelevant theological amplifications is the long passage which Domentijan had taken verbatim from the 11th century Kievan Metropolitan Ilarion's famous *Slovo o zakoně i blagodati*, a panegyrical oration (sermon) in commemoration of St. Vladimir of Kiev.[13] The judgment of the literary qualities of Domentijan's work has, therefore, varied among scholars, ranging from severely critical, so particularly in earlier times, to fairly appreciative, mostly in recent years when the aesthetic as well as theological role of these seemingly extraneous elements of Domentijan's *Vita Simeonis* has become better understood in the light of their historical context.

More controversial is another biography by Domentijan, a *Vita* of St. Sava, his teacher (written in 1242-1243 or possibly in 1253-1254; even the dating is uncertain). The learned, ornate style (with many digressions) of this Life is largely the same as in his later *Vita Simeonis*. In addition to Domentijan's Life of Sava there exists a second biography of the Serbian archbishop by another Hilandar monk, Teodosije, of whom virtually nothing is known. Teodosije's *Vita* of St. Sava is stylistically quite different from Domentijan's. It is simple and straightforward, without much elaborate amplification and as such continues in Old Serbian biography the other — popular-narrative — vein of Byzantine hagiography, more akin to St. Sava's own Life of his father, Stephan

[13] Cf. L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 39, 49-50, and 104.

Nemanja. While Domentijan's Life of St. Sava, designed, one may surmise, for reading in the sophisticated milieu of the Serbian court, does not seem to have been widely read in subsequent years and centuries, Teodosije's more realistic and naïve account of the chief Serbian saint's life came to enjoy great popularity. In spite of the vastly different styles (and, presumably, underlying theological and political concepts) in the two Lives of St. Sava, a certain number of common features as regards factual information and interpretation can nonetheless be ascertained so that, contrary to what was the case with the two Lives of Stephan Nemanja by St. Sava and Stephan the First-Crowned, it has been assumed that one of the Lives of St. Sava must have served as a model for the other one. Thus the question of priority arose. Against the generally held view that Domentijan's Life predates Teodosije's, objections were raised, for example, by M. Murko as early as in 1908.[14] In recent years a reversal in chronology was suggested by N. Radojčić, and A. Schmaus, too, seemed at one point inclined toward the arguments advocated by Radojčić.[15] However, Dj. Sp. Radojičić and M. Dinić have vigorously argued for the traditional order of priority and Schmaus now seems convinced by their reasoning.[16]

III

Old Serbian biography enters a new — historiographic, or even chronographic — phase with the appearance of the Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops (known also as *Carostavnik* or *Rodoslov*, as they were mislabeled in later copies) by Archbishop Danilo II (formerly Abbot of the Hilandar Monastery on Mt. Athos, d. 1337) and his successors. Foremost among these were the anonymous so-called Disciple of Danilo

[14] Cf. M. Murko, *op. cit.*, 159.

[15] Cf. N. Radojčić, "Dva Teodosija Hilandarca", *Glas SAN* CCXVIII (1956), 1-27; A. Schmaus, *Südost-Forschungen* XV (1956), 196.

[16] Cf. Dj. Sp. Radojičić, "O starom srpskom književniku Teodosiju", *Istor. časopis* (*SAN*), knj. IV (1952-1953), 13-42; M. J. Dinić, "Domentijan i Teodosije", *Prilozi za književnost* XXV (1959), 5-12; A. Schmaus, "Die literaturhistorische Problematik von Domentijans Sava-Vita", *Opera Slavica* IV (*Vorträge auf dem V. Internationalen Slawistenkongress, Sofia*, 1963), (Göttingen, 1963), 121-142, esp. 123. On Domentijan and Teodosije, see further also *Stara književnost*, 319-380 (articles, partly reprinted, by V. Ćorović, Dj. Trifunović, G. Subotić; M. Savković, S. Vulović, G. Subotić, D. Kostić). On some parallels between Domentijan's literary style and certain features of medieval Serbian murals, see further also G. Subotić, "Aperçus sur certains traits stylistiques de l'œuvre de Domentijan et de la peinture monumentale du XIIIe siècle", in: *L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle*, 125-130.

(author of some additional *Vitae*, including Danilo's, and compiler of the first *Zbornik žitija kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*) and Patriarch Danilo III (also called Danilo the Younger, d. between 1396 and 1399). The literary attitudes of the individual authors of this collection of Lives show considerable variation. Thus, for example, Archbishop Danilo's style, resembling Teodosije's in many respects, generally displays a clear poetic, not to say, lyrical, talent (brought to fruition in his religious poetry); the strength of artistic concept and style of his Disciple, on the other hand, lies rather in an ability to render dramatic scenes and in the employment of an even, chronicle-like narrative style. As a whole these Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops have been analyzed and discussed most notably by N. Radojčić in the foreword to his 1935 edition of this gallery of Old Serbian portraits.[17] Radojčić has suggested — and his idea has been taken up again by A. Schmaus[18] — that the Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops were originally conceived as a consistent whole, that is to say, that they were not combined into a larger unit only at some later date. According to Radojčić, Danilo's *Vitae* are patterned on an established, largely inflexible design: a theological introduction, followed by the main body, or exposition, containing the historical presentation with some further theological and rhetorical insertions (amplifications), and, finally, a rhetorical conclusion, usually with an account of the miracles ascribed to the protagonist. However, a rigorous definition, in literary terms, of the stylistic and compositional elements making up this specific sub-type of the Old Serbian *vita* genre has not yet been formulated. Radojčić argues that, while containing components of each: hagiography, historiography, and panegyrical rhetoric (the last perhaps the most stressed, but actually the relatively least important one), the Lives of Danilo and his school cannot reasonably be assigned to any of these three kinds of literature. Though Danilo (for reasons not quite clear) did not include among his Lives those of the founder of the dynasty, Stephan Nemanja, or his sons, it appears that the last Serbian archbishop in writing his series of portrayals of Serbian lay and church

[17] Cf. N. Radojčić, "O arhiepiskopu Danilu II i njegovim nastavljačima", foreword to: Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih* (transl. L. Mirković), (Belgrade, 1935), V-XXVIII (reprinted as "Životopisački rad arhiepiskopa Danila II i njegovih nastavljača", in: *Stara književnost*, 383-401). See further Dj. Sp. Radojičić, "Arhiepiskop srpski Danilo II" and "Danilov učenik i Danilo Mladji", in: *Tvorci i dela stare srpske književnosti*, 113-122 (the original versions appeared in *Braničevo* VI, 1960, 1-7, and *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* XXV, 1959, 80-81, respectively).

[18] Cf. N. Radojčić, *op. cit.*, XX-XXII; A. Schmaus, *Südost-Forschungen* XV (1956), 196-197.

rulers attempted to resume the biographical-dynastic tradition initiated by St. Sava and Stephan the First-Crowned — a tradition from which Domentijan's and even Teodosije's life-writing must be considered a slight deviation (designed as their work was for more purely theological and edificatory purposes).[19]

If Radojčić's interpretation is correct (and it stands to reason that it is), Danilo's and his successors' Lives would mark a gradual withdrawing from hagiography proper and a moving toward secular biography. The overall historiographic-chronological alignment of Serbian princes of State and Church — a duality paralleled in Byzantium by its Emperor-Patriarch relationship subordinated to the concept of 'Caesaropapism'[20] — must have been alien to the essence of hagiography in view of this genre's preference for typification rather than individualization of characters.

IV

In the Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops by Danilo II and his successors, Old Serbian biography had reached a point in its development where this medieval Slavic genre, being, as it were, at a crossroads, could turn in one of two directions: either back to its origins (i.e., to hagiography, the paraphernalia of which it had been carrying along, to a large extent, through its gradual secularization) or into wholly secular life-writing serving purely political and historical, but no longer any truly religious purposes. The next major representatives of Old Serbian biography to appear in Serbian literature after a temporary pause were Grigorije (Grigorij) Camblak and Constantine of Kostenec (Konstantin Kostenecki or Kostenečki, also known as "the Philosopher"). Both foreigners to Serbia, victims of the Turkish inundation of the Balkan Slavs (having far-reaching ramifications also in Russia and causing there

[19] Generally on the genealogy of the Nemanja dynasty, see, for example, J. Matl, *Südslawische Studien*, 46-57 ("Genealogie und geschichtliche Leistung des serbischen Königshauses der Nemanjiden"). On the political tendencies in medieval Serbian historiography, see also the above (note 10) quoted article by Dj. Sp. Radojičić, "Die politischen Bestrebungen in der serbischen mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung" and, in particular, the previously mentioned monograph by S. Hafner, *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie* (cf. note 9).

[20] This duality had, with some qualifications, its counterpart also in the West with its shifting balance of power and authority between the Emperor and the Pope within the Holy Roman Empire; cf., in this context, the *Catalogus brevis pontificum Romanorum et imperatorum*, written by the Dominican Bernardus Guidonus, a contemporary of the Serbian Archbishop Danilo II.

a cultural revival known as the Second South Slavic Influence), they mark the turning of medieval Serbian life-writing in precisely the two aforementioned directions: Camblak returned to hagiography, now cast in the spirit of Hesychasm, and Constantine the Philosopher turned toward secular biography (while retaining some of the outward, purely stylistic apparatus of hagiography).[21] Whereas Camblak, however, must be considered an isolated phenomenon without any immediate followers in the biographical genre (at least in his time and in Serbia),[22] Constantine's *Vita* represents at once the peak and a temporary closing of the fairly consistent line of development (from panegyrical hagiography toward historical, secularized biography) of Old Serbian life-writing. (Subse-

[21] On the Second South Slavic Influence in Russia, see, in particular, D. S. Lixačev, "Nekotorye zadači izučenija vtorogo južnoslavjanskogo vlijanija v Rossii", *Issledovanija po slavjanskomu literaturovedeniju i fol'kloristike* (Moscow, 1960), 95-151; *id.*, *Kul'tura Rusi vremeni Andreja Rubleva i Epifanija Premudrogo* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962). Both Camblak and Constantine were spiritual offspring of the neo-Byzantine so-called Trnovo School, headed by the last Bulgarian Patriarch Evtimij (Euthymius, d. ca. 1401-1402). The religious-literary-linguistic doctrine propagated by the Trnovo School made a great impact not only in Bulgaria, but also in Serbia, Walachia-Moldavia, and Russia. It is in this supranational Church-Slavic context that one has to view the hagiographic and homiletic writings of men such as Camblak (Dzamblak, Camvlach), probably a Bulgarized Walachian, active in Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia (where he for a short time became Metropolitan of Kiev and as such attended the Council of Constance!), and Moldavia-Walachia, of Constantine of Kostenec, a Bulgarian who had fled to Serbia, of Kiprian (Kiprijan, Cyprianus), a Bulgarian, Serbianized during an extended stay at Mt. Athos, and a relative of Camblak who had come to Russia (where he, too, became Metropolitan of Kiev), of Paxomij Logofet (Pachomius Logothetes, also called "the Serb"), a Serbian working and writing in Russia. Cf. on some of these writers' role in Old Russian — of, rather, Russian Church-Slavic — literature, for example, D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature: From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague, 1960), 162-165 and 180-185; A. Stender-Petersen, *Geschichte der russischen Literatur*, I (Munich, 1957), 172-174 and 179-184. On the residual hagiographic characteristics in Constantine's biography, see K. M. Kujew (Kuev), *Konstantyn Kostenecki w literaturze bulgarskiej i serbskiej* (Cracow, 1950), 107-109. For an assessment of Kuev's work, see I. Dujčev, *Byzsl* XIII (1952-1953), 328-334, esp. 332-333 (on the Biography of Stephan Lazarević). Generally on Athonite Hesychasm and its theological (dogmatic) foundation (primarily by Gregory Palamas), cf., for example, S. Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe* (London, 1967), 170; for details (with further references), see H.-G. Beck, *op. cit.* 322-332, 364-368 and 712-798. See Addendum on p. 284.

[22] Hagiography being vigorously revived in Russia, Camblak soon had many followers there, foremost among them Epifanij Premudryj (Epiphanius "the Wise"), the author of two masterly Lives of Saints; cf. D. Čiževskij, *History*, 167-180; A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 174-179. In Serbia, Camblak's delayed influence can be traced in hagiography and iconography of subsequent centuries, so, for example, in the work of Zograf Longin (Zographus Longinus, 16th c.) who, inspired by Camblak's *Vita*, painted a famous icon with scenes from the life of Stephan Dečanski; cf. M. Šakota, "Zograf Longin, slikar i književnik XVI veka", *Stara književnost*, 533-540.

quent, post-medieval *žitija* — with the possible exception of the works by the 17th century Patriarch Pajsije Janjevac, especially his *Žitije cara Uroša*[23] — being less significant both as historical documents and in terms of literary quality, will not be discussed in this paper.) Though differently oriented, worldly rulers appear as heroes both in Camblak's contribution to medieval Serbian life-writing, the *Vita* of Stephan Dečanski (the father of the famed Serbian king and subsequent 'tsar' Stephan Dušan — never himself the subject of any complete panegyrical biography),[24] and in Constantine's Life of the 'despot' Stephan Lazarević, a ruler of one of the semi-independent Serbian petty states which resulted from the defeat of the Serbs in the battle of Kosovo and a great Maecenas and outstanding man of letters in his own right.

Camblak's *Vita* of King Stephan Uroš III Dečanski does not rank high as an historical document in comparison with other Old Serbian biographies. The information provided by Camblak, especially concerning the spiritual strife in Constantinople, is not only biased but also inaccurate. On the other hand, his biography is characterized by outstanding literary qualities. It is marked by an almost intimate lyricism

[23] On the biographical writing of Pajsije Janjevac, showing an admixture of popular elements, see, for example, *Stara književnost*, 543-554 (articles by P. Popović and N. Radojčić, previously published elsewhere).

[24] There exists only a very incomplete *Žitije kralja Dušana* by his contemporary, Danilo's anonymous Disciple (incorporated, sometime between 1337 and 1340, in his *Zbornik žitija kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*) which covers merely the first few years of Dušan's rule. The fact that no full-length biography of Stephan Dušan was subse quently written can be partly explained by his elevating, in 1346, the Serbian archbishop to the rank of patriarch and proclaiming himself "Tsar (i.e., emperor) of the Serbs and 'Romaians' (*Romaioi*, i.e., Greeks), of Bulgars and Albanians". Both of these clearly anti-Byzantine acts were resented by the pro-Byzantine Athonite monks, including those of the Serbian Hilandar Monastery, who were located in the sphere of influence of Byzantium and subordinated directly to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, while the political goals and aspirations of the Serbian kings and archbishops from St. Sava to Danilo II had largely coincided with those of the monastic community of the Holy Mountain and the Hilandar Monastery in particular, the latter for all practical purposes being the mouthpiece of the Serbian court in its dynastic and other claims or at least serving in an advisory capacity to the court, this situation suddenly changed when Stephan Dušan challenged Byzantium and prepared to turn against it. As a result, and for some additional, less transparent reasons, the greatest ruler of medieval Serbia has been left without a full-scale panegyrical elaboration of his biography. It should be noted, in this context, that most of the Old Serbian biographers were, at least at some stage of their life, monks at Hilandar (St. Sava, Domentijan, Teodosije, Danilo II). The two last important representatives of this genre, Camblak and Constantine, both foreigners, also spent some time on Mt. Athos. On a beginning theological-political polarization between the Serbian court and the Athonite monks, as possibly reflected in Domentijan's and Teodosije's writings, see below.

and religious feeling rarely encountered in other works of medieval Serbian literature. Moreover, its overall structure and composition testify to its author's thorough literary, indeed, artistic schooling acquired in the Hesychast circles of Trnovo and its new form of Church Slavic literature, now heavily ornate. Camblak's *Vita* is full of panegyrical rhetoric in the Byzantine vein for his hero, the founder of the Dečani Monastery, while it shows rancor toward his son, Stephan Dušan. Here the author's mood seems to reveal his sympathy with the Athonite monks and their superior, the Patriarch of Constantinople (cf. note 24). In addition, it may reflect his attitude toward Dušan's role in the dethroning and later assassination of his father. The *Vita* also contains a picturesque description of the Dečani region and of the construction of the local church, one of the pearls of medieval Serbian architecture.[25]

In contrast, the Life of Stephan Lazarević by Constantine of Kostenec must be considered an historical source of primary importance. These were the times when — after the battle of Kosovo — the Ottoman Turks swamped the Balkans and Constantine's work, therefore, focuses on the history of the Turkish expansion (and on Turkish history in general) while only mentioning in passing Stephan's dealings with his western and northern neighbors, especially Hungary. Since Byzantine history between 1360 and 1420 is rather obscure, the information contained in Constantine's *Vita* is of particular interest. By and large, Constantine's account is reliable while showing a certain bias for his hero who, as previously mentioned, was not only a skillful political and military leader, successfully maneuvering to achieve a certain degree of independence from his Turkish overlord, but also a personality of great culture and education. As opposed to many previous Serbian rulers, however, he was never canonized, and Constantine's attempts to trace his genealogy back to Emperor Constantine the Great are among the few fantastic, historically unfounded passages in his Life.

Whereas we meet a true dogmatic in Constantine's other major work, his treatise on orthography (*Skazanie*) interpreting Patriarch Evtimij's teaching in a narrow, formalistic, almost fanatic fashion and urging the

[25] For some discussion of the Serbian phase of Camblak's life and work, see, for example, Dj. Sp. Radojičić, "O Grigoriju Camblaku", *Glasnik Srp. akad. nauka* I (1949), 172-175 (reprinted in his volume *Tvorci i dela*, 175-182); P. Popović, "'Žitije Stefana Dečanskog' Grigorija Camblaka", a section of the Introduction to: *Stare srpske biografije XV i XVII veka. Camblak, Konstantin i Pajsije* (transl. L. Mirković), (Belgrade, 1936), XII-XXXVI; and Dj. Trifunović, "Emocionalni mehanizam Camblakovih ličnosti", *Delo*, knj. VII, sv. 10 (1961), 1214-1222 (both reprinted in: *Stara Književnost*, 423-446).

fighting of moral decay and heresy by a slavish imitation of Byzantine models, Constantine's Life of Stephan Lazarević shows a mature, balanced and generous man at work. This difference in approach may be only partially explained by the different subject matter and, accordingly, the choice of literary genre. More important, it seems, is the fact that Constantine wrote his orthographic treatise as a young man, while the biography of his patron is the accomplishment of a mature man, experienced in court life and accustomed to associating with political leaders. Thus, as pointed out by Schmaus,[26] we can distinguish two components in Constantine's writings (disregarding in this context his short travel account from the Holy Land): a Bulgarian one, following and reinterpreting the tradition of the Trnovo School, ultimately inspired by Hesychasm, and pleading (in a humanistic spirit, as it were) for a return to the sources of Orthodox Christianity, its Greek originals and the earliest Slavic (Old Church Slavic) texts; and, a Serbian one, a product of his mature political thinking and historical realism for which he could not draw on any examples in the Hesychast, world-renouncing literature of Bulgaria. Though he may have been influenced in this respect by Byzantine secular historiography — a possibility quite plausible in view of Constantine's Greek erudition — his main source of inspiration for the biography of Stephan Lazarević came from his new Serbian milieu: the tradition of Old Serbian life-writing which culminated in his own *Vita*. Some aspects of Constantine's style and literary technique will be briefly discussed below (see section VIII).[27]

[26] Cf. *Südost-Forschungen* XV (1956), 200-201.

[27] On Constantine the Philosopher's life and work (including his treatise on orthography, a narrowly conceived continuation of the linguistic endeavors of the Trnovo School giving rise to its Serbian offshoot, the so-called Resava School), see in particular K. M. Kujew (Kuev), *op. cit.*; on the Life of Stephan Lazarević, cf. esp. 86-112. Of references listed by Kuev (122-126), see in particular St. Stanojević, "Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle", *ArchslPh* XVIII (1896), 409-472, and Ju. Trifonov, "Život i dejnost na Konstantina Kostenecki", *Spisanie BAN* LXVI (Sofia, 1943), 223-285. Constantine's *Vita* is also available in an abridged bilingual (Old Serbian-German) edition: M. Braun, *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević von Konstantin dem Philosophen im Auszug herausgegeben und übersetzt* (The Hague and Wiesbaden, 1956). The best modern translation of the Life of Stephan Lazarević is still the one into contemporary Serbocroatian by L. Mirković, in *Stare srpske biografije XV i XVII veka* (Belgrade, 1936), 43-125, including many new, well-founded interpretations of difficult passages. See further also *Stara književnost*, 449-479 (articles by P. Popović, Dj. Trifunović, O Nedeljković, I. Grickat-Radulović, published previously elsewhere). On the use of acrostics by Constantine, see Dj. Sp. Radojičić, *Südost-Forschungen* XVII (1958), 145-146 (in his study "Das Akrostichon in der altserbischen Literatur", Serbian version: "Akrostih u staroj srpskoj književnosti", in *Tvorci i dela*, 95-101, esp. 96-97); and *id.*, "Završni akrostih

V

Reference has already been made here to the varying attitudes which historians and literary scholars have held regarding the works of Old Serbian biography. The founder of modern scholarship in the field of South Slavic literature, the Slovak Slavist P. J. Šafařík, was fairly appreciative of St. Sava's and Domentijan's *Vitae*. On the other hand, he found little literary or historical merit in the biographical portraits by Danilo II and his successors. The general appraisal of medieval Serbian life-writing soon dropped to an all-time low in the estimation of the Russian Slavophiles of the second half of the last century. Their view reflected their own romantic thinking about the Slavic Middle Ages rather than any attempt to gain a deeper understanding of medieval Serbia in the framework of its historical, Byzantine-Balkan context. Typical of this attitude were, for example, the statements of A. F. Gil'ferding, a well-known Slavist and folklorist, who as Russian consul in Sarajevo had an opportunity to study medieval Serbian writings at first hand. Using his own moral standards, Gil'ferding condemned as hypocritical the religious zeal of the Old Serbian biographers when they praised as saints many a cold-blooded criminal whose frightful deeds they did not hesitate to describe, stunning their readers (and listeners) with information such as the following: "And after this pious King Uroš [viz., Stephan Uroš II Milutin] had blinded his beloved son Stephan..." or "This pious King Uroš [viz., Stephan Uroš III Dečanski] felt hatred for his beloved son and instead of surrounding him with great love he began to hate him unto death", etc.

A change of attitude toward a more positive appraisal of the Old Serbian *vitae* can first be found in the History of Serbian Literature (*Istorija sprske književnosti*, 1871) by St. Novaković. Approaching medieval historical consciousness from the position of European Late Romanticism, this scholar recognized in Old Serbian biography a rare (for the Middle Ages) instance of individualized historiography. It is worth noting here that the great Serbian philologist Dj. Daničić, the first to publish a number of medieval Serbian texts in scholarly editions of highest quality by contemporary standards, refrained — following the example of his teacher F. Miklosich — from any lengthy comments regarding the overall level of Old Serbian literature. Still, it is known

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kod Konstantina Filozofa, 'prevodnika' i 'učitelja srpskog'", *Letopis Matice srpske* 388, 1961, 479-485 (reprinted in: *Tvorci i dela*, 239-245).

that Daničić was of the opinion that the quality of Old Serbian writing (and, for that matter, of the moral fiber of the Nemanja state) declined as the power of medieval Serbia increased and its territory expanded.

By and large a rather reserved, if not negative, view of Old Serbian biography was taken by another of Miklosich's students, the internationally renowned Croatian Slavist V. Jagić. While initially favoring St. Sava's simple, unassuming language as compared to the ornate style of subsequent biographers, he later preferred the Life of Simeon (Nemanja) by Stephan the First-Crowned to Sava's because of the longer biography's greater wealth of data and its relatively lucid presentation. Jagić considered Domentijan's *Vitae* vastly overrated by Šafařík but saw at least some historical merit in Danilo's and his Disciple's work, and recognized Camblak's style as more vivid and flowery. He showed little appreciation for Constantine of Kostenec, finding his Life of Stephan Lazarević overly stilted and burdened with learning. In general, Jagić felt that Old Serbian literature was much too heavily dependent on Byzantine models and that, in this respect, it compared poorly with Old Russian writing, especially with the kind of historiography found in the so-called Nestor Chronicle.

In the beginning of this century, yet another of Miklosich's former students, the Slovene M. Murko, in his History of Early South Slavic Literature (*Geschichte der älteren südslawischen Litteraturen*, 1908) went a step further in depreciating the value and significance of the "original religious and secular literature" of medieval Serbia, echoing and, indeed, quoting the pertinent views of Russian Slavophiles (Golubinskij, Gil'ferding). In addition to reproaching the Old Serbian panegyrical writers for their monastic exclusiveness, their lack of historicism, and their verbosity — all closely following Byzantine patterns — Murko, like Gil'ferding before him, decried their hypocrisy as one of the worst outgrowths of Byzantinism among the Slavs.

The definite turning point, marking a new and more just assessment of Old Serbian biography, came in 1910 when the outstanding Serbian literary historian P. Popović, taking up some of Novaković's earlier ideas, first published his Survey of Old Serbian Literature (*Pregled stare srpske književnosti*, with many subsequent editions). In this work the hagiographic-historiographic *vitae* — along with their companions, the panegyrical *encomia* (Serbian *pohvale*) — were singled out as occupying a special place in Old Serbian writing and their particular literary merits as well as their importance as historical documents were emphasized. Only now, inspired by Popović's work and the writings of K. Jireček in the field of Serbian history, did one begin to fully realize the necessity

for a close philological and literary scrutiny of the Old Serbian texts based on new critical editions. The numerous studies of Old Serbian biography by scholars such as V. Ćorović, N. Radojčić, V. Mošin, Dj. Sp. Radojičić, D. Pavlović, I. Dujčev, and others, supplemented in more recent years by some important contributions from West European, particularly Austrian and German, specialists such as A. Schmaus, D. Tschižewskij, J. Matl, and S. Hafner, have shed new light and brought about a better understanding not only of many of the intricate details of Old Serbian life-writing, but also of its overall significance and place in early Serbian history and civilization as these relate both to Byzantium and the rest of the Slavic world.[28]

Of literature published after 1960, Hafner's two books, his dissertation *Studien* and his annotated translation *Serbisches Mittelalter* (both quoted above), are of considerable significance. In particular, focusing on St. Sava, Stephan the First-Crowned, and Danilo II and his successors while paying less attention to Domentijan and Teodosije and virtually ignoring Camblak and Constantine of Kostenec, his dissertation seeks to elucidate the intellectual and historical background of the genesis of the Old Serbian Lives. It traces their ideological core to the Charters issued by the Serbian rulers for the foundation of various monasteries (Hilandar, Studenica, Dečani, etc.), and elaborates subsequently on the stereotyped themes (*topoi*) and motifs of the investigated texts. Important also among more recent studies is an article by M. I. Mulić, examining primarily the style of Domentijan, Teodosije, and Danilo and his school.[29] Mulić's attempt to explain, at least in part, the abundant use of quotations from the Scriptures in Domentijan as an expression of the medieval Serbian monk's presumed wish to influence the Serbian King Uroš I toward closer ties with Byzantium and the Patriarch of Constantinple rather than with Hungary, Venice, and the Pope may seem less con-

[28] For a detailed account, with bibliographical documentation, of the appraisal of Old Serbian biography by modern scholarship (beginning with Šafařík and until ca. 1960), see S. Hafner, *Studien*, 1-9, on which the preceding brief survey is based. Cf. now also the integrated treatment of South Slavic literature of the Late Middle Ages by D. Tschižewskij (Čiževskij), *Vergleichende Geschichte der slavischen Literaturen*, I (Berlin, 1968), 62, 66-69, 81-85 (with, unfortunately, some factual errors: listing Paxomij under Bulgaria, 62; giving incorrect death dates for Sava and Stephan the First-Crowned, 67; and attributing the passage from Ilarion to the Life of Nemanja by Stephan the First-Crowned instead of to the one by Domentijan, 69). Of other work on Old Serbian life-writing by scholars mentioned here, cf. above.

[29] See M. I. Mulič (Mulić), "Serbskie agiografy XIII-XIV vv. i osobennosti ix stilja", in: *Literaturnye svjazi drevnix slavjan* (Leningrad, 1968) (= *TODRL* XXIII), 127-142.

vincing.[30] Similar reservations could be voiced against his emphasis on a political-ideological motivation for Teodosije's writings, among them his *Vita* of Sava. In the bulk of his paper, however, Mulić persuasively argues the reasons for choosing a seemingly stilted style (including the frequent recourse to biblical parallels and associations), suggestive of symbolical and equivocal interpretations and raising the level of discourse from the concrete and earth-bound to the abstract, general, and eternal — a characteristic of medieval literature (and folklore) previously pointed out in respect to the Byzantine-Slavic domain, for example, by V. P. Adrianova-Peretc.[31] Moreover, Mulić sees the biographers' use of panegyrical devices when describing their largely "negative heroes", as a means of overcoming or at least mollifying — by the formal beauty and loftiness of presentation — the shocking impact their frequently criminal acts would otherwise have on the reader (or listener). The obscure language of these biographies, full of allegories, implied similes, and circumlocutions (not unlike the *kenningar* of Icelandic literature, but, naturally, having their immediate models in Byzantine rhetoric as seen also in the many direct loan translations, particularly of complex notions and terms), added to the emotional-religious charge intended by their authors. Perhaps the most important result of Mulić's study, however, is the realization that the much-discussed stylistic device of so-called word-weaving (*pletenie sloves*), extremely popular in Russia during the Second South Slavic Influence (cf., for example its sophisticated utilization by Epifanij Premudryj) and generally believed to have originated, on Slavic soil, in Bulgaria — specifically, in the Hesychast Trnovo School of Patriarch Evtimij — actually can be found in full bloom already some hundred years earlier in Serbia where, of course, it had developed by imitation of Byzantine examples.[32] In this connection, one should not

[30] Mulić has counted a total of 482 such quotations in Domentijan, whereof 268 instances in the Life of Sava, as compared to Teodosije's 139 and a total of 463 in the *Zbornik* by Danilo II *et al.* All these figures are unmatched in the preceding as well as following course of Old Serbian biography. For further details on biblical quotations in Old Serbian literature, see St. Stanojević and D. Glumac, *Sv. Pismo u našim starim spomenicima* (Belgrade, 1932).

[31] See V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, *Očerki poėtičeskogo stilja drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1947), 9 and 11. Cf., for West and Central European literature, also E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 3rd ed. (Bern, 1961), 469-470 ("Dichtung als Verewigung").

[32] On the direct influence of Serbian hagiography (biography) on Old Russian literature, cf. also A. V. Solov'ev, *TODRL* XVII (1961), 94-95, where the *Slovo o žitii i prestavlenii velikago knjazja Dmitrija Ivanoviča, carja rusьskago* is ascribed to Epifanij Premudryj and considered to be patterned on the *Vita* of Simeon (Nemanja) by Stephan the First-Crowned. On the Old Russian work, see also D. Čiževskij, *History*, 191-192,

underestimate the influence in Russia of the Serbian component of the Athonite monastic community (that is, primarily of the Hilandar Monastery), in addition to the influence coming from Serbia directly.[33] It ought to be added that a similar re-evaluation of Domentijan's style as that offered by Mulić was also suggested somewhat earlier by A. Schmaus.[34]

VI

While it is easy to point to Byzantine models in general as sources for the language, style, structure, and compositional makeup of the Old Serbian biographies (not to speak of their underlying dynastic-dogmatic ideology), it is difficult, if not impossible, to single out any particular works of Byzantine hagiography or historiography which have been directly imitated in, or can be considered more closely related to, individual *vitae*, written in medieval Serbia or at the Hilandar Monastery. This should not surprise us, however, if we recall that, while continuing the literary traditions of Byzantine hagiography and historiography (the latter especially in its smaller formats), the Old Serbian Lives of rulers and princes of the Church are not merely reworked Byzantine literary patterns but ORIGINAL works of art. (The meaning of 'original' in its medieval context, as we have seen, was less rigidly interpreted than it is in its modern sense and cannot be equated with 'fully independent'.)[35]

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and, in particular, A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 160, 177-179, and 191, where, too, Epifanij is conjectured to be the author of the biography of Dmitrij Donskoj.

[33] Notice the fact that of the South Slavs winding up in Russia some, like Paxomij Logofet, were Serbians while others, being Bulgarians (or, in the case of Camblak, probably a Bulgarized Walachian), had been exposed to strong Serbian influences (so, for example, Kiprian). On the role of Mt. Athos among the Orthodox Slavs, see, in particular, I. Dujčev, "Le Mont Athos et les Slaves au Moyen âge", in: *Le millénaire du Mont Athos (963-1962). Études et mélanges*, II (Venice-Chevetogne, 1964), 121-144 (reprinted in: *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I, 487-510); *id.*, "Centry vizantijsko-slavjanskogo obščenija i sotrudničestva", in: *Russkaja literatura XI-XVII vekov sredi slavjanskix literatur* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1963) (= *TODRL* XIX), 107-129, esp. 121-126. For the early relations between Mt. Athos, Kievan Russia, and Serbia, see also V. Mošin, "Russkie na Afone i russko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI-XII vv.", *Byzsl* IX (1947), 55-85; XI (1950), 32-60; *id.*, "O periodizacii russko-južnoslavjanskix literaturnyx svjazej X-XV vv.", in: *Russkaja literatura...* (= *TODRL* XIX), 28-106, esp. 62-63 and 73-74 (Serbo-Croatian version in *Slovo* 11/12, 1962, 13-130).

[34] Cf. A. Schmaus, "Die literaturhistorische Problematik...", *loc. cit.*, esp. 129-138 (for full reference, see note 16).

[35] On the common use of 'borrowing' and 'echoing' in medieval Slavic hagiography, cf., for example, D. Čyževskyj (Čiževskij), "Anklänge an die Gumpoldlegende des hl. Václav in der altrussischen Legende des hl. Feodosij und das Problem der 'Originalität' der slavischen mittelalterlichen Werke", *WslJb* I (1950), 71-86, esp. 75-76 and 80.

Also, the further Old Serbian biography moves away from typified hagiography toward individualized secular biography (while subliming the individual traits of its heroes) the more remote were the possibilities of simply taking over — mostly from Byzantine literature — stereotyped themes and motifs (*topoi, loci communes*). Since, however, a certain amount of hagiographic paraphernalia followed Old Serbian life-writing throughout its development, there was always an opportunity of resorting to some such clichés in the same way as the medieval author would usually amplify his *vita* with quotations from the Holy Writ, particularly the Psalter.[36]

Perhaps most apparent is the connection between the early phase of Old Serbian biography and certain kinds of Byzantine literature. Thus, as was mentioned above, St. Sava's *Vita Simeonis*, written as an introduction to the *Typicon* of the Studenica Monastery, in its ideological core and stylistic wording can be traced back to the first Charter of the Hilandar Monastery, co-authored by Sava. With some qualifications this can also be said to apply to the Nemanja biography by Stephan the First-Crowned. The first Hilandar Charter (as well as its revision, the second Charter of 1200-1201, issued by Stephan the First-Crowned), while generally referring to the particulars of the Serbian monastic foundation on Mt. Athos, is patterned on the Byzantine imperial documents (*chrysobulla*) serving the same purpose.[37] Notice, incidentally, that the *Typica* for Hilandar and Studenica also followed a Byzantine model, namely the *Typicon* of the Euergetis (Benefactress) Monastery in Constantinople.[38]

In a stimulating study, I. P. Eremin has argued that the Byzantine impact on Early Bulgarian (9th-11th c.) and Old Russian (11th-12th c.) literature was largely limited to the writings of Early Christian Byzantine authors, primarily to the patristic literature of the 2nd through 6th centuries, and at any rate to the pre-Metaphrastic period in Byzantine hagio-

[36] Cf. V. Mošin, *Russkaja literatura...* (= *TODRL* XIX), 87-91 (in his study "O periodizacii russko-južnoslavjanskix literaturnyx svjazej X-XV vv."); M. I. Mulić, *op. cit.*, 136-137 (with references).

[37] Cf. A. Solovjev, *Hilandarska povelja velikog župana Stefana (Prvovenčanog) iz godine 1200-1202*, in: *Prilozi za knjiž., jez., ist. i folkl.* 5 (1925), 62-89; V. Mošin and A. Solovjev, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara* (Belgrade, 1936). See further S. Hafner, *Studien*, 54-77.

[38] See S. Hafner, *op. cit.*, 65 (with note 73). On the Byzantine *Typica*, cf. K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 314-319. See further in particular also A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskix rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnago Vostoka.* T. I: Τυπικά. Č. l-ja (Kiev, 1895); T. III (l-ja polovina): Τυπικά, Č. II. (Petrograd, 1917) (photomechanic reprint: Hildesheim, 1965).

graphy.[39] While not necessarily true for all genres of Old Russian literature, Eremin's contention seems, in fact, to be accurate as regards hagiography.[40] It applies also to Early Bulgarian, i.e., to Old Church Slavic, writing of the 9th-11th centuries. Byzantine hagiography of the Metaphrastic and post-Metaphrastic kind seems to have flourished in Bulgaria only in the Second Bulgarian Empire, in other words from the end of the 12th century, after a period of intensive Byzantinization. In Russia the new hagiography of Byzantium made headway only during the Second South Slavic Influence, primarily through Bulgarian and Serbian *literati* and their Russian followers (cf. notes 21 and 22, above).

Compared to this, medieval Serbian biography of the 13th-15th centuries, with its roots in hagiography and largely retaining the characteristics of this genre, was, no doubt, influenced by earlier, pre-Metaphrastic as well as recent (11th-12th c.) and contemporary (13th-15th c.), post-Metaphrastic Byzantine hagiography.[41] Moreover, the historiographic component of Old Serbian life-writing could draw on the chronographic tradition of Byzantine literature. Thus, many of the much-read Byzantine chronicles, both older ones (such as those by John Malalas, 6th c., representing the popular monastic chronicle genre; Georgius Monachus, called "Hamartolus", 9th c.; Symeon Magistrus and Logothetes, most probably identical with Metaphrastes, 10th c.) or more recent ones (e.g., the chronicles by Constantine Manasses or John Zonaras, both 12th c.) were or soon became available in Church Slavic translations and adaptations, some of which are also preserved in Serbian recensions (Hamartolus, Zonaras).[42] It can be shown that parallels for

[39] Cf. "O vizantijskom vlijanii v bolgarskoj i drevnerusskoj literaturax IX-XII vv." (1963), reprinted in: I. P. Eremin, *Literatura drevnej Rusi (Ėtjudy i xarakteristiki)* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1966), 9-17. For some criticism of Eremin's views, see esp. D. S. Lixačev, *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967), 21-23 (in his paper "The Type and Character of the Byzantine Influence on Old Russian Literature", *loc. cit.*, 14-32, containing many other important observations and considerations as well). On Symeon Metaphrastes, (active, as we now know, in the 10th century) and his reform of hagiography, see K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 200-203; H.-G. Beck, *op. cit.*, 570-575.

[40] Echoes of Symeon Metaphrastes can be found, for example, as early as in the homiletic writings of the 12th century Russian preacher and poet Cyril of Turov (Kiril Turovskij); see A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 56. On Early Old Russian hagiography, not yet influenced by Metaphrastes, see *ibid.*, 65-67.

[41] For some exemplification of Metaphrastes' influence on medieval Serbian life-writing, see M. I. Mulić, *op. cit.*, 135-136.

[42] For a discussion of the Byzantine chroniclers and their works, see K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 319-408. Generally, on the Church Slavic versions of Byzantine chronicles, see M. Weingart, *Byzanské kroniky v literatuře církevneslovanské*, I-II (Bratislava, 1922-1923). Cf. also Ju. Trifonov, "Vizantijskite xroniki v cărkovnoslavjanskata knižnina", *Izv. na Istor. druž. v Sofija*, VI (1924), 163-181.

some semantic nuances, encountered in Old Serbian biographies and reflecting an historical-political differentiation of concepts, exist in such Church Slavic versions of Byzantine chronicles.[43]

In addition to chronicle-writing, another kind of Byzantine historiography can also be assumed to have influenced Old Serbian biography. The genre of secular biography was resumed in Byzantium in the 10th century after a long eclipse suffered in the beginning of the medieval period when the Christian saint became the only hero deserving of a panegyrical treatment. As was mentioned above (see note 1), Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus with the biography of his grandfather, Emperor Basilius I, revived and set the pattern for a genre which in the West had been reintroduced — resuming the tradition of Suetonius' biographies of Roman emperors — more than a century earlier by Einhart's *Vita Karoli Magni*.[44] The Byzantine Lives of Emperors, full, to be sure, of Christian connotations and mostly integrated into larger historiographic works (and therefore not identified by Krumbacher as a separate genre), were bound to have considerable impact also on the development of historical-biographical writing in medieval Serbia (including Hilandar). Among such works should be mentioned, for example, the biographical accounts found in the History of Byzantine Emperors known as *Theophanes Continuatus* (or *Scriptores post Theophanem*) covering the period 813 to 961-963, where the literary characteristics of life-writing, however, are not particularly prominent. More clearly biographical features can be ascertained in Anna Comnena's work *Alexias*, the life story of her father, Emperor Alexius Comnenus (d. 1118), supplementing her husband's, Nicephorus Bryennius', "historical material" (ὕλη ἱστορίας) on largely the same subject matter (accounting for the time up to 1079).[45] A

[43] Cf., for example, the stereotyped "peace and quiet" theme in Sava's Life of Nemanja: *mirъ i tišinu vъsprïem'šu vl[a]d[i]čistvu ego* (similarly already in the two Hilandar Charters, with *tixost* instead of *tišina* in the earlier Charter), corresponding to the same formula in Hamartolus: *vъ mirě i tixosti* = ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ γαλήνῃ; see S. Hafner, *Studien*, 89-93.

[44] On Constantine's Life of Basilius, see K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 253, and, in particular, P. J. Alexander, *op. cit.* See further Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), 380. In general on the revival of secular biography, see also N. W. Ingham, *op. cit.*, 181-182 (with references to further literature). For information on Einhart and his Life of Charlemagne, cf., for example, K. Langosch, *Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1964), 16-17.

[45] On *Theophanes Continuatus*, see K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 347-349; cf. further also, e.g., Gy. Moravcsik, *op. cit.*, 540-544 (with references). On the models of this historiographic work, see R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Classical Background of the Scriptores post Theophanem", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954), 11-30. On Nicephorus Bryennius' and Anna Comnena's writings, cf. K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 271-279.

detailed study of these Byzantine-Serbian influences is, however, yet to be undertaken.

Finally, when discussing Byzantine influences on Old Serbian biography, it should also be stressed that this literary genre be viewed in the framework of its specific Balkan cultural setting which, in turn, was largely determined by a Byzantine popular tradition as regards the worship of saints.[46] As opposed to the Serbs and to some other Slavic peoples (Czechs, Russians) as well as to the nearby Hungarians, the Bulgarians — the most Byzantinized of all the Slavs — did not have a tradition of worshiping any of their rulers (or members of the ruling house) as Christian saints. Consequently, medieval Bulgarian literature does not have any dynastic hagiographies or legends.[47]

VII

Byzantine literature was not the only source to provide Old Serbian life-writing with patterns, thematic as well as stylistic, to be translated and embodied or imitated by the Serbian biographers. The Bible and, though to a lesser degree, the Apocrypha of the Eastern Church have already been mentioned as widely used reservoirs of quotations and metaphors. No less important as a model for the Old Serbian Lives was the tradition of the *vita* genre as it already existed in Slavic literature at the time of the beginnings of Serbian biography. In this context, it must

[46] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 27-40. Among elements of such a Balkan-Byzantine popular tradition connected with the worship of saints (and its literary expression in hagiography) Hafner mentions in particular the so-called *translatio* (i.e., transfer of the remains of a saint, usually preceded by the *elevatio*; cf. the transfer of Nemanja's remains from Hilandar to Studenica) and the specification of important saints as being so-called 'oil saints'. Examples of these are St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, Stephan Nemanja (cf. the account of the first miracle after his death in the *Vita* by Stephan the First-Crowned), St. John (Ivan) of Rila, and also St. Stephen of Hungary. To be sure, many of these religious patterns, while occurring in the Balkans and in Byzantium, were not limited to this particular area or only to the Eastern Church.

[47] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 26; N. K. Gudzij, *Issledovanija po slavjanskomu literaturovedeniju i fol'kloristike*, 30-31 (in his 1958 Moscow Congress paper "Literatura Kievskoj Rusi i drevnejšie inoslavjanskie literatury"). That the Bulgarian tsar Peter (d. 969) was not made the subject of a panegyrical *vita* in spite of his canonization may have to do with his poor political-military performance and the approaching end of the First Bulgarian Empire. *Addendum*: I am indebted to Prof. I. Dujčev for drawing my attention to some traces in Early Bulgarian writing of a cult of Tsar Peter which could suggest the existence of a *vita*, now lost, of this canonized ruler. Likewise, there may perhaps have existed a *vita* of St. David, the martyred brother of the West Bulgarian (Macedonian) tsar Samuil (d. 1014). Cf. I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, II (Rome, 1968), 207-223 (= *Südost-Forschungen* XIX [1960], 71-86), esp. 217-218.

again be emphasized that in the Middle Ages the literary — or, rather, literate — segment of the Slavs, to the extent it was oriented toward religion and its institutions, was unified, as it were, in one large, supranational community, using Church Slavic in only slightly varying adaptations. And when the local recensions of Church Slavic threatened to grow apart too much, as a result of increasing adaptation to the various Slavic vernaculars, the linguistic reform of Patriarch Evtimij's Trnovo School (carried to its extreme, in Serbia, by Constantine the Philosopher's Resava School) was designed to 'purify' and, in fact, reunify and standardize the literary vehicle of all the Orthodox Slavs.[47a] Thus, it is not by accident that Church Slavic writers such as Kiprian, Camblak, Constantine of Kostenec, or Paxomij Logofet were able to continue their literary activities virtually unhampered by any linguistic barrier when moving from one Slavic country to another. (Cf. the similar international role of Latin literature in the Roman Catholic part of medieval Europe). As pointed out by R. Jakobson, Constantine of Kostenec "grasped perfectly the international nature of his tongue which could not be identified with either the Bulgarian or Serbian vernaculars".[48] Under such circumstances, it was only natural if medieval Serbian biographers would turn for models to the body of existing Church Slavic *vitae*, themselves largely patterned on Byzantine writing.

Highest among the Church Slavic *vitae* rank, no doubt, the so-called Pannonian legends of Constantine and Methodius. While earlier held to be translations of Greek originals, they are today considered by most scholars (including the present writer) original works of early Slavic literature.[49] Although the two *Vitae* technically can be classified as hagiographic works (since both brothers were canonized), they are more correctly labeled semi-secular biographies. For while praising the Thessalonian brothers in the panegyric vein and siding with them in relating cases of controversy (cf. Constantine's disputations and Methodius' conflict with the German clergy), they contain a wealth of factual, historical information without any attempt at typification.[50] A sizable amount of research has already gone into analyzing the Lives of Constantine and Methodius, in particular regarding their literary and stylistic

[47a] Cf., however, the recent reassessment of Evtimij's reform referred to in the *Addendum* to note 21, below.

[48] Cf. *Harvard Slavic Studies* I (1953), 49.

[49] Cf. F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 246-251; H. Birnbaum, *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven*, 863-1963, M. Hellmann *et al.*, ed. (Cologne-Graz, 1964), 331-332 (in: "Zur Sprache der Methodvita", 329-361).

[50] Cf. H. Birnbaum, *op. cit.*, 333 (with note 7).

quality as well as their historical background.[51] Of the two, the *Vita Constantini*, ascribed by some to Methodius (earlier also to Clement of Ohrid), is the longer — in spite of the much shorter life span of Constantine compared to that of his brother — and contains a great number of amplifications, and stylistically and theologically, but not biographically, motivated digressions. While there is every indication that the anonymous author of the *Vita Methodii* knew the *Vita Constantini* and utilized it for his own account of the older brother's accomplishments, the Life of Methodius is marked by greater terseness, thus bringing it one step closer to secular biography. Some scholars, R. Picchio for example, have been disturbed by the heavy hagiographic apparatus of the *Vita Constantini* and therefore, from a literary viewpoint, placed the shorter of the two Pannonian legends above the longer one. However, there can be no doubt that the more learned and complex *Vita Constantini*, too, has great artistic merit and deserves to be ranked among the most precious pieces of early Slavic literature.

It is not merely a theoretical assumption but can indeed by substantiated that the Old Church Slavic prototypes of the *vita* genre have actually influenced Old Serbian biography.[52] Thus, to give just one example, God's plan of salvation for mankind, mentioned at the beginning of the *Vita Constantini* (ch. 1) and also early in the *Vita Methodii* (ch. 2), is paraphrased in the introduction to St. Sava's *Vita Simeonis*, as is already the case in the second Hilandar Charter by Stephan the First-Crowned. Further, the *translatio* account in the so-called Chersonese legend,

[51] Cf., in addition to previous references and adducing only a selection of some of the more important contributions, N. v. Wijk, "Zur sprachlichen und stilistischen Würdigung der altkirchenslavischen Vita Constantini", *Südost-Forschungen* VI (1941), 74-102; *id.*, "Zur Rekonstruktion des Urtextes der altkirchenslavischen Vita Constantini", *ZfslPh* XVII (1941), 268-284; I. Dujčev, "Zur literarischen Tätigkeit Konstantins des Philosophen", *BZ* XLIV (1951, Dölger Festschrift), 105-110; R. Picchio, "Compilazione e trama narrativa nelle 'Vite' di Costantino e Metodio", *Ricerche Slavistiche* VIII (1960), 61-95; P. Lytwyn, *Die literarische Gattung der Vita Methodii. Eine Untersuchung zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte* (Vienna, 1961); V. Vavřínek, "Staroslověnské životy Konstantina a Metoděje a panegyriky Rehoře z Nazianzu", *LF* LXXXV (1962), 96-122; *id.*, *Staroslověnské životy Konstantina a Metoděje* (Prague, 1963) (with a detailed analysis of the relationship of the two *Vitae* to Byzantine hagiography, 15-29); B. Panzer, "Die Disputationen in der aksl. Vita Constantini", *ZfslPh* XXXIV (1968), 66-88 (with a discussion of its hagiographic background, 67-70); G. Wytrzens, "Zum Stil der Vita Constantini", *Cyrillo-Methodianische Fragen, Slavische Philologie und Altertumskunde*, F. Zagiba, ed. (Wiesbaden, 1968), 43-50. Cf. also the new edition by F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius. Fontes* (Zagreb, 1960).

[52] Cf. S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 132, n. 9; *id.*, *Studien*, 29, n. 58, 58-59 (with note 31), 79.

written by St. Constantine in Greek, but soon rendered into Old Church Slavic[53] and reflected in the account of the transfer of the remains of St. Clement in the *Vita Constantini*, seems to have influenced the *Vitae* of Stephan Nemanja by St. Sava and Stephan the First-Crowned.[54]

The Old Church Slavic literary tradition, originally centered in the Slavic West (Moravia, Pannonia), was carried on in Bulgarian Macedonia, with its focal point in Ohrid from where, in all probability, it radiated into the nearby Serbian territories (Zeta, Rascia). Some residue of it existed perhaps also in Serbia proper; cf. the vestiges of linguistic Serbisms in some 'classical' Old Church Slavic texts (*Glagolita Clozianus*, *Codex Marianus*), conceivably suggesting that these manuscripts were copied somewhere in the Macedonian-Serbian border area. An early offshoot of this tradition, not without significance for Serbian Church Slavic writing, can also be found in littoral Croatia (Dalmatia) where it subsequently rallied in what has become known as Croatian Glagolitism.[55] Also in Bohemia, Church Slavic liturgy and letters seem to have survived until the closing of the Sázava Monastery in 1097, possibly without any interruption of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.[56] Having been firmly rooted in the Ohrid Center, Church Slavic writing was soon introduced also in the eastern part of Bulgaria, primarily in Preslav. From Bulgaria, as well as from Bohemia-Moravia, Church Slavic literature spread to Kievan Russia where the Cave Monastery (Kievo-Pečerskaja Lavra) became its first stronghold.

[53] The two extant Slavic copies are late, dating from the 16th c.

[54] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 31-34. On the "Chersonese legend", see F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 223 and 253. The relevant information of the "Chersonese legend" was incorporated also in the Latin account of St. Constantine's life, the so-called Italic legend (*Vita cum translatione S. Clementis*); on this source, see F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 254-255. In addition to drawing on the "Chersonese legend", the *translatio* account of the Nemanja *Vitae* has also introduced material from a similar Balkan Slavic account, that of John of Rila (Ivan Rilski), extant in several variants.

[55] Cf., of recent treatments, for example, J. Hamm, "Vom kroatischen Typus des Kirchenslavischen", *WslJb*, *Österr. Beitr. z. V. Internat. Slavistenkongr.* (*Sofia*, 1963) (Graz-Cologne, 1963), 11-39; S. Graciotti, "Un episodio dell'incontro tra Oriente e Occidente: la letteratura e il rito glagolitico croato", *Gesch. d. Ost- u Westkirche in ihren wechselseit. Beziehungen*, F. Zagiba, ed. (Wiesbaden, 1967), 67-79.

[56] Cf. M. Weingart, *Československý typ cirkevnej slovančiny* (Bratislava, 1949); F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 185-191; D. Tschižewskij, "Kirchenslavische Literatur bei den Westslaven", *Cyrillo-Methodianische Fragen...*, 13-28; J. Kadlec, "Das Vermächtnis der Slavenapostel Cyrill und Method im böhmischen Mittelalter", *ibid.*, 103-137. Against the supposition of an uninterrupted Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Bohemia and favoring, rather, an assumption of close ties between the Sázava Monastery and Kievan Russia, see I. Boba, "The Monastery of Sázava: The Problem of Methodian Continuity in Bohemia" (chapter in a forthcoming book). Cf. now also *id.*, Moravia's History Reconsidered: A Reinterpretion of Medieval Sources (The Hague, 1971), 152-153.

Hagiography was practiced, though probably not very intensely, in Macedonia and East Bulgaria. There exists a Slavic Life of St. Naum (in several textual variants) and we can also assume that a *Vita* of St. Clement of Ohrid was originally written in Slavic, though only a Greek version of his Life (known as the "Bulgarian legend") has been preserved.[57] However, the Bulgarian type of Lives of Saints seems in general not to have set the pattern for Old Serbian life-writing, presumably because, as was already mentioned, we know of no early Bulgarian *vitae* combining the purely hagiographic aspect with a dynastic-political (and hence, secular) message. Still, as we have seen, individual, stereotyped features may have been borrowed, for example, from the Life of St. John (Ivan) of Rila by the Serbian biographers of Stephan Nemanja (cf. the *translatio* account or the 'oil saint' motif); or it is conceivable that such popular elements, while found also in Bulgarian hagiography, but being commonly encountered throughout the Byzantine-Balkan area (and, in fact, not limited to that particular region of Christianity), may have found their way into medieval Serbian life-writing. For examples of a fusion of hagiographic (or homiletic) and dynastic-political components, however, the authors of the Serbian *vitae* had to turn, within the Slavic domain, to works of Old Czech and, in particular, Old Russian literature, written in the respective recensions of Church Slavic.

In Bohemia of the 10th-11th centuries, hagiography seems to have been flourishing both in Latin and in the Czech recension of Church Slavic. Of particular interest for us are the Lives of Prince Wenceslaus (Václav, martyred 929). Two Slavic versions of the *Vita* of this saint, the Czech national patron, are known. The older and shorter one ("First Old Slavic Legend of St. Václav") was written in the 10th century; the second, more elaborate one ("Second Old Slavic Legend of St. Václav"), composed in the early 11th century, is a reworking of a Latin *Vita* by Bishop Gumpold of Mantua (ca. 975-980). In addition, there existed a host of Latin legends of the same saint (*Crescente fide*, Christian's legend, 10th c.; *Oriente iam sole*, 13th c., etc.).[58] Whereas much research has been

[57] The Greek *Vita Clementis* was written by the Bulgarian Archbishop Theophylactus at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th c., presumably on the basis of a Slavic original, now lost. In addition to this longer Life of St. Clement there exists also a shorter Greek version of his Life (*Legenda Ochridica*) by Demetrius Chomatianus (early 13th c.) of which a Church Slavic translation (13th c.) is known. Cf. H.-G. Beck, *op. cit.*, 649-651 and 708-710; F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 253-254; for details see also the articles by A. Milev, I. Dujčev, and I. Snegarov in the volume *Kliment Oxridski* (Sofia, 1966), 143-219.

[58] Cf. F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 186-187; J. Vajs (ed.), *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Lidmile* (Prague, 1929); *Svatováclavský sborník*, I-II: 1-3

done, particularly in recent years, on the relationship between these Bohemian (Church Slavic as well as Latin) legends of St. Wenceslaus and Old Russian hagiography, revealing some striking connections,[59] the conceivable influence that the Church Slavic *Vita* of St. Wenceslaus may have had on Old Serbian life-writing — possibly via Russia — is as yet largely unexplored. Only the general fact that we have to do here with another instance of the dynastic legend genre, as represented also by such works as the Life of St. Stephen of Hungary, the Lives of the first Russian martyrs Boris and Gleb, or the semi-legendary Life of Vladimir of Zeta (contained in the *Letopis popa Dukljanina* whose significance as a source for Old Serbian life-writing, however, now is in doubt, cf. above), has been acknowledged.[60] But other possibly suggestive circumstances also deserve attention. Thus, the fact that the older of the two Czech Church Slavic *Vitae* of St. Wenceslaus, a semi-secular work of less stylistic sophistication than the Lives of Constantine and Methodius (whose tradition it continues),[61] is best preserved in four Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries, i.e., in manuscripts from a region not far from Dioclitia (Zeta), may be of some significance. (Cf., in this context, also the title "rex Dalmatiae et Diocliae", held, among others, by Vukan, the oldest son of Stephan Nemanja.) As regards the contents, it should be noted that the Life of St. Wenceslaus contains an account of the *translatio* of the remains of the saint to Prague, a theme popular in hagiographic (and semi-hagiographic) writing and encountered also in the Old Serbian *Vitae* of Stephan Nemanja. Finally, it should be remembered that while medieval Serbia, though generally oriented toward Byzantium, held, to some extent, an intermediary position between East and West, Christianity as practiced in 10th century Bohemia, on the other hand, retained some ties with the Eastern Church as shown by the liturgy (*služba*) for St. Wenceslaus, following the Byzantine rite.[62] Geographic, thematic,

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(Prague, 1934-1937); M. Weingart, *op. cit.*, 47-60; J. Hrabák *et al.*, *Dějiny české literatury*, I, *Starší česká literatura* (Prague, 1959), 51-54; R. Večerka, *Slovanské počátky české knižní vzdělanosti* (Prague, 1963), 45-48.

[59] See F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 187; D. Čyževśkyj, "Anklänge an die Gumpoldslegende des hl. Václav in der altrussischen Legende des hl. Feodosij..."; N. W. Ingham, "Czech Hagiography in Kiev: The Prisoner Miracles of Boris and Gleb", *WdSl* X (1965), 166-182. See further also R. Jakobson, *Harvard Slavic Studies* I (1953), 41-48.

[60] See S. Hafner, *Studien*, 16, 40, 44, and 59.

[61] Cf., in addition to literature quoted in note 58, also B. Havránek, *Cyrillo-Methodianische Fragen...*, 9 (in his paper "Die Bedeutung Konstantins und Methods für die Anfänge der geschriebenen Literatur in Grossmähren").

[62] Serbia's vacillating political stand between East and West is perhaps best illustrated by some of the policies of Stephan the First-Crowned. Married to a daughter of the

and religious-ideological considerations make it therefore quite conceivable that the Life of St. Wenceslaus could have played a role as a model not only in medieval Russian hagiography but also in Serbian biography. Whether the latter actually was the case, only a close comparative scrutiny of the pertinent Old Czech and Old Serbian texts can reveal.

While it is possible, but not proven, that dynastic hagiography of the Old Czech brand served as an example for Old Serbian life-writing, it is positively evident that Old Russian hagiography and homiletic literature with a political-dynastic content has made an impact on the Old Serbian *vita* and related genres just as medieval Serbian biography subsequently exerted considerable influence on Russian hagiography and semi-secular biography of the Mongolian and early post-Mongolian period. Thus, the long passage from Metropolitan Ilarion's Sermon on Law and Grace, found in Domentijan's Life of Stephan Nemanja (cf. above), is not an altogether isolated instance of the liberal and quite customary borrowing (by medieval standards) of insertable material that would find its way from medieval Russia to Serbia. Often the place of such literary contact would be Constantinople or the Slavic monasteries on Mt. Athos where close ties seem to have existed between the Russian Monastery of Panteleimon and the Serbian Hilandar Monastery. It has been assumed that not only Ilarion's work but also, for example, the elegant sermons of Bishop Cyril of Turov were known and read by Serbian monks on Mt. Athos, among them Domentijan.[63] St. Sava, prior to Domentijan, had

Byzantine Emperor Alexius III, he divorced her shortly before the fall of Constantinople in 1203 and later married a granddaughter of the Venetian Doge Dandolo. In 1217 he was crowned by a legate of Pope Honorius III, only to secure, in 1219, by mediation of his brother Sava, autocephaly for the Serbian Orthodox Church from the Patriarch of Constantinople (then residing in Nicaea). On medieval Serbia's middle position between East (Byzantium) and West (Rome), see, for example: A. Schmaus, *Südost-Forschungen* XV (1956), 182-190; B. Krekić, "La Serbie entre Byzance et l'Occident au XIVe Siècle", *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies...*, 62-65. See also S. Hafner, *Studien*, 20 and 50, on some political and cultural aspects of this intermediate position of medieval Serbia, spanning, as it were, a bridge between Byzantium and Rome, a role which Serbia had inherited from one of its constituent parts, Zeta (Diocletia) where in 1077 Prince Michael was granted the title of king by Pope Gregory VII. On some presumed Greek Orthodox reactions to political moves on the part of Serbian kings (aimed at closer relations with the West — Hungary, Venice, the Pope) as expressed in Old Serbian biography, cf. M. I. Mulić, *op. cit.*, 128-130. On the Greek Orthodox liturgy for St. Wenceslaus, see F. Grivec, *op. cit.*, 184 and 186.

[63] On these sermons and their style, cf., *inter alia*, D. Čiževskij, *History*, 86-88; A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 53-63 (there also on Cyril's religious poetry); and, in particular, I. P. Eremin, "Oratorskoe iskusstvo Kirilla Turovskogo", *TODRL* XVIII (1962), 50-58 (reprinted in the same atuhor's *Literatura drevnej Rusi*, 132-143). On Ilarion, see esp. L. Müller, *op. cit.* (with references).

spent some time in the Russian Panteleimon Monastery. Not only are Kievan dynastic historiography and hagiography (including religious-historical rhetoric such as Ilarion's *Slovo*) reflected in the political ideology of Sava's and his brother's Lives of Stephan Nemanja, but also Russian influence has been ascertained on Sava's orthography, reinforced some two hundred years later by Constantine of Kostenec.[64] The many complexities of the intricate literary and other cultural interrelations between Russia and the Balkan Slavs in the Middle Ages have in recent years received renewed attention.[65] Here we can only briefly digress to give a summary account of Old Russian hagio-biographical literature, as this literature relates to Old Serbian life-writing or as it points up theoretical problems of definition and classification encountered, *mutatis mutandis*, also in its Serbian counterpart.

Of all medieval Slavic literatures, that of Kievan Russia, and the principalities succeeding it, is perhaps the one most thoroughly studied. In this context, much interest has focused, particularly in the last two decades, on the problem of the Old Russian literary genres and the specific stylistic devices utilized in each of them.[66] A central place among the various kinds of Old Russian literature was held by the Lives of

[64] Cf. A. Belić, "Učešće sv. Save i njegove škole u stvaranju nove redakcije srpskih ćirilskih spomenika", *Svetosavski zbornik*, 1, 211-276, esp. 236-237. Constantine of Kostenec, in his fantastic linguistic theories (contained in his treatise on orthography), stresses the importance of Russian as the alleged main component of the "mixed" language of Cyril and Methodius; cf. K. M. Kujew (Kuev), *op. cit.*, 48; see also R. Jakobson, *Harvard Slavic Studies*, I (1953), 49.

[65] Cf., in addition to the important studies by D. S. Lixačev, I. Dujčev, and V. Mošin quoted in notes 21 and 33, V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, "Drevnerusskie literaturnye pamjatniki v jugoslavjanskoj pis'mennosti", in: *Russkaja literatura...* (= *TODRL* XIX), 5-27. See further also Dj. Sp. Radojičić, *Južnoslovensko-ruske kulturne veze do početka XVIII veka* (Kruševac, 1967), esp. 33-71; and S. Hafner, *Studien*, 24-26.

[66] An overall view of medieval Russian writing, largely based on formal (structural) considerations of genre and style, can be found in such Western reference works of Old Russian literature as those quoted above — D. Čiževskij and A. Stender-Petersen, or R. Picchio's *Storia della letteratura russa antica*, 2nd ed. (Florence-Milan, 1968). Of specialized work on the Old Russian literary genres, see in particular, D. Čiževsky, "On the Question of Genres in Old Russian Literature", *Harvard Slavic Studies* II (1954), 105-115; R. Jagoditsch, "Zum Begriff der 'Gattungen' in der altrussischen Literatur", *WslJb* VI (1957-1958), 113-137; and several studies by D. S. Lixačev, esp. "Sistema literaturnyx žanrov drevnej Rusi", in: *Slavjanskie literatury. V Meždunar. s'ezd slavistov (Sofia, 1963) Dokl. sov. deleg.* (Moscow, 1963), 47-70; in revised form, also as a chapter ("Otnošenija literaturnyx žanrov meždu soboj") in his book *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Leningrad, 1967), 40-66. For some general information on the genres in medieval Slavic literature, see also his "Drevneslavjanskie literatury kak sistema", in: *Slavjanskie literatury. VI Meždunar. s'ezd slavistov (Prague, 1968). Dokl. sov. deleg.* (Moscow, 1968), 5-48, esp. 28-34 ("Žanry i vidy drevneslavjanskix literatur").

Saints, as was the case in Byzantine literature on which medieval Russian letters was largely patterned. The gradual, though only partial secularization of this genre, noticeable in the branching off from it of a new kind of literature, often referred to as "Princely Lives" (*knjažeskie žitija*), has been the subject of much discussion centering around the issue whether, at a certain point in the development of this integrated literature (mixing elements of hagiography, panegyrical oration, historiography, and military tale), these Lives can be established as having achieved the status of an autonomous, self-contained genre of secular biography.

In its earliest, not yet fully developed phase of semi-hagiographic literature (to use a descriptive term), the beginnings of secular biography manifested itself in Russia, according to A. Stender-Petersen, in two basic variants: the apostolic and the martyrological sub-genres. While the former can be said to be closely related to, or even derived from, the obituary and cognate encomiastic genres (*poxvala* or *pamjat' i poxvala*) first encountered on Russian soil in Ilarion's panegyrical sermon but rooted also in the Old Church Slavic tradition of the Lives of Constantine and Methodius, the latter has its first Russian representatives in the various versions of the Lives of the martyred brothers Boris and Gleb, echoing in more than one respect the Czech Church Slavic *Vita* of St. Wenceslaus.[67] Both Ilarion's *Slovo* and the legends of Boris and Gleb express, in addition to true religious fervor, the political interests of the ruling Rurik dynasty of which all three of the subsequently canonized princes were members. No doubt, the combination of religious and political (dynastic) motivation underlying these works of early Russian literature bears a striking resemblance to the ideological background against which Old Serbian biography made its appearance.

Whereas another work of Old Russian hagiography, Nestor's Life of Feodosij, was to set the pattern for all purely hagiographic writing in Russia, culminating in Epifanij's Lives of Stephan of Perm' and Sergij of Radonež, the legends of Boris and Gleb became the model for the semi-secularized, dynastic-historical biography, framed, to be sure, in the traditional form of hagiography. This is true of many of the 13th-14th century Lives of Russian princes and, in particular, of the Life of Prince Alexander Nevskij who was later canonized by the Church and

[67] Cf. A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 76-84. On the various versions of the Boris and Gleb theme (anonymous Tale, Nestor's Lection, Chronicle entry, liturgical poetry, etc.), see L. Müller, *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb* (Munich, 1967) (with references, XXIII-XXIV); cf. further N. N. Il'in, *Letopisnaja stat'ja* 6523 *goda i ee istočnik* (*Opyt analiza*) (Moscow, 1957), and the article by N. W. Ingham, *WdSl* X (1965), 166-182 (cf. note 59).

in whose *Vita* some experts have believed to find reminiscences of a presumed biography of the Galician 13th century Prince Daniil Romanovič, reworked into the cohesive historiographic narrative contained in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle. Here, further worldly, even chivalrous, elements were introduced. Whereas some literary scholars have assumed Western influences in certain of these new traits of Old Russian biography, others have pointed to parallels with the doubtless non-Orthodox setting of the controversial Igor Tale.[68] It is worth noting, in this context, that the particular situation of Prince Daniil's Galicia, attempting to balance between the Tatars of the Golden Horde in the East and Poles and Hungarians in the West bears some resemblance to the temporarily more fortunate Serbian state, maneuvering between East and West, of the contemporary rulers of the Nemanja dynasty. Symptomatically, Daniil's coronation, too, was approved by the Pope. A double production of pure hagiography and of hagiographically interpreted and accordingly embellished biography of a secular ruler (to whom, however, no posthumous miracles were attributed) may possibly be found in the work of Epifanij Premudryj. This would be so if, as there might at least be some reason to believe, Epifanij were the author not only of the two previously mentioned Lives of Saints, but also of the Life of Dmitrij Ivanovič ("Donskoj"), by far the most ornate of the several works of Old Russian literature relevant to the battle of Kulikovo.[69] Epifanij's dependence on stylistic devices brought to Russia from the Slavic South, particularly Serbia, was already mentioned. It must be remembered, though, that regardless of any parallelism on the stylistic and ideological

[68] Cf. A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 146-150. See also D. Čiževskij, *History*, 104-107 and 138-142. N. W. Ingham argues strongly against the assumption of an underlying biography of Daniil Romanovič in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle. As he points out, the section on the reign of Daniil has, at best, the cohesion of historiography; see *American Contributions...*, 186 and 188-189. Cf., however, also D. S. Lixačev, "Galickaja literaturnaja tradicija v žitii Aleksandra Nevskogo", *TODRL* V (1947), 36-56. Ingham's argumentation against the largely biographical character of the ORIGINAL historical narrative, analistically reworked in the Chronicle, does not seem cogent. That the literary characteristics of life-writing could be obscured by the very nature of the larger work into which they were integrated can be exemplified also by some of the Lives contained in Archbishop Danilo's and his Disciple's *Zbornik*; cf. also the Life of Vladimir in the (probably, to be sure, pseudo-historiographic) *Letopis popa Dukljanina.*

[69] Cf. A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 160, 176-179, and 191; D. Čiževskij, *History*, 191-192. See further also, V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, "Slovo o žitii i o prestavlenii velikogo knjazja Dmitrija Ivanoviča, carja Russkago", *TODRL* V (1947), 73-96. However, Professor John Fennell, Oxford, now informs me that his comparative stylistic analysis does not corroborate the view that Epifanij was the author also of the Life of Dmitrij Donskoj.

levels between Old Russian and Old Serbian life-writing of the time, the political outlook at the close of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century was vastly different in the two countries: Serbia, defeated at Kosovo (1389), was about to be overrun by the Turks, and the trend in biography, with the notable exception of Camblak, was toward secularization; emerging Muscovite Russia, after the victory at Kulikovo (1380), on the other hand, was gradually embarking on the road to achieving complete freedom. Here, the trend in biography (or what can be subsumed thereunder) was now toward a reassertion of Orthodox Christianity — that is to say, toward 'purified' hagiography. Thus, while in Serbia we can observe a largely consistent development toward increased secularization of life-writing, in Russia only a temporary and partial deviation (reaching its peak in the Life of Alexander Nevskij and possibly in an unpreserved biography of Daniil of Galič) from the fundamentally hagiographic course of the Old Russian *žitie* can be noted.

It is therefore perhaps an overschematization of the actual development of Old Russian biographical writing (although in line with the general tendency) when D. Čiževskij, in discussing "the Age of Ornamental Style" (12th-13th c.) and "the Period of Spiritual Struggle" (14th-15th c.) in Russian literature, devotes special sections to "Secular Biography", along with others on "Hagiographic Literature" and "Lives of Saints". For "the Period of Stylistic Simplicity" (11th c.) and "Muscovite Literature" (16th c.), however, he acknowledges the existence of "Hagiographic Literature" but not of any "Secular Biography".[70] Rather, N. W. Ingham's view appears to be well-founded when he, on the basis of a scrupulous (if selective) and insightful analysis of some *vitae* and comparable pieces in Old Russian literature, concludes "that not one of the Old Russian works ... can meaningfully be called a secular biography. They neither correspond to the international genre nor show enough internal uniformity for an indigenous literary kind... The majority of the works in fact defy definition as life-writing in the first place; and the few which may fit it are still bound too closely to the practices of hagiography. At the most, transitional forms occur, as in the *Life of Aleksandr Nevski*." And Ingham goes on to say that "even if a somewhat broader definition of secular or historical biography were applied, there would still not be enough examples of it in Old Russian literature to constitute a *genre*". But he also suggests that "this situation is probably not typical of the Slavic literatures generally. New dimensions

[70] Cf. D. Čiževskij, *History*, 40-47, 94-100, 165-184 and 184-192, and 238-250.

to early Slavic life-writing are added by such works as the earliest *žitie* of the Czech Prince Wenceslaus (Václav) and the lives of Bulgarian and Serbian rulers." While it is not clear (at least to the present writer) what precisely Ingham had in mind when referring to Lives of Bulgarian rulers, his surmise is certainly borne out by the *Vita* of St. Wenceslaus and, even more so, by the Old Serbian biographies.[71]

VIII

Before summing up the preceding considerations in some tentative conclusions, a few observations regarding the composition and style, the choice of motifs and stereotyped formulae (*topoi*) characteristic of Old Serbian life-writing may be appropriate. Needless to say, this is not the place for any thorough analysis of these and other literary devices of medieval Serbian biography; nor can a recapitulation of previous — significant, but by no means exhaustive — research on style and themes of Old Serbian life-writing be offered here.[72] Rather, only a handful of illustrative examples will be adduced and briefly commented upon. They are taken from two *Vitae* which in many ways represent diametric opposites: St. Sava's Life of Simeon (Stephan Nemanja) and the Life of Stephan Lazarević by Constantine of Kostenec. The first one opens the series of medieval Serbian biographies; the second one marks the perfection of the genre, while transgressing in some respects its established limits. One is basically an hagiography although it never refers to Nemanja as a saint (as opposed to the Nemanja *Vita* by Stephan the First-Crowned) and is couched in a relatively simple, unassuming language; the other, perhaps farthest removed from hagiography (in contents as well as intent of its author), is nonetheless characterized by an ornate, frequently obscure style and is, to some extent, disguised in

[71] Cf. N. W. Ingham, *American Contributions...*, 197-198 (in the conclusion of his paper "The Limits of Secular Biography in Medieval Slavic Literature, Particularly Old Russian"; cf. note 2).

[72] Of important relevant work cf., in addition to the article by M. I. Mulić already quoted (note 29), for example also the section on "Topos und Gedankengefüge in den altserbischen Herrscherbiographien" in S. Hafner's *Studien*, 78-123. See further some of the papers, partly republished, in the volume *Stara književnost*, esp. Dj. Trifunović, "Pripovedanje i simboli srednjovekovne naše umetničke proze" (142-180); V. Mošin, "Stil stare srpske proze" (181-196); M. Mulić, "Stil srpskih srednjovekovnih životopisaca XIII i XIV veka" (197-204, abridged version of his longer paper in Russian). Cf. on Constantine of Kostenec also K. M. Kujew (Kuev), *op. cit.*, 101-112; and the papers by Dj. Sp. Radojičić on acrostics, quoted in note 27.

the superficial appearance of a *vita* of hagiographic kind (despite the fact that its hero was never canonized). Thus, being maximally polarized, these two *žitija* span, as it were, the whole stylistic range of Old Serbian life-writing, while lacking only in the mutual reinforcement by approach and style, content and form, found, say, in Domentijan's Life of St. Sava.

The theme of divine right by which Stephan Nemanja is said to rule his land, found already in the Hilandar Charters, comes up also in the *prooemium* of the *Vita Simeonis* and is subsequently once more referred to in Nemanja's abdication speech.[73] The same or a slightly modified motif is later often found in medieval Serbian biography and is attested also in Constantine's Life of Stephan Lazarević.[74] The mention of the many monastic foundations at the outset of Sava's *Vita*, while presumably reflecting historical reality, was to become a fixed ingredient of most biographies of Serbian princes, usually in connection with the stereotyped eulogy of the ruler (combining a liturgical-hagiographic *laudatio* with the classic βασιλικὸς λόγος).[75] The system of virtues ascribed to the ruler or other protagonist played an important role in medieval Europe. We find it in its chivalrous-religious form in the West, but it is also well represented in the literature of the Byzantine sphere of civilization, including Kievan Russia. In Sava's *Vita*, the emphasis is on charity and asceticism — in other words, the virtue system has been given its purest Christian interpretation, coupled with the ideal of monastic life. It also includes the motif of veneration and formidableness of the monarch. This forbidding aspect of the ruler is eloquently described in the biography of Stephan Lazarević by Constantine as well.[76]

Two *topoi* frequently encountered in medieval literature, particularly in panegyrical writing, are the related stylistic devices of 'unspeakableness' (Curtius' *Unsagbarkeitstopos*), of which the brevity formula *pauca e multis* represents a sub-type, and that of 'surpassing' or 'outcomparing'

[73] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 70-80; *id.*, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 132 and 137 (n. 11 and n. 64).

[74] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 81-82.

[75] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 100-101 and 113-118. On ancient origins and West European parallels, see E. R. Curtius, *op. cit.*, 184-186.

[76] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 93-109, esp. 97-99 (on Sava's two eulogies of his father, introduced by the common *dubitatio* formula), 103-104 (on filial obedience), and 108-109 (on veneration and formidableness of the ruler, as expressed in Sava's and Constantine's Lives); *id.*, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 134-135 (n. 33, with reference to the virtue system in Old Russian literature). An expression of the medieval notion of the ruler's inapproachable standing among his people can be found also, for example, in the epithet given the Russian 16th century ruler Ivan IV-Groznyj, best rendered, perhaps, as "the Awesome" (rather than the traditional "the Terrible"). On the system of "chivalrous virtues" in the West, see E. R. Curtius, *op. cit.*, 506-521.

(ὑπεροχή, Curtius' *Überbietungstopos*) where one can distinguish, among others, between what has been referred to as the *cedat* and *taceat* formulae, respectively.[77] Both these common types of *topoi* are represented in Sava's Life of Nemanja and, by the example of his work, became a regular feature of subsequent Old Serbian biographies.[78]

Part of medieval, Latin as well as Byzantine, imagery was the 'ideal landscape', particularly when narrowed down to the *locus amoenus* and interpreted allegorically as referring to monastic life. In Sava's *Vita Simeonis* there is a fairly long passage describing the Hilandar Monastery, just founded by Nemanja, as the pleasure-grounds or 'meadow' (corresponding to the specific Christian-Byzantine connotation of λειμών) to which St. Simeon was retiring in his old age.[79]

The use of pleonasms, hendiadys phrases, and repetitions was not uncommon in medieval rhetoric. The use of these devices can also be found in Sava's Life. Thus, in the *translatio* account following the biography proper (*praxeis*), Sava resorts to repeated rhetorical pleonasms to underscore the gratification felt by the brothers Stephan (the First-Crowned) and Vukan as well as the assembled clergy upon receiving the news that Sava had safely reached the Hvostno region (i.e., present-day Metohija) with the remains of Stephan Nemanja.[80] Sometimes, however, what at first sight may seem a pleonasm turns out to be a meaningful differentiation, charged with political, often contrasting implications.[81]

The common motif of death by falling from a horse (believed to be a sign from heaven) occurs a few times in Old Serbian biographies. At least two such episodes are found in Danilo's and his successors' work. The same motif occurs also in Constantine's Life of Stephan Lazarević

[77] Cf. E. R. Curtius, *op. cit.*, 168-174.

[78] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 113, 114-115; *id.*, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 135 (n. 35), 136 (n. 55 and n. 57, *pauca e multis formula*), 138 (n. 96, "unspeakableness"; n. 97, panegyrical *loci communes*), 141 (n. 122, "unspeakableness"; n. 123 "surpassing"), 143 (n. 148, "surpassing").

[79] Cf. S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 141-142 (nn. 129, 131, 132). On the "ideal landscape" and, particularly, the *locus amoenus* in ancient and medieval literature, see E. R. Curtius, *op. cit.*, 191-209, esp. 202-206. See further also O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten* (Vienna, 1942).

[80] Cf. S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, 144 (nn. 166 and 168).

[81] This applies, for example, to the "peace and quiet" theme discussed above (note 43). Apparently, *mirъ* refers to inner peace (including spiritual harmony) while *tišina* rather implies "quiet at the borders" but perhaps also within the state (at the political level). See S. Hafner, *Studien*, 89-93. Cf. also the differentiated use of such near-synonyms as *ozьlobiti* and *oskrьbiti* in some of the Old Serbian biographies; see *ibid.*, 118-121.

who died during a hunting party. Possibly, this belief had older, biblical-folkloristic sources.[82]

Sava's Life of Stephan Nemanja is largely designed as an hagiographic *vita* (*prooemium*, *praxeis*, *translatio*, *curriculum vitae*, *admonitio*), lacking only the traditional *miracula* owing to the fact that Nemanja had not yet been canonized at the time this *Vita* was written; cf., on the other hand, his *Vita* by Stephan the First-Crowned where he is repeatedly referred to as a saint and where a number of miracle accounts are appended. In contradistinction, the compositional makeup of Constantine's biography of the 'despot' Stephan Lazarević follows another pattern. It opens with a relatively short section eulogizing Stephan by comparing him with the great men of biblical and Christian history. Next follows a description of Serbia and, in particular, its monks, including St. Simeon (Nemanja) and St. Sava. A short, fantastic, and largely incorrect genealogy of the Nemanja dynasty precedes the tale about Prince Lazar, Stephan's father and the tragic hero of Kosovo, and a statement of the situation in Serbia after the defeat is given before the author turns to a brief characterization of his hero and his early years. Only then begins a detailed account of the historical events, political and military, in which Stephan participates as one (but not the sole) protagonist. (Other important personalities are the Turkish sultans with whom Stephan concludes treaties or against whom he wages war.) Inserted in this account is, among other things, a famous description of the city of Belgrade which is compared in beauty and importance to Jerusalem. Another city, Resava, is duly praised as well. In a following chapter, Constantine talks about Stephan's generosity and sees all the manifold characteristics of Serbia represented in his hero's personality and noble qualities. In the section reporting Stephan's death, the author not only speaks of the grief of the Serbian people, but also mentions the disaster which befell Serbia after his death. He goes on to describe miraculous happenings occasioned by his passing away (obviously meant as a substitute of sorts for the obligatory miracles ascribed to a saint after his death). Constantine's biography ends on a very personal note, telling of how Stephan after his death had appeared before

[82] See S. Hafner, *Studien*, 121-123. The death-by-one's-horse theme is known, in a somewhat different variant, also in Old Russian literature, with a parallel in an Old Norse anecdote (the ultimate source of both probably being Byzantine); cf. the tale about Prince Oleg's death from his horse (entered in the Nestor Chronicle *sub anno* 912). For details, see D. Čiževskij, *History*, 14 and 17-18; A. Stender-Petersen, *op. cit.*, 101; and now also F. Sielicki, ed., *Powieść minionych lat* (Wroclaw-Warsaw-Cracow, 1968), 112-113.

the author urging him to write (or complete) the *Vita.* A last eulogy of Stephan concludes Constantine's work.

Already this short summary of the contents of Constantine's Life reveals some basic differences between this biography and all preceding Old Serbian *vitae.* Here we encounter a memoir-like account by an observant contemporary with a deep involvement in the events he is relating. What we have before us is a piece of personal interpretation of history in its broader context, focusing, understandably, on the Ottoman Empire and its rapidly expanding power. While subjectively colored, most of Constantine's information has proven accurate. In addition, however, a personal, almost intimtae tone used by someone close to the chief protagonist comes through. Despite all attempts at subliming Stephan's individual features to the abstract level of hagiography, the reader — once he overcomes the ornate style and many biographically irrelevant amplifications — preceives a live personality drawn against the backdrop of Serbia, its nature and its cities. Also in these descriptions of the Serbian scenery, especially of Belgrade, there is a note of personal, one might say, individual, experience. No doubt, there is an affinity between the style of Constantine of Kostenec and that of his emigrant contemporary, Camblak, even though the purpose of writing their respective biographies was different. Only Constantine, the naturalized Serbian, was an ardent patriot. As was mentioned before, Constantine's language, frequently obscure (and, in some instances, actually resisting definitive interpretation) and not without some studied mannerism (cf. also his use of symbolic acrostics) and hagiographic accessories, especially the many biblical quotes and references, is not apt to further the appreciation which this work no doubt deserves, in terms of its ideology and understanding of history.[83]

IX

Summing up, then, some of the points made in this paper and adding a few considerations not discussed here for lack of space, a number of conclusions can be tentatively formulated:

[83] For an appraisal of Constantine's Life of Stephan Lazarević, see, in particular, K. M. Kujew (Kuev), *op. cit.*, 86-112, esp. 101-112; and the relevant section in P. Popović's Introduction to *Stare srpske biografije XV i XVII veka*, XLIV-LIII. On the acrostics, see Dj. Sp. Radojičić's previously (note 27) mentioned studies. Generally on Stephan Lazarević, see now also N. D. Pavlović, *Despot Stefan Lazarević* (Subotica & Belgrade, 1968). Cf. further also Dj. Trifunović, *Srpski srednjovekovni spisi o knezu Lazaru i Kosovskom boju* (Kruševac, 1968), and I. Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine", *Byzsl* XIV (1953), 14-54, esp. 38-42 (on Constantine's Life of Stephan Lazarević).

1) Accepting the current medievalist view of the High Middle Ages (11th-12th c.) as a period of great intellectual vigor and creativity in Central Europe, this interpretation can be extended to include medieval Serbia of the 13th through early 15th centuries, given the well-understood factor of "cultural retardation" in this area.[84] The literary genre of biography, developed to a level of high sophistication, can be considered perhaps the most eloquent expression of medieval Serbian civilization.

2) Three different, though interrelated traditions merge in Old Serbian life-writing: (a) the predominantly learned Byzantine tradition of hagiography and historiography; (b) the solidly learned Church Slavic tradition of hagiography (including semi-hagiography) and panegyrical homiletics, themselves representing a modification of Byzantine prototypes; and (c) a set of pre- and sub-literary, orally transmitted themes, motifs, and legends encountered in the Balkans and largely characteristic of a popular Christian tradition, particularly in its Eastern variety. More specifically, it is possible to make a distinction in the Byzantine hagiographic tradition between several chronological layers (primarily, pre-Metaphrastic versus post-Metaphrastic) and between two major components — the elaborate and ornate, learned tradition and a more popular vein in Byzantine hagiography whose nucleus was the simple narrative relating the life-story of a monk (or hermit). In Byzantine historiography two separate kinds can be identified: chronicle-writing (chronography) and secular biography (primarily the Lives of Emperors), with the latter genre largely submerged in the broader framework of non-annalistic historiography. In its rudimentary form, the Old Serbian *vita* (in its earliest phase, represented by Sava and Stephan the First-Crowned) is prefigured in the Charter texts of the Hilandar Monastery.

3) Of dynastic historiography and Orthodox hagiography, the two basic components combined in Old Serbian biography, the first is more closely bound up with Serbia proper, embodied in the person of the Serbian ruler and his court, and the second with the Serbian monastic community, in particular, its extraterritorial focal point at Mt. Athos

[84] Cf. S. Hafner *Studien*, VII. On some aspects of the phenomenon of "cultural retardation" in another peripheral part of medieval Europe, see E. R. Curtius, *op. cit.*, 524-526 ("Spaniens kulturelle 'Verspätung'"). Notice further that just as Serbia was culturally gravitating in the Middle Ages in two directions — toward Orthodox Byzantium and (if to a lesser extent) toward Catholic Europe (Rome, Venice, Hungary) — Spain, too, during the Reconquista lay at the intersection of two cultures: European (Latin as well as Spanish national) Catholicism and Arabic Islam. In neither case, medieval Serbia or Spain, is the term "cultural retardation" to be understood in the derogatory sense of backwardness.

(Hilandar). While the religious-political interests and goals of these two institutions usually coincided (cf. Sava, Stephan the First-Crowned, Danilo), this was not always the case, particularly not in times when Serbia's political stand was vacillating between East and West. In such situations, the monastic community would take a pro-Byzantine position as reflected in literary and ideological expressions found in some *vitae* (particularly those by the Athonite monks Domentijan and Teodosije; also, e.g., by Camblak). Eventually, in the face of the Turkish peril, the Byzantine and Serbian national interests were again in full agreement (Constantine of Kostenec).

4) In spite of a certain typological amplitude and chronological development within it, biography can be said to constitute a separate, unified genre in Old Serbian literature. This genre is marked by a number of fundamental characteristics compared to which the shift in emphasis from hagiography to secular biography is of secondary import. It should also be noted that, while the overall tendency in Old Serbian life-writing was away from pure hagiography and toward secular biography, this tendency is by no means without exception as shown by the work of Camblak, marking, in this respect, a reverse trend. On the stylistic side, many of the hagiographic accessories are retained throughout the entire development of this literary genre, i.e., also in those biographies with a more pronounced secular content (cf. Stephan the First-Crowned and Constantine of Kostenec). In terms of ideology, most of Old Serbian life-writing is characterized by a combination of religious (Orthodox) and political (dynastic) objects in view. In depicting their heroes — largely secular rulers — the Old Serbian *vitae* achieve a high degree of individualization rather than typification (characteristic of hagiography proper as well as of its pictorial counterpart — iconography). This individualization, however, is to be understood as aiming at sublimation, abstracting, as it were, from the individual features and characteristics of the protagonists for the purpose of immortalization and religious "eternalization". Little evidence can be found in the medieval Serbian Lives that would suggest an ability for, or interest in, concretization and psychological objectivization.[85]

5) The Old Serbian *vita* genre was firmly grounded in the Byzantine tradition of Lives of Saints and, to a lesser degree, in other forms of Byzantine literature (*chrysobulla*, *typica*, chronicles, Lives of Emperors), while forming an integral part of a supranational literature, modifying

[85] Cf. S. Hafner, *Studien*, 75 and 96.

these Byzantine models throughout the Slavic Orthodox community of the Middle Ages. By further developing and in an original manner refining the literary art of life-writing, the Old Serbian biographers can be credited with having indeed transformed this Byzantine tradition into a new and unique genre of its own.

Thus, assessing Old Serbian life-writing in terms of its sources and parallels, the following observations can be made: In Byzantine literature, hagiography, with its rich tradition, and historical secular biography, re-emerging in the 10th century, cannot be considered merely varieties of one unified biographic genre. Similarly, in Old Russian literature, we can hardly speak of a truly autonomous genre of secular biography, independent of hagiography (or other related kinds of literature). Also in medieval Bohemia, life-writing was practiced far too short a time in the Czech recension of Church Slavic to yield (by blending hagiographic and historiographic elements) a new genre of biography. The elaboration of this integrated literary genre was accomplished only in Serbia whose many extant *vitae* must therefore be assigned a particularly prominent place in the overall near-millennial course of Church Slavic literature.

Addendum to note 21: An important reassessment of the Second South Slavic Influence, de-emphasizing the role of Patriarch Euthymius (Evtimij) as a literary-linguistic reformer and contending that the Turkish invasion and domination of the Balkans neither brought the Christian Slavic literary activities to a halt nor caused any mass immigration of South Slavic *literati* to late-medieval Russia can be found in the well-documented unpublished doctoral dissertation of I. Talev, *The Impact of Middle Bulgarian on the Russian Literary Language (post-Kievan period)*, UCLA, 1972.

ANDREAS TIETZE

THE BALKANS AND OTTOMAN SOURCES — OTTOMAN SOURCES AND THE BALKANS

To the beholder of a modern map of the Balkan Peninsula it may seem that Turkey's stake in the area is so marginal that it would be wrong to regard her as a member of the family of Balkan states. Not only is her territory on European soil very limited and positioned at the very periphery of the continent but also her entire orientation is directed outside this territory with the vast majority of its land masses, its capital, and its main economic, military, and population resources being centered in the western-most peninsula of the Asian continent. Of course, the situation is entirely different if we look at it from a historical point of view. One hundred years ago a considerable portion of the Balkan Peninsula belonged to the Ottoman Empire, the predecessor of the Republic of Turkey; 200 years ago this portion was an overwhelming part of the peninsula; and 300 years ago it covered almost the entire territory of this geographical region. On the whole it can be said that for about half a millennium the bulk of the Balkan lands was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire whose center and capital was situated at the very edge of this territory. At one time, the Republic of Ragusa and some mountainous regions in the northwest were the only remnants that had not fallen under Turkish rule. At that time the Ottoman Empire in Europe was virtually coextensive with the geographical boundaries of the peninsula. For centuries the life of its inhabitants was exposed to, and strongly influenced by, the government and economy, the way of life, lore and letters, concepts and habits, in short, all the life pulses of this empire. They were a part of it, and more so, an integral part of it. This experience has left deep and inextinguishable traces in the texture of Balkan life and Balkan culture. Although the physical existence of Turkish-speaking enclaves in the non-Turkish Balkan countries is constantly diminishing and may completely vanish within the next generation or two, Turkish cultural

traditions can still be observed or felt everywhere, and thus their universality forms a unifying bond among the peoples of Slavic, Romance, Greek, or Albanian tongue. This common heritage should itself be enough to establish the birthright of the Turks among the Balkan community. However, we should not forget that the Turks were never members of this community on an equal footing. They were first the conquerors, then the rulers, and when their empire declined they were the defeated enemy against whom the newly independent Balkan states had to assert themselves. The memory of an inglorious past, accentuated by the difference in religion, made it difficult for the new-born nations to regard the Turks as one of their own. It is this burden of an *unbewältigte Vergangenheit* which encumbers the relations between the Turks and the other Balkan nations and to some extent also between these nations and their own past.

It is against this background that we have to view our first question: To what extent have the Balkan nations availed themselves of the Ottoman historical resources for the studies of their own past?

Viewed in an objective manner, the situation is obvious: the half-millennium of Ottoman rule constitutes a substantial period in the development of these nations, especially of those who cannot look back to a proud past of several thousand years. During this period, administrative and historiographical records of an immense volume, almost all written in Turkish, accumulated in the centers of administration, in the offices of cadis, in the endowed libraries attached to mosques or schools, and also in private libraries — materials which contained a wealth of information on all aspects of life in the area during that period. The importance of these materials becomes even greater if we realize that the amount of source materials in the indigenous languages of the Balkan countries for the same period of time is comparatively small. From this point of view one will expect that a considerable and sustained interest in the study of the Ottoman sources can be found in all of the countries under discussion. We will see later that this is only partly true and that great variations exist between the individual countries.

Let us now briefly describe the various categories of Ottoman source materials available to the Balkan historian. I shall confine myself here to the written sources, although other categories (some of them discussed in other sessions of this conference) might have been included as, e.g., the oral narrative; legal traditions; the physical remnants as buildings, bridges, fountains, etc., drastically reduced by the destructions of earlier

times but now to some extent protected by a new mentality and the interests of tourism; the linguistic heritage which in recent times has drawn more attention; the toponymy, an area in which we still lack the most elementary research; and so on. The written sources can be roughly divided into three groups: inscriptions, archival materials, and historiography.

The Ottoman inscriptions on buildings, fountains, tombstones have so far found only individual or local treatment. Some more extensive publications, but still on a small scale, have come out lately — Mehmed Mujezinović, "Turski natpisi u Sarajevu iz XVI vijeka", *Prilozi* 2 (1952), pp. 95-114; the same, "Turski natpisi XVI vijeka iz nekoliko mjesta Bosne i Hercegovine", *Prilozi* 3-4 (1952-1953), pp. 455-484; the same, "Turski natpisi XVI vijeka u Bosni i Hercegovini", *Prilozi* 8-9 (1958-1959), pp. 181-191; the same, "Turski natpisi iz XVII vijeka u nekoliko mjesta Bosne i Hercegovine", *Prilozi* 12-13 (1962-1963), pp. 175-208; Ananiasz Zajączkowski, "Materiały do epigrafiki osmánsko-tureckiej z Bulgarii (Inskrypcje nad studnia — čäšmä)", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. 26, pt. 2 (1963), pp. 7-47; Ibrahim Tatarli, "Edifices et inscriptions de culte turcs en Bulgarie, I", *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia* 60 (1966), Faculté des Lettres, pp. 567-616 — but there are still, as far as I can see, no activities aiming at a comprehensive corpus of the Ottoman inscriptions in the Balkan countries. I need not explain here how important such a work would be, nor how urgent in view of the steady deterioration of unprotected inscriptions in public places.

We can divide the archival materials into four categories — for a general introduction and bibliography, though limited to Yugoslavia, see Hazim Šabanović, "Turski diplomatički izvori za istoriju naših naroda", *Prilozi* 1 (1950), pp. 117-149.

Firstly, there is the official correspondence of the Ottoman government with other countries. Materials concerned with international relations will, however, have little or no bearing on Balkan history unless they deal with an immediate neighbor or unless the 'foreign' state is itself a Balkan state. The prime example for the first eventuality is Austria with whom Turkey for centuries shared a very long borderline; therefore the importance of the Austrian archives for Balkan history. Some of their Turkish materials with relevance for the Balkans have been published — cf. already Anton Gévay, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zwischen Österreich, Ungarn und der Pforte im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Wien, 1838-1842); a monumental volume entitled *Osmanische Majestaets- und Staatsschreiben aus der Zeit Sulejmans des Praechtigen*

im Wiener Staatsarchiv, prepared by Herbert Duda and Richard Kreutel as the first volume of a series called *Urkundenwerk Osmanica*, announced in 1947, has not come out and may never be published. The prime example for the second case, relations with a foreign state itself situated on the peninsula, is the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), though in the 19th century other states could be added. Turkish documents from the archives of Dubrovnik have been published by Ćiro Truhelka — "Tursko-slovjenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* 23 (1911), pp. 1-258 — Friedrich Kraelitz — *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der 2. Haelfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Wien, 1921) —, and Gliša Elezović — *Turski spomenici*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Beograd, 1940); vol. 1, pt. 2 (Beograd, 1952) —, for a general survey see H. Šabanović, "Turski dokumenti državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku", *Prilozi* 12-13 (1962-1963), and the Arabic documents, dealing mostly with the North-African provinces, by Fehim Bajraktarević — *Dubrovačka arabica* (Beograd, 1962) — and Besim Korkut — *Arapski dokumenti u Državnom Arhivu u Dubrovniku*, 2 vols. (Sarajevo, 1960-1961) —, but also this treasure has by no means been exhausted.

As the second category I would list letters and documents which have been preserved in private hands, in family archives, in the archives of the monasteries, or in the hands of the administrators (*mütevelli*) of Moslem pious foundations. Here we could give various examples of smaller collections, but I only want to point to the correspondence of the Eszterházys with the pasha of Buda — Ludwig Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy, 1606-1645* (Budapest, 1932) — and for the monasteries to the documents of the Rila Monastery — D. Ikhchieff, *Turskite dokumenti na Rilskiya Monastir'* (Sofia, 1910) — and to those of Sveta Trojica near Plevlje — Fehim Bajraktarević, *Turski dokumenti manastira Sv. Troice kod Plevlja* (Sarajevo, 1935). So far, only a small fraction of the certainly very important collection of Ottoman documents in the possession of the monasteries on Mount Athos has come to light — cf. Paul Lemerle et Paul Wittek, "Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque. Part I, Trois documents du monastère de Kutlumus", *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*, vol. 3 (Wetteren, 1948), pp. 411-472). As the Islamic counterpart of these, endowment deeds (*vaqfiye, vaqfname*, might be exemplified by five from Skopje published by Gliša Elezović — "Turski spomenici u Skoplju", *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva*, vol. 1-2 (1940), pp. 1-122 — or by those published by Hasan Kaleşi and Mehmed Mehmedovski — *Tri vakufnami na Kačanikli Mehmed-paša*

(Skopje, 1958) —, but many others have been published, too.

The third category is formed by the archival materials which accumulated in the offices of the Ottoman administrative organs in the Balkan provinces themselves, as the accounts of customs offices, the records of the cadis, or the registration of title deeds. Much of this was destroyed or dislocated in the tumultuous period when the Balkan states gained their political independence. What has remained is often in a state of confusion, archival instruments are lacking, and the materials are not usable in their present state. This is, of course, not true for all of these collections; very valuable publications have been made with materials selected from archives of this kind, especially from archives located in the more important administrative centers of the Ottoman state, as, e.g., Sofia — Jan Grzegorzewski, *Z sidżyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej, Akta tureckie, tekst turecki i polski* (Lwow, 1912); Gălăb D. Gălăbov, *Osmano-turski izvori za bălgarskata istoriya*, 3 vols. (Sofia, 1938-1943) [in part]; Gălăb D. Gălăbov, "Kadiyski dokumenti za pozemleni i drugi feodalno-pravni otnosheniya prez XVI i XVII vek", *Turski izvori za istoriyata na pravoto v bălgarskite zemi*, ed. G. D. Gălăbov, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1961), pp. 201-208; summaries in Gălăb D. Gălăbov, and Herbert W. Duda, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia* (München, 1960); cf. also Josef Kabrda, "Les anciens régistres turcs des cadis de Sofia et de Vidin et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Bulgarie", *Archiv orientální* 14 (1951), pp. 329-392, 642-643 — Üsküp-Skopje — *Turski dokumenti za makedonskata istorija*, 5 vols. (1951-1958); *Turski izvori za ajdutstvoto i aramistvoto vo Makedonija 1620-1700*, 2 vols. (1961); *Dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, vol. I, *1607-1699* (Skopje, 1963) —, or Budin-Buda — most recently: L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda [Ofen] 1550-1580, türkischer Text* (Budapest, 1962). Turkish documents from the State Archives at Bucarest published by H. Dj. Siruni — *Culegere de facsimile pentru Scoala de Arhivistica*, Seria turca, fasc. I (Bucureşti, 1943) — and Michael Guboglu — in his *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana, studia şi album* (Bucureşti, 1958) — included, apart from materials from the Bucarest archives, also documents from the archives in Sibiu, Cluj, Galaţi, and other Rumanian towns. Selected documents from the archives in Salonica, Veria, and Naoussa were published (in translation only) by Ioannis Vasdravelli — *Armatoloi kai kleftes eis ten Makedonian* (Thessalonike, 1948); *Hoi Makedones eis tous hyper tes anexartesias agonas 1796-1832*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1950); *Historika archeia Makedonias*, 3 vols. (Thessalonike, 1952-1955); *Tourkika eggrafa*

peri tou makedonikou agonas (Thessalonike, 1958) — (the latter preserved in private hands). Other works could be mentioned, but it is not my purpose to provide you here with an exhaustive bibliography; rather I want to give the general picture in broad strokes. It is, however, necessary to note that not all of these publications meet the highest standards that one might expect to find in them. Some give the texts of the documents in translation only, perhaps supplying a few photographs or facsimile reproductions of the originals. Others do not even give a full translation but only a short summary of the text. Anyone familiar with the difficulties of reading and interpreting an Ottoman document will understand the limitations inherent in a publication of this type.

The fourth and last category of archival materials is constituted by those preserved in the central archives of the Empire. They have the great advantages of authenticity and of comparative completeness. The centralist character of the administration had the result that information on the minutest details of provincial administration was relayed to the capital and decisions or directives concerning them were channeled back to the provincial centers. The central archives, therefore, like an enormous computer, contain all the data concerning every part of the Empire and the blueprints of all actions taken anywhere in it. The holdings of these archives are so extensive that it will take many generations of qualified scholars to retrieve the necessary information from them. The Turkish historians who use them are understandably more interested in the area of their own country than in the vast areas that once formed the Empire. Nevertheless, they have published important materials which are of pertinence to the Balkan countries, as, e.g., Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Türk idaresinde Bulgaristan (973-1255)* (Istanbul, 1933); Halil İnalcık's edition of a land and tax register for the year 1431-1432 of one of the Albanian districts — *Hicrî 835 tarihli sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara, 1954) — M. Tayyib Gökbilgin's study of materials concerning certain ethnic groups in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula — *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân* (İstanbul, 1957) —, or Ömer Lûtfi Barkan's corpus of statute books (*kanunname*) — *XV ve XVI'ncı asırlarda Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, vol. I, *Kanunlar* (İstanbul, 1943) — the latter containing among others the *kanunnames* of Sofia, Nicopolis, Silistria, Buda, Esztergom, Ujvar, Hatvan, Sirmium, Bosnia, Skopje, Ohrid, Salonika, Trikala, the Morea and many other Balkan regions. Those dealing with Bosnia, Hercegovina, Montenegro, and northern Albania were later studied and published with translations by Br. Djurdjev, Nedim

Filipović, and others — *Kanuni i kanunname* (Sarajevo, 1957).

It has been, and will always be, primarily the responsibility of the scholars from the Balkan countries to dig into these treasures and to make the materials of concern to their own countries available to their colleagues for further research. Collectanea on various subjects and dealing with various fields have been published, e.g., documents concerning Bulgarian history by Pančo Dorev — *Dokumenti iz turskite dăržavni arkhivi*, Part 1, *1564-1872* (Sofia, 1940) —, entries (in summary) concerning Yugoslavia, from the *mühimme defters*, by Gliša Elezović — *Iz carigradskih turskih arhiva Mühimme Defteri* (Beograd, 1950) —, documents on Macedonia in the 16th and 17th centuries by D. Šopova — *Makedonija vo XVI i XVII vek, dokumenti od carigradskite arhivi, 1557-1645* (Skopje, 1955) —, documents dealing with the Serbian revolution of 1804 — *Turski izvori o srpskoj revoluciji 1804*, vol. I (Beograd, 1956) —, the land registers of Belgrad and its area 1476-1566 — *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda*, vol. I, part 1, *Katastarski popisi Beograda i okoline 1476-1566* (Beograd, 1964) —, and a timar register of 1455 — *Krajište Isa-Bega Ishakovića, zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* (Sarajevo, 1964) — all three by Hazim Šabanović, to name a few important examples. It is clear that the central archives (especially the Başvekâlet Arşivi in Istanbul) with its contents estimated at 300 millions of documents, will remain a gold mine for the researching historian for many, many years to come.

In the year 1931 the Istanbul archives sold several hundred crates of documents, for whose storage no space could be found in the available buildings, as "old paper" to Bulgaria. This "old paper" forms the bulk of the Ottoman archival collection now preserved in the National Library in Sofia. It consists of something between 150,000 and 200,000 documents or fragments of documents which are being classified and indexed by a special commission of scholars. Very valuable materials from this collection have been published in the series *Turski izvori za bălgarskata istoriya*, a volume with population and tax registers — Khristo Gandev and Gălăb Gălăbov, *Turski izvori za bălgarskata istoriya*, vol. 2 (Sofia, 1960) — and timar defters (registers of fiefs) of the 15th century — *Turski izvori za bălgarskata istoriya*, serija XV-XVI, vol. 1, edited by Bistra A. Cvetkova and Vera P. Mutafčieva (Sofia, 1964) and vol. 2, edited by Nikolay Todorov and Boris Nedkov (Sofia, 1966), with a full volume of plates. For documents concerning Rumania in this collection, see M. Guboglu's article "Les documents turcs de la section orientale de la Bibliothèque V. Kolarov de Sofia et leur importance pour l'histore des

pays roumains", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, v. 3 (1961), pp. 93-115.

Smaller numbers of archival materials, or copies thereof, can be found in many libraries. The libraries in Vienna and Paris are especially rich in such stray documents or defters. These documents are often more easily accessible than those which have remained in their original locations and have therefore readily attracted the attention of scholars. Thus, to give an example, N. Beldiceanu found the materials for his "Sur les valaques des Balkans slaves à l'époque ottomane 1450-1550", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* (1966), pp. 83-132, as well as for several others of his articles in manuscripts preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale or at other European or Turkish libraries.

Having dealt with the various categories of archival sources, let us now briefly glance at historiography itself. It can be said that practically all Ottoman works on the history of the Empire, written from the 15th to the 20th centuries, contain numerous references to events on the Balkan peninsula — an example is the excerpts, in Bulgarian translation by Ibrahim Tosun Tatarlı, presenting passages from various Ottoman chronicles dealing with the battle of Varna, in *Varna 1444, Sbornik ot izsledovaniya i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray gr. Varna* (Sofia, 1969), pp. 365-520. Indeed, many of them were written in one of the centers of the Ottoman Balkans (as in Sofia, Belgrad, Buda, Skopje, Salonica) or by people who were best acquainted with the Balkan scene. Moreover, there are many smaller works that deal specifically with the history of one region, one town, or one particular local event — as e.g., the *Tarikh-i Banaluka* of 1737, the *Ahval-i gazevat der diyar-i Bosna* of 1739, the *Mora ihtilali tarihçesi* of 1770, the *Fethname-i Bogdan* of 1785, or, more recent, the *Manastir vilayeti tarihçesi* of 1327 h. Very important for local and regional history are furthermore the many biographical dictionaries, common since the 16th century. The importance of these can be gathered from an article by Robert Anhegger — "Neues zur balkantürkischen Forschung", *ZDMG* 103 (1953), pp. 70-91 — which in part assesses the role of Skopje as an Ottoman intellectual center on the basis of the information stored in biographical sources.

A word has to be said about the Ottoman geographers and especially about Evliya Çelebi the great traveller who has provided us with detailed descriptions in 10 volumes of his travels that crisscrossed all the provinces of the Empire. Several of the volumes are devoted to the European provinces (part of the third volume to Bulgaria, Dobrudja, Edirne; part of the fifth to Moldavia, Transylvania, Bosnia, and Dalmatia; all of the

sixth to Transylvania, Albania, Hungary, Serbia, Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Croatia; and part of the eighth to Thrace, Greece, Crete, and Macedonia). Since these contain a wealth of information on settlements, buildings, road conditions, on political and social institutions, customs, economic features, place names, sometimes even on the languages or dialects spoken in an area, with samples of them, they are a unique source for our knowledge of life in the Balkan countries in the middle of the 17th century. There have been translations and studies on several segments of his travels in the Balkan area. I am tempted to give some bibliographical data, but the article "Ewliya Çelebi" in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* includes a full page of bibliography. Even this is not complete, and it would be easy to add about 20 items, all concerned with the Balkan area. Let me therefore quote the most recent publications only (none included in the Encyclopedia article): H. Šabanović, *Evlija Čelebija putapis. Odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama.* 2 vols. (Sarajevo, 1957); A. Antalffy, "Description turque du monastère des Trois Hierarques à Iassy. Extrait du voyage d'Evliya Tchelebi", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 1 (1958); Helena Turkova, *Die Reisen und Streifzüge Evliya Čelebis in Dalmatien und Bosnien in den Jahren 1659-1661* (Prague, 1965); Mihail Guboglu, "Evlija Celebi on the political, administrative, military, cultural and artistic situation in the Roumanian countries 1651-1666", *Studia et Acta Orientalia* 5-6 (1967).

Having thus briefly surveyed the various categories of Ottoman sources on the Balkan area in Ottoman times, let us now come back to my initial question: to what extent have scholars in the Balkan countries availed themselves of these sources? We have already partly answered this question by our references to a great number of publications in this field. The amount is impressive, but it is nevertheless small when measured against the possibilities inherent in the available source materials. In order to tackle this huge task a sufficient cadre of well-trained researchers is needed. Thus, in the long range the issue revolves around the question of training and sustained motivation. It is a question of university chairs, of research institutes, of scholarships, of job opportunities, and so on. I am not in a position to offer much information in this regard, although I can point to a few minor observations: 1) Bulgaria is, to my knowledge, the only Balkan country that has produced contemporary dictionaries both from and into Turkish — N. Vanchev *et. al.*, *Tursko-bălgarski rechnik* (Sofia, 1952) and N. Vanchev *et. al.*, *Bălgarsko-turski rechnik* (Sofia, 1961). 2) A teaching grammar in Croatian — Hazim Šabanović, *Grammatika turskog jezika, s vježbenicom, čitankom i rječnikom* (Sara-

jevo) — came out in 1944; reference grammars of Turkish exist in Bulgarian — Gălăb D. Gălăbov, *Grammatika na turskiya ezik, fonetika, morfologiya i sintaksis* (Sofia, 1949, 2nd ed., 1957) — and in Croatian — Fehim Bajraktarević: *Osnovi turske gramatike* (Beograd, 1962). 3) Comprehensive handbooks introducing into the study of Ottoman documents are available — apart from Hungarian: L. Fekete, *Bevezetés a török hodoltság diplomatikájába* (Budapest, 1926) — in Rumanian — M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana, studia şi album* (Bucureşti, 1958) — and in Bulgarian — Boris Nedkov, *Osmanoturska diplomatika i paleografia*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1966). 4) The only journal explicitly dedicated to Balkan-Ottoman history is the *Prilozi* (Revue de philologie orientale et d'histoire des peuples yougoslaves sous la domination turque) published by the Orijentalni Institut in Sarajevo since 1950. We have already mentioned the widely divergent state of the archives in the various centers. The libraries have suffered much through war and economic strictures. Collections of Islamic manuscripts exist in many towns, by far the richest being the one at the Gazi Husrev-Begova Library in Sarajevo (the first volume of its catalogue came out in 1963). To sum up my impressions I would say — similar to what I said concerning the publication of Ottoman source materials — there are considerable differences between the various countries. In several of them there are excellent beginnings with cadres of well-trained specialists; but a sustained and concerted effort will be necessary to cope with the task in its entire magnitude. Especially, more cooperation and coordination of the research activities among the Balkan states and a closer cooperation with Turkey seems to me a *sine qua non*. As a practical proposal I would suggest a joint institute of the academies of these countries in Istanbul backed by fellowships to scholars and students. The scholars of the Balkan countries are faced with a common issue; in order to tackle it they have to break down their isolation and have to join in a large, imaginative common effort.

Let me now briefly touch upon another aspect, the one expressed in the second part of the title of my paper, namely "Ottoman sources and the Balkans". By this I mean: to what extent and in what way does Turkish historiography take cognizance of the Balkan area as something more than a mere geographical entity? The Balkans as a political unit began, perhaps, with the 'Balkan pact' of 1934. Its existence as a historical and cultural area in its own rights is, of course, much older. It is reflected in the titles of the Revue internationale des Etudes Balkaniques, a collateral

to the pact, and of the various Balkan institutes, Balkan conferences, Balkan journals, etc. I would not dare to try to define this entity — to define a supranational entity is probably more difficult even than to define a nation — for the purpose of this discussion I will just assume that it exists.

The Turks entered the Balkans from Asia Minor. This process of entering should not be conceived as a one-time act: Asia Minor, already largely populated by Turks long before, was the ethnic reservoir from which a constant stream of immigrants penetrated the Balkan peninsula. This migration left a deep mark in the historical consciousness of the Ottomans: Anatolia remained in a way the old homeland of the Turks even after having been settled in other parts of the Empire for many generations and for many centuries. But it was on Balkan territory that the small border principality founded by Osman found its historical mission and developed into a vigorous, expanding empire with its specific organizational forms. Only after gaining this new stature did the house of Osman turn back to Anatolia and forcefully establish its power there. Hence, if Anatolia can be regarded as the homeland of the Turks in the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans can be regarded as the cradle of the Ottoman Empire itself. Turks have always been connected with these lands with strong emotional ties, and even today with the border of Turkey having receded to the very edge of the peninsula, the name of the Danube still has a familiar, almost nostalgic ring in their ears. This is why the slow but steady process of being severed from these lands was psychologically and emotionally so painful. The Balkans were an integral part of the world of the Ottomans. Turkish also has a name for the area, coinciding with the name of the Ottoman holdings in Europe, with which it was at one time roughly coextensive: *Rum-eli*, the 'Land of the Romans (or Rhomaeians)', a name inherited from the remnant of the Byzantine Empire in the corner around Constantinple, which the Turks found at their arrival in Europe. There is also the modern term *Balkan yarım adası* 'Balkan peninsula' or shortly *Balkanlar* 'the Balkans', taken from the Turkish name of the Haemus mountain range. Evidently, the modern concept of the Balkans as an area of symbiosis of several nations was not applicable at the height of the *pax ottomanica.*

Historical research in the Balkan states has been searching for the roots of the movements for independence in each area. It has unearthed information on disturbances of law and order, on the role of the church, and on the economical and political upward movement of certain classes in the population which led to a strengthening of local forces and

ultimately to their strife for independence. In retrospect, these initial developments can be regarded as a precursory phase of the modern Balkan reality. In viewing this burgeoning phase, can we perhaps ask: Did the Ottomans, or, more specifically, the Ottoman chroniclers of that period, not at least SENSE the arrival of a new era, of an era in which eventually self-government would be established in all parts of the peninsula? To ask this question is equal to denying it. Bands of outlaws were a common social phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire of the 17th and 18th centuries and the Ottoman administrator had no reason to connect them with the beginnings of a national upheaval. They occurred in Anatolia as much as in the European provinces if not more often, and their members and leaders in many cases, especially in the more dangerous cases, were Turks and not members of one of the minority groups. Consequently, the chronicles speak only indiscriminately of bandits and, when referring to the steps taken against them, of police actions.

In the 19th century such an attitude could no longer be maintained. The independence gained by the mountaineers in Montenegro, the Greek revolution, and the tenacious fight for independence by the Serbs forced the Ottomans into acknowledging the new realities. The will of the Christian nations of the Balkans for independence had now become quite visible, especially in the situations where an arrangement of semi-independence under a more or less fictitious Ottoman suzerainty preceded the formal declaration of independence. Under these new circumstances the Ottoman view had to change, but the dominant factor in it was now, in the eyes of contemporary Ottoman observers, the influence of the foreign powers which was seen behind these developments — France and England in Greece and Austria and Russia in the rest of the peninsula. The Russian priests were seen by them as infiltrating Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria in order to stir up the Orthodox population with their subversive propoganda, and every revolt, every revolutionary movement among the Christian population found diplomatic and, if necessary, military support with the foreign powers. Thus, Ottoman historians of the 19th century regarded the developments in the Balkans as popular movements, but as popular movements instigated and supported by foreign powers for the sake of their own egotistic motives of power politics. Turkish public opinion held that the newly independent Balkan states were mere puppets in the hands of the great powers, that they owed their very existence to their support and active protection. This concept long outlived the time when it was to some degree justified. It was shattered only as recently as the second decade of the 20th century by the results of the first Balkan war.

The Turkish revolution under Mustafa Kemal achieved a complete break with the past. The concept of the empire was thrown overboard and Turkish aspirations in the Balkans were trimmed down to the preservation of the small area in the southeastern corner; also the social concept of the empire as a multi-national organism had become a thing of the past. The new Turkish Republic, itself a successor state to the Empire like all the others, now could meet with its neighbors on the basis of equality; it could made peace with Greece and establish good-neighborly relations with all Balkan states. We have entered the era which led up to the Balkan pact of 1934, the era which recognized the concept of a family of independent Balkan states, and Turkey took its place mong them.

The answer to our question whether our modern concept of the Balkans can already be encountered in Ottoman historiography is therefore a clear "NO".

ALBERT B. LORD

THE EFFECT OF THE TURKISH CONQUEST ON BALKAN EPIC TRADITION

The Turkish conquest was instrumental in the transformation of a tradition of ballads, short narratives, and local feuding songs into epic poetry. Before the arrival of the Turks the ingredients were there, themselves the amalgam of at least two traditions, Slavic and Greek, stored up at the ancient crossroads between East and West. At the end of the 14th century among the Balkan peoples there was a very respectable tradition of ballads and short narrative songs, some telling of supernatural beings and others recalling ancient heroes, some of whom we no longer know. With the coming of the Turks, in the mountains of Bosnia, Hercegovina, northern Albania, and elsewhere in the peninsula, epic poetry lived again for a brief and final span in the Balkan peninsula.

This paper is in essence a study of the Moslem oral epic songs and their relationship to the Christian traditional songs in the Balkan peninsula. Oral traditional epic normally belongs to the dominant group. It is characteristically optimistic and its heroes are almost invariably victorious. It was, therefore, to be expected that the Slavs who were singing songs before the coming of Turkish rule and the culture it brought with it would continue to sing after its arrival, especially the group which became Moslem. Only now they would sing of Moslem heroes, of the Turkish Empire. Since it is almost axiomatic that protest songs lead only a precarious if noble existence in a totalitarian regime, if they exist at all, some might wonder not that the MOSLEM songs developed during the Turkish rule, but that CHRISTIAN songs continued to be sung, or even survived at all.

So much attention has been given to the anti-Turkish songs that it may seem a little hard to visualize oral epic and ballad in the Balkans before the arrival of the Turks. The songs of the *hajduks* and *klephts* have no substance or meaning without the Turks, and the Moslem coun-

terparts would not, of course, have existed without the *hajduk* songs. This whole genre depends on the Turks. The Kosovo 'cycle' is patently impossible without the Turks. In short, most of the historical or pseudo-historical oral narrative traditional songs are post-Turkish invasions. This is especially true of the Slavic Balkans, but it applies equally well to Greece, except that we can look further back in Greek tradition than we can in Slavic, namely to the events on the eastern borders of the Greek Empire in the early Middle Ages, which gave rise to the songs about Digenis Akritas.[1] These songs, as such, had practically disappeared by Turkish times, although their basic patterns remained. The songs of Digenis sung in the last century and to some extent even today have little if anything to do with the Digenis of the medieval ballads and epic.[2]

There was, nevertheless, a highly significant body of ballads and short narratives in oral tradition dealing with 'mythological' subjects. The term is generally used to indicate any songs concerned with non-historical people or with the supernatural. The category becomes a vague catch-all for those songs hard to classify in the more historical pigeon-holes. They have been somewhat downgraded as the interest in the historical rose to front rank. Yet I should like to suggest that they and not the historical songs are the central core of any oral narrative tradition, either ballad or epic, and that the historical songs are a later development. It is in just this respect, it seems to me, that the Moslem oral epic songs have been most valuable in the Balkans; for, I hope to show, they have preserved and developed some of the mythic patterns more elaborately than the Christian tradition, which turned its sights more and more to the *hajduk* and *klephtic* songs and hence to history. Although the Christian tradition did retain some of the mythic songs rather well, others were preserved with less and less enthusiasm, leaving aside more and more of the mythic elements. The richest of the mythic material in Christian tradition collected around the figures of Marko Kraljević among the Balkan Slavs and even Albanians, and to some extent also that of Miloš Obilić among the Serbs. Notable here are the songs of the slaying of dragons or dragon figures (in Greece attached to Digenis and Constantine) and of relations with female supernaturals such as the *vile* or *samodivi*. Here too belong the justly famous stories of human sacrifice required for building a bridge or other edifices (The Bridge of Arta type),

[1] See especially the Introduction to John Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites*, edited with an introduction, translation and commentary (Oxford, 1956).

[2] See for example Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greek Folk Poesy*, 2 vols. (Guilford, 1896), annotated translations from the whole cycle of Romaic folk-verse and folk-prose.

and some tales of unfaithful wives (as in "Banović Strahinja"). This kind of song one can rightly place at the core of Balkan oral ballad and epic tradition before the coming of the Turks. The 'mythological' narratives formed the main repertory of the singers, Slavic, Greek, Rumanian, or Albanian, at the moment when a group of them became Moslems and began the transformation of part of that repertory into something close to true epic. We should keep all this in mind as we examine a number of the aspects of Moslem oral epic in the Balkans.

First, looking at the geographical distribution of Moslem oral epic, we find it significant to note not only where it developed, but also where it did not develop, or, at least, where we do not know of its development. We find that it is, or was at one time, practiced from the Bihać area in northern Bosnia in an almost continuous region south to Janina in the Epirus. It seems to have shunned the Adriatic coast and thus to belong to the interior. I do not know of its practice east or north of Bosnia, but the Šandžak of Novi Pazar is still one of its strongholds. We do not seem to find it east of Albania in Yugoslav Macedonia or Bulgaria, in spite of the fact that there were and still are Moslems living in those regions, or in northern Greece east of the Epirus. We know that it has disappeared from some areas where it formerly not only existed but even flourished. Thus, while at the present time Moslem songs have vanished from central Montenegro (e.g. around Kolašin), we know that before 1912 Kolašin was famous for its singers, and the richness of the tradition in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was increased by the influx of singers from there. The Milman Parry Collection at Harvard contains a mine of information about the pre-Balkan Wars tradition in and around Kolašin. The gap in the continuity at the present time in Montenegro is, therefore, a comparatively recent thing. In Serbia north of the Sandžak there used to be Moslems, but I know of no evidence that they ever sang Moslem oral epic songs.

From Bihać to Gacko, however, the two traditions, Moslem and Christian, have lived side by side throughout the centuries, and this seems also to have been the case in northern Albania; but to the best of my knowledge, in the Epirus, as in Montenegro, the Moslem tradition disappeared with the passing of Turkish rule there. Austria was more tolerant, it would seem, than Montenegro, and hence the Moslems were able to keep their songs and their culture, as they did also in northern Albania. Yugoslavia, although at times discouraging Moslem singing, has also on the whole been tolerant of the old Moslem traditional epics, and so the Moslem singing continued after World War I not only in

former Austrian territory but also in the areas that were previously part of the Turkish Empire, specifically in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar. The geographical distribution of Moslem oral epic in the Balkans is thus a reflection of historical realities.

It is to be noted that this same area I have delineated as the area of Moslem songs is also that of the one-stringed bowed instrument known as the *gusle*. Or, at any rate, it is its area in the Balkans, because the *gusle* or a very similar instrument is found also in central Asia and in sub-Sahara Africa, and perhaps in other regions of which I have no reports. Epic poetry in the Balkans is sung to the accompaniment of three different musical instruments, none of which is, I believe, native there. It is also sung without accompaniment. The instruments are the *gusle*, known under the name of *lahuta* in northern Albania, the *tambura* in northern Bosnia, which is the same as the *çifteli* in northern Albania, namely a plucked instrument with two metal strings, and the *g'dulka* in Bulgaria, called the *ćemane* in parts of eastern Yugoslav Macedonia, and the *lira* in Greece.

The regions where the *g'dulka* (*ćemane, lira*) are used are also the areas in which narrative songs can be unaccompanied and where women as well as men sing them. Unaccompanied singing belongs to both men and women. Whereas the men sometimes use the *g'dulka*, the women seem never to use instrumental accompaniment. With the exception of the Epirus (and my knowledge here is not very certain) these are also areas in which there were no Moslem songs recorded. These are regions, too, where the songs are strophic in form, as compared to the stichic technique of the *gusle* tradition. One should point out as well that the *lira*, unaccompanied singing, and women singers are, or were, to be found on the Dalmatian coast and the islands of the Adriatic. In the 16th century we have the invaluable evidence of Petar Hektorović of Hvar in his *Ribanje* of unaccompanied singing in the 'Serbian manner' (*sarbskim načinьm*).[3] And the *Matica hrvatska* has published some very good songs from women singers from the islands.[4] In these areas were to be found refugees from the southeast. Finally, in Vuk Karadžić's day there were women singers in northern Serbia,[5] where, once again were to be found

[3] Petar Hektorović, *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, with an introduction by Ramiro Bujas (Zagreb: Jadranski institut Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1951), line 519.

[4] For example *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*, Vol. II, Nos. 19 and 20, "Ženidba Marka Kraljevića", from Anica Begin of Luka on the island of Šipan. Her songs are in the collection of Glavić Baldo Melkov.

[5] For example the blind Stefanija in Srem, but born in Serbia, four of whose songs he

people who had come at an earlier period from the south. In other words, the Moslem tradition of epic singing is surrounded by a markedly different, though clearly related, tradition of singing epic or, at any rate, narrative songs. There may be no connection between the type of singing tradition and the religious faith of the singers or the content of the songs. It may be only chance that where Moslem epic songs live, and perhaps have lived, men singers, the *gusle*, and a stichic arrangement of lines of ten or eleven syllables are characteristic; whereas, where the *g'dulka* type of instrument exists, or where there is unaccompanied singing, or where women as well as men sing, there is not, and perhaps never was, any Moslem oral epic tradition.

It is a curious fact that, while the *gusle* is the chief instrument for epic accompaniment in the Moslem epic area, and in the formerly Moslem area of Montenegro, from Bihać to Tiranë, another instrument, the *tambura*, makes its appearance in the northern and southern parts of that area, but nowhere else, that is to say, in northern Bosnia and northern Albania. It is to be noted also that the *tambura* is (or was) used exclusively by the Moslems in northern Bosnia, but it is used in northern Albania (or was in the late thirties) by the Christians and only for the short songs in eight syllables about more recent historical events. Whatever the case for the Albanian *çifteli* may be, it is demonstrable by formula study that the *tambura* in northern Bosnia is later than the *gusle* and that it has not been there long enough to remake the formula structure of the first half of the line to its own image. In spite of the intrusion of the *tambura*, the *gusle* is the typical instrument of Moslem oral epic song.[6]

I	II
gusle	*g'dulka, lira, ćemane,* unaccompanied
stichic	strophic
men singers	men and women singers
sometimes long	usually short
Moslem and Christian	Christian
(epic)	(ballad)

published (see the introduction to *Srpske narodne pjesme*, Vol. IV [Belgrade, 1958], p. xxi), or blind Živana who lived in Zemun, but was born in Serbia and had even been in Bulgaria, six of whose songs he published (*Ibid.* p. xviii).

[6] For another opinion see Alois Schmaus, *Studije o krajinskoj epici* (Zagreb, 1953).

There are in reality not many collections of Moslem songs from this whole area,[7] as compared to the number of collections of Christian songs, but they are of excellent quality. The oldest collection of Moslem songs that I know of is that of Vuk Vrčević, which still remains unpublished in the archives of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Belgrade. The perface bears the date of March 1869, in Trebinje, Hercegovina. It contains thirty-seven songs. Next in time are the two volumes published in 1888 and 1889 by Kosta Hörmann in Sarajevo, containing seventy-five songs in all. In 1966 fifteen more songs from Hörmann's unpublished manuscripts were edited with introduction and notes by Djenana Butorović and published by the *Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu*, thus bringing the published material from Hörmann's collection to ninety songs. Hörmann's first two volumes are the only ones of Moslem songs to have reached more than one edition; for they were given a second edition in 1933. In 1898 and 1899 the *Matica hrvatska* published two volumes of songs from the amazingly fine collection of Luka Marjanović made between 1886-1888; fifty songs were published in all, but 240 songs remain still unpublished in the manuscripts which are now in the archives of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb. A splendid collection of twenty-three Moslem songs was made by Jovan Perović, a lawyer in Vienna, and acquired by the Serbian Academy in Belgrade in 1930, but it remains unpublished.

To the best of my knowledge, the most recent collection containing a large number of Moslem oral epic songs is the Milman Parry Collection at Harvard, begun by Professor Parry in 1933 and continued after his death in 1935 by myself and, since 1962, Professor David E. Bynum of Harvard. It now has approximately 1500 epic songs, both Moslem and Christian, collected between 1933 and 1967, and many thousands of lyric songs. In 1954, thirty-two songs, all from Moslem singers from Novi Pazar were published. Recently the Parry Collection has been enlarged by the addition of microfilms of the most important parts of the archive collections of the Serbian Academy in Belgrade and the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb. These microfilms include all the Moslem collections in those archives and many, if not most, of the Christian collections as well. In 1937 I collected some one hundred epic texts in northern Albania, many of them Moslem, and these are now in the Parry Collection. We have, therefore, at Harvard at the present time the largest collection of published and unpublished Balkan Moslem oral epic in

[7] See also Schmaus' survey of the collections and studies, *op. cit.*, pp. 103ff.

existence. Only the unpublished materials in Sarajevo and in Albania are lacking. (The Parry Collection has also recently been greatly enriched by the acquisition of the James A. Notopoulos Collection of Greek oral poetry from 1953-1954, but none of that material is, of course, Moslem. I also added, with the help of the Bulgarian Academy, some Bulgarian songs in 1958 and 1959, but none Moslem.)

The major published collections of Moslem oral epic songs, therefore, are three, Hörmann, Marjanović, and Parry, covering songs recorded from the 1880's to the present. It should be noted that none of these collections as published is a 'popular' one, but that they are all learned publications intended for the scholarly world. Their contents trickled only slowly back to the people, if at all. Some small paperbacks of two or three songs, usually from Hörmann's collection, were spread in the thirties into the villages. One of these is notable: it is a *jekavski* version of the *ikavski* text of the song of Smailagić Meho, published by Friedrich S. Krauss in Dubrovnik in 1886 under the title *Smailagić Meho, pjesan naših Muhamedovaca.* This may be the first published Moslem oral epic in the Balkans. Behind each of the three major collections is a varying number of still unpublished manuscripts, and in the archives yet others, most of which I have had an opportunity to see.

Beneath this pyramid of published and unpublished collections lie the countless songs of the tradition going back in time possibly to the 15th, probably to the 16th, and certainly to the 17th century. If this dating be true, then behind our collections stretches a period of perhaps three hundred years during which the Moslem songs, as such, came into being and reached a height of great development.

The Moslem songs have not been extensively studied. The collections, especially that of Marjanović, have useful introductions. Two monographs should be mentioned, that of Alois Schmaus for the Bosnian epic (*Studije o krajinskoj epici*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb, 1953), and Stavro Skendi's for the Albanian epic (*Albanian and South Slavic Oral Epic Poetry*, Memoir of the American Folklore Society, No. 44, 1954). Schmaus's splendid work distinguishes the songs of the northern Bosnian border from those sung by the Moslem population of the southern districts, which he designates as the "Hercegovinian type", and he studies the structure of the songs of the north. He traces their spread into the southern areas and very interestingly observes the influence of the highly developed structure of the songs of the Krajina even on the Christian songs in those regions where the two traditions coexisted. Although I have collected, both in 1935 and in 1964, in the

Krajina and know the material there, the remarks in this paper are based on songs from the southern areas as well and possibly even more than on those from the north, which was covered so well by Schmaus. What I have to say should be looked upon as complementary to Schmaus's analyses and comments.

Schmaus divides the Christian epic into that of the "Dinaric zone" and that of the "peripheral zone". In the latter he includes Macedonia, western Bulgaria, Srem, Slavonia, and parts of Croatia and Dalmatia (pages 94-95). He says that in the "peripheral zone" the epic quickly degenerates (*opada*), becoming the property of blind singers and women, and abandoning the creation of new songs. If his implication is that the songs and singing tradition on the periphery are degenerate forms of the same tradition that one finds in the center, in what he calls the "Dinaric zone", I believe I must reluctantly take exception to his statement, or at least suggest a modification of it. In view of what I have said earlier about geographic distribution, it seems to me rather that one has on the 'periphery' in the south, i.e. in Macedonia and western Bulgaria, either simply an extension of the area of the ballads (Schmaus lists — p. 94 — the Bulgarian *hajduk* ballads, the Greek *klephtic* songs, and the short Albanian songs on more recent events) or a transitional region in which the two traditions, that of ballad and that of epic, or that of *g'dulka'* and that of *'gusle'*, meet and mingle. On the northern and western peripheries, however, it seems to me one meets with transplants of the 'balladic' or *'g'dulka'* tradition, because of the movements of people at the time of the Turkish invasions, from south and east to those regions, and perhaps then a mingling of the two traditions.

One way of approaching the problem of the effect of the Turkish invasions on the oral epic of the Balkans would be to eliminate all the Turkish elements from it and to observe what remains, or, perhaps better, to observe what one has put aside. On the level of vocabulary and formula one could thus take away all the words in the formulas, and all the formulas, that are of Turkish origin. *At* 'stallion', and its compounds, *dorat* 'chestnut', *djogat* 'white horse', *alat* 'sorrel', would go, as would the 'Bedouin mare' *bedevija.* The horses that would remain would be *zelenko* 'gray', *vranac* 'black', *malin* 'strawberry roan', and *šarac* 'piebald'. Only one of the Turkish words for horse listed above has an equivalent in Slavic; *djogat* 'white horse' is equivalent to *labud* 'swan white'. In the Moslem songs the 'white horse' *djogat* is primarily that of Mujo of Kladuša, and he is clearly a very special, magic horse. The *djogat* is to

Mujo what *Šarac*, the piebald, is to Marko Kraljević. Mujo's horse is never *labud* 'swan white'.

Many elements in horse culture are expressed in Turkish words, suggesting that while horses may have been important in the epics before the arrival of the Turks, they grew in importance and in richness of description afterwards. For example, *sedlo* 'saddle' remains in use, but its adornments are Turkish. A particular form of stirrup, which is also a spur, *bakračlija*, makes its appearance. Actually, *stremen* 'stirrup' has a Turkish counterpart in *uzendjija*, which becomes much more frequent in the poetry than *stremen*, perhaps because it fits more easily than the two-syllable noun without an epithet into the metrical context. Other ornaments can be added to this list, but the principle is clear; in the description of horses and of equine equipment the Slavic epic was greatly enriched by the Turkish invasion. I presume that not only the words but also the articles themselves, when there are not doublets, came into the Slavic Balkans at the same time.

There are a number of words concerned with houses, their architecture and their furnishings, which are also of Turkish origin. One thinks of *ćošak* 'corner, drawing room', *čardak* 'porch, villa', *kula* 'tower', *kapija* 'gate', *avlija* 'courtyard', *merdiven* 'steps', *minderluk* 'dais, couch', *pendžer* 'window', *džam* 'glass', *odaja* 'room', *šikli odaja* 'a beautifully decorated room', and so forth. In the area of governmental administration and social hierarchy it is not surprising that innovation in vocabulary was widespread, as these were represented in the epic poetry. *Sultan* joined *car* for the top post, and matching *kralj* 'king', and *knjaz* 'prince', on the Christian side, for an older period of foreign governments, one finds the whole apparatus of *vezir* 'vizier', *paša* 'pasha', *aga* 'agha', *spahija* 'spahi', *beg* 'bey', *beglerbeg* 'bey of beys', *dizdar* 'fortress captain', and so forth. The list here is very long. Many people of differing social status would be included: *kmet* 'village chief', *tefterdar* 'secretary', *kahvedžija* 'coffee server', *kiridžija* 'caravan driver', *surudžija* 'outrider', and *ćehaja* 'representative of the vizier or pasha'. The whole world of Turkish administration and social structure was reflected in the Turkish words that the metrical formulas of the epic poetry absorbed.

Closely related here were the lexical units from the religious world, from Islam. The Moslem religious hierarchy is represented in the poetry, from *šeh ul islam* 'the high pontiff of Islam' to the *hadžija* 'pilgrim', *hodža* 'priest', *mula* 'religious teacher', and the *mujezin* 'the one who gives the call to prayer from the minaret'. The angels were joined by houries, *hurije*, and the *manastir* 'monastery', and *crkva* 'church', by *džamija*

'mosque'. To the liturgy, *liturgija*, and prayer, *molitva*, were added *sabah* 'dawn', 'the first call to prayer' (and it was combined with the Slavic *zora* 'dawn' to form a metrically useful formula *sabah zora*), *ićindija* 'the third call to prayer', *akšam* 'nightfall' (for which Serbo-Croatian seems to have no simple equivalent but used *prvi mrak* 'first dark' or *zalac sunca* 'sunset') and *jacija* 'the fifth call to prayer'. *Molitva* 'prayer' and *moliti* 'to pray' have their counterparts in the frequently used *dova* and *dovu učiniti* 'to make a prayer, to pray'.

This last expression is an example of an interesting series of half calque formulas composed of a Turkish word plus a Slavic translation of another Turkish word. The Turkish idiom consists of a noun such as *dova* 'prayer', above, plus the verb *etmek* 'to do or make'. The epic formula keeps the noun and translates the verb, in the proper person, number, and tense. Thus one has *juriš učinio* 'he attacked', or *surgun učinio* 'he exiled'. These formulas are very helpful in the verse, because they provide a six syllable formula for a Slavic four syllable one; for example, *juriš učinio*, instead of *udario*. The formula repertory was enriched and made more flexible by many of these doublets of Turkish words and expressions. Although the effect may have been most marked in the Moslem songs, it was also very considerable as well in the Christian poetry. The formulas became the property of the singers of both faiths, if they wished to use them. The epic formulas were thus adapted to reflect the cultural, social, religious, and political reality of their times. They grew in numbers and the epic style was enriched.

The enrichment was in more than vocabulary, however. Much of the ceremonial elegance and brilliance of the Balkan epic seems to have entered with the Turkish Moslem culture. For example, in the Christian poetry and still maintained by the less ornate practitioners of the Moslem songs, messages are sent by simply saying, as in Vuk Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme*, Volume III, No. 46, "Kostreš harambaša": "Knjigy piše care od Stambola,/ te je šalje ka turskoj Udbinji/ na Turčina od Udbinje Zula" ('The sultan in Stambol writes a letter / and sends it to Turkish Udbina/ to the Turk Zula of Udbina'). In many of the Moslem songs the writing becomes more of a ceremony, and the elaboration entails a number of Turkish words, indicating that it is closely connected with Turkish culture. Thus the writer calls his *ćatip* 'scribe', or, if he be a higher official, his *ćatib-baša* (*ćatibaša*) 'chief scribe', and he in turn takes *divit i hartija* 'writing desk and paper' (the first word is Arabic and the second Greek, but both probably stem from Byzantium-Stambol), and he puts *jazija* 'writing' (from Turkish *jazmak* 'to write') on the empty

paper. If the writer is the sultan the ceremony of the sending is increased. He seeks a Tartar messenger, whose name is frequently given, and the Tartar takes *menzilske konje*, or simply *menzile* 'post horses', and the departure and journey is punctuated by *tatar vrisnu, surudžija pisnu* 'the Tartar shouted, the outrider sounded'. The letter itself may be not only a *knjiga* but also a *burjruntija* 'decree', a *ferman* 'firman', a *katal ferman* 'a decree of execution', or (from others than the sultan) a *mahzar* 'petition'. The letter is written with ceremony, carried with ceremony, and received with ceremony. The continuity is apparent. Messages were sent in writing before the Turkish invasions and continued to be so sent afterwards as well. The change is in the elaboration and ritual ceremoniousness of the telling, which in turn reflects a reality of Turkish culture. The words may have been Persian or Arabic in origin, and the ceremony may owe much to the richness of Byzantium, but certainly they entered the Balkans first in Turkish dress. One could add numerous examples of this kind of expansion so common in the Moslem songs and sometimes imitated or borrowed in the Christian poems. It contributed greatly to the sense of epic breadth in the Moslem songs and in the Christian songs when it is used.

Two passages of elaborate description from Avdo Medjedović's 12,311 line version of "Smailagić Meho" (Parry text No. 6840) will illustrate my point. The first (lines 783-837) describes, in the words of the hero's uncle, the horse sent to young Meho by the sultan; the second (lines 1579-1676) tells part of the dressing of the hero by his mother.

"When your thirteenth year came, my son, the imperial chamberlain arrived from the halls of Sultan Sulejman, bringing an Egyptian chestnut horse for you, one which had been bought from the shah of Egypt. Golden-winged, its mane reached to its hoofs. Then a two-year-old, it was like a horse of seven. The trappings were fashioned in Afghanistan especially for the brown horse when it grew up. The saddle was all of coral; the upper part woven of pure 'fined gold. Beneath the saddle an Osmanli cloth, not like any other, my son, but of Syrian damask silk, that it should not chafe the horse's back. The saddle of gold, [800] the trappings of gold. On the Egyptian chestnut horse next to his skin are silken girths, soft silk that they may not chafe his flesh. The upper part of them is ornamented with pearl. If God grants, my son, you shall see them when you become the alajbey of the Border. It is now nineteen years, my dear son, since that day when you were born, and today is the ninth year since the brown horse with its trappings came to you as a gift. Whatever the sultan could think of by way of trappings for the steed was prepared for him. We hid the horse from you and made a separate stable for him. There is no other horse with him. Two servants are in the stable and four torches burn the whole night long beside your horse. They exercise him within the

stable. Every twenty-four hours they rub him down four times, not like any other horse, but with a scarf of silk. The horse has been so well cared for that he has seen neither sun nor moon, my dear son, for nine years. Were one to lift the blankets from the horse, the rounded rump is so well formed, the hair, combed so carefully, so very short that were a black fly to light upon it, no sooner would it alight than it would fall from the horse. The horse is waiting for you, Mehmed, when you become alajbey and lead the emperor's armies and captains."

The lady rose and offered up thanks. In her heart she was thinking of something else; that, perhaps, Smailagha wished to marry off her son and was preparing him to go courting. His mother could scarcely wait for that day to come when she would see a daughter-in-law at her son's side. Then she took her son's clothes, which were like a pasha's, and opened the gold-adorned hamper. From it she took a bundle of silk embroidered with gold. It was not tied with knots but had been pierced by golden pins. She untied the golden bundle, and garments of gold poured forth — may God be praised — it was as if the sun shone. First of all his mother put upon him linen of finest silk cloth. Every third thread in it was of gold. Then she gave to him a silken vest, [1600] all embroidered with pure gold. Down the front of the vest were buttons fashioned of gold pieces which reached to his silk belt. There were twelve of them, and each contained half a litre of gold. The button at his throat shone even as the moon and in it was a full litre of gold. The vest had a gold embroidered collar whose two wings were fastened by the button. At the right side of the collar above the button was the likeness of Sulejman the Magnificent and on the other that of the imperial pontiff of Islam. Then she gave his breastplate. It was not of silver but of pure gold and weighed full four oke. On his back she fastened it with a buckle. She put on him his silken breeches, which had been made in Damascus, all embroidered in gold, with serpents pictured upon his thighs, their golden heads meeting beneath his belt and beneath the thong by which his sword was hung. Then she girded on him two Tripolitan sashes and his braided belt of arms, which was not like other belts of arms, but braided of golden threads and embroidered with white pearls. Therein were his two small Venetian pistols forged of pure gold; the sights were diamonds and pure pearls. They shone even as the moon. Both pistols fire without flint and take a full litre of powder, breaking fierce armor and burning the hearts of heroes. Between them was a two-edged sword which severs heroes' hearts. Its whole scabbard was decorated with pearls, and its hilt was forged in gold. Upon his shoulders was a silken cloak, its two corners heavy with gold. Gilded branches were embroidered round about and upon his shoulders were snakes whose heads met beneath his throat. Down the front hung four cords, [1650] braided of 'fined gold, all four reaching to his belt of arms and mingling with his sword-thong which held his fierce Persian blade.

Then with an ivory comb his mother combed out the sheaf-like queue and bound it with pearl. She put on him a cap of fur with its twelve plumes, which no one could wear, neither vizier nor imperial field marshal nor minister nor any other pasha save only the alajbey under the sultan's firman. Upon his head waved the plumes, and the golden feathers fell over his forehead. The imperial plumes were made after two fashions, half of them were stationary

and half mobile. Whenever he rode or marched, the stationary plumes hissed like angry serpents, and the moving plumes revolved. The hero needed no watch for the plumes revolved three or four times an hour.

Among the results of added ornamentation and detailed development of themes is perhaps the most obvious and striking characteristic of the Moslem songs, namely, their length. On the average they are considerably longer than the Christian. But this is a general statement; there are some exceptions. First, the Moslem raiding songs of the same local scope as the *hajduk* tradition, indeed, the other side of the coin, are short, of approximately the same length as the Christian songs of *hajduks*. It seems that in this kind of song the two traditions vary little either in length or content. Second, there are some Christian songs that are the same length or longer than some Moslem songs. For example, in the first volume of the Hörmann collection there are only three out of thirty-nine songs that are longer than the "Ženidba Maksima Crnojevića" 'The Wedding of Maksim Crnojević' in Vuk II, and there is one other that is only twelve lines shorter (No. XXVI, "Mustajbeg lički izbavlja svoga brata" 'Mustajbey of the Lika Rescues his Brother', 1214 lines compared to the 1226 lines of "Maksim Crnojević"). But "The Wedding of Maksim Crnojević" is one of a comparatively small number of exceptions. Moslem songs can frequently reach two to four thousand lines, and Christian songs do not reach that length. "Smailagić Meho" of which I spoke earlier as perhaps the first published Moslem song is 2,160 lines, and the longest version of it in the Parry Collection has over 12,000 lines.

As I said earlier, it seems to me that the core of an oral epic tradition consists of songs based on mythic patterns rather than on history. One of the most significant contributions of the Moslem oral epic songs to Balkan culture is its development of several of the oldest and most widespread mythic patterns to truly epic proportions. "The Wedding of Smailagić Meho" develops the mythic pattern of the coming of age and assuming of power of the young hero. In ancient Greece it is paralleled by the story of Telemachus in Homer's *Odyssey* on the heroic level and by the assumption of power by Zeus in Hesiod's *Theogony* on the mythic level itself. In Middle Greek it is to be found in the epic of *Digenis Akritas*. I know of no Christian oral epic in the Balkans that has developed this theme to the degree attained by "The Wedding of Smailagić Meho", especially in the long version of Avdo Medjedović. The revolt of youth against its parents is beautifully portrayed, and the investiture of young Meho with the command of the Border as well as his acquiring a

bride are related at great length and with consummate skill.

Mythic patterns are the basic structural frame of stories about supernatural beings, usually called gods. Since the stories were associated with ritual and ceremony and were probably themselves intended to fulfill magical functions, they and their patterns had a significance beyond that of fantastic entertainment or even history, although one might think of them as spiritual history or a kind of supra-history. As religions change and one set of gods or supernaturals replaces another, the supernatural elements shift, men and women take the place of the gods, who are no longer worshipped, and an outward aspect of history appears. But beneath a pseudo-historical dress the skeleton of mythic pattern persists, for some sense of its significance still clings to it, keeping its parts together.

Of these mythic patterns one of the most clearly discernible and most studied is the vegetation pattern of death and resurrection, the dying god who returns. There are many variations of it but the main outlines are not hard to see. The god or hero disappears for a relatively long period of time and is seemingly dead, but eventually he returns, or is sought after and brought back. During his absence there has been devastation, but upon his re-establishment, which is performed ceremonially, order is restored, prosperity returns, and frequently he re-marries. I have expressed this in terms of a vegetation myth, because it seems to me that that fits best most of the examples of the pattern, and provides at least typical significance. It is the pattern PLUS SIGNIFICANCE, whatever that significance may be, that is essential to my argument, or to this view of a central core of stories in Balkan epic song and elsewhere.

Songs which tell of the return of the hero after long absence to find his wife about to marry again, the central theme of Homer's *Odyssey*, are very common in Balkan oral epic and especially well developed in the Moslem tradition. Two songs in the Vuk collection, both very famous, come immediately to mind: "Marko Kraljević i Mina od Kostura" (Vuk II, No. 61, 336 lines) and "Ropstvo Jankovića Stojana" (Vuk II, No. 25, 151 lines); the first concerns an evil suitor and the second an innocent suitor, but the wife is faithful in both. Both of these songs in Vuk are from unknown singers, that is to say we do not have any information as to who the singer was. It is immediately apparent that both of these songs are quite short. The greater length of "Marko i Mina" is in part due to the fact that it is really two songs in one, namely Marko's fighting with the Arabs, his withdrawal and eventual return to the fighting — all included in the midst of the return song proper, if I may

use that term. In the second volume of the Parry Collection, giving songs from Moslem singers in Novi Pazar, there are five clear return songs. The variety in length is great, from 684 lines to 1480, but it is clear that the Moslem songs are longer, even in the Novi Pazar tradition in 1934, than the Christian tradition in Vuk's day, a hundred years or more earlier, when the Christian tradition was at its height. In Appendix III of the *Singer of Tales*[8] I have analyzed twelve other return songs from the Parry Collection, eleven of which are from Moslem singers and one from a Christian singer, who, as a matter of fact, however, is singing a Moslem return song. To them should be added the "Ropstvo Jankovića Stojana" sung by Ćamil Kulenović in Bihać (he was from Kulen Vakuf), a Moslem singer singing a Christian return song. Our material is, therefore, more abundant on the Moslem side than on the Christian. There may be more Moslem return songs than Christian. In what follows I shall undertake to compare a Moslem return song with a Christian one.

Our models for analysis of the Christian songs is the "Ropstvo Jankovića Stojana" in Vuk III, and for the Moslem songs the "Ropstvo Đulić Ibrahima" in Parry I and II, the longest text sung by Salih Ugljanin. In both these songs we are told that the hero was captured soon after his wedding, Stojan a week afterward, and Ibrahim on his wedding night. It seems also that they both have a companion or companions: with Stojan is Smiljanić Ilija, and with Ibrahim are thirty Turks. When the hero is Velagić Selim, he frequently has a blood brother with him in prison, Alagić Alija. On the level of narrative technique, we can remark at this point that in the Moslem poem we are advised of the background by flashback, whereas in the Christian poem the telling is direct by the singer himself.

Ibrahim and his companions are in prison, but Stojan and Ilija were converted to Islam and given palaces. The Christians, therefore, do not escape, but actually run away, having first stolen the keys to the treasury and the stables, timing their departure to coincide with Friday, when the Turks are in the mosque. Since there is no indication in the poem of ill treatment or any news of troubles at home, Stojan's and Ilija's running away is left without any motivation. By line 35 they are back home! Contrast the Moslem song. Uskok Radovan is captured and put into prison in Zadar. There he finds Ibrahim and Turks, and in an almost ritualistic question and answer scene, Radovan tells Ibrahim what has happened at home during his long absence, including the fact that his

[8] A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 242ff.

wife is about to marry Halil Hrnjica. Ibrahim screams in prison, attracts the attention of the ban's wife, through whose intervention Ibrahim is freed to return home, provided he bring back with him the bridegroom-to-be Halil. Ibrahim is bathed, shaved, and fed, then sent home, and after adventures with border guards, finally arrives at his gate. This has occupied 510 lines!

Let us now look at the opening of our two songs from the point of view of mythic pattern. The hero is captured in both, but in one story he becomes a member of his captor's society, whereas in the other he does not; he is, rather, cast into prison. The idea of buried-yet-not-dead persists symbolically in the Moslem story more clearly than in the Christian song, because complete incorporation into the world of the dead is impossible in the myth of return. The really dead cannot come back. Moreover, in the story which dealt with supernaturals, the actual death of the immortal god was impossible. He could only retire or withdraw; he could not die, by definition.

Two highly significant elements are kept in both songs at this point. The hero was newly wed, and his absence was of a certain length. The seasonal element in the length of absence is too obvious to need much explanation. The number of years — which should, of course, be translated into months — is twelve, nine, twenty, twenty-four; these represent an annual event, or the period of gestation of the human, or a play on words between "*dvanaest*" and "*dvadeset*", or a doubling of twelve. In essence the sense is a long time, long enough for the purposes of the particular form of the myth which is operative. The essential idea of the newlywed hero is sexual. Combined here are elements of fertility and death. A parallel in harvest ritual comes to mind. The last sheaf of corn is buried in the earth, to represent both burial of the dead and burial of life-bringing seed. It is interesting that, whereas the Christian song of Janković Stojan had forgotten the burial symbolism, the life symbolism was kept. Yet it should be pointed out that in neither of these two examples is this element carried to its proper and logical conclusion, namely the son who should be waiting at home for his father's return, or who might have been captured during his father's absence and therefore needed to be rescued. It is found in other Moslem variants (e.g. the Return of Ćetić Osmanbeg),[9] but I do not recall any Christian examples.

[9] *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs*, Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord (Cambridge and Belgrade: Harvard University Press and Serbian Academy of Sciences), Vol. I (1954)

The loss of the prison symbolism in the Christian song has deprived the story of the motivation for the hero's running away, in spite of the fact that he had become a Moslem and been given a palace. It has also deprived the Christian song of the elaborate recalling of the hero from the dead. This is done in the Moslem song by means of a messenger (Radovan), a ritual questioning, the intervention of a female who is closely associated with the king of the underworld (if I may so express myself), bargaining as to conditions, and partial, but not complete revivification, enough to get home on. All this is followed by the journey across the border, back to the warm land of the living and to kin and wife. This is told at some length in the Moslem song and is preserved in more or less great detail in all the variants. The messenger's information triggers the rest of the action, and that information is of devastation at home that needs attention.

One of the famous ancient representatives of derivatives of this myth is, of course, the *Odyssey* of Homer, and it might be useful to identify, where we can, some of the mythic figures in that song. Clearly Hermes is the messenger who brings to the weeping Odysseus, or to his captor or detainer, the news that begins his release. Hermes as messenger of the gods, and more significantly here as psychopomp, is the obvious person for the task, since he goes regularly between the worlds of the living and of the dead. So, indeed, is Uskok Radovan, who as a renegade is a professional border-jumper. The female intervener at this point in the *Odyssey* is Athena, who stands as favorite daughter in a special relationship to Zeus, whose will is paramount. I am afraid we must call Calypso Odysseus' jailer! The ban's wife in Stojan's poem plays the role of the female intervener extremely well in Đulić Ibrahim's case. Thus many of the details of the Moslem song fall into meaningful places in the mythic pattern with great ease, but they are missing in Stojan's story. The *car* and the *carica* are in Stojan's song, to be sure, and, perhaps, without the mythic pattern the sultan would have found himself alone; and doors are unlocked by keys, perhaps symbolizing vestigially the dungeon doors. But there is no messenger, there is no ritual bargaining for release, and the horses and means of return are stolen rather than provided by the captor, as in the other cases. In this opening of the return song the Moslem story is closer to the mythic pattern than the Christian tale.

Although one may look in vain for the wanderings of an Odysseus in

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and Vol. II (1953), No. 32. The son is also present in No. 20, "Sultan Sulejman Captures Budapest".

the return journey itself of the later Balkan hero, only in the Moslem song is some sort of journeying related. Some point is made in it of passing the border, of recognition at the border, of a struggle averted or won.

When, however, the hero reaches home and the problem of recognition is faced, the two traditions are a little closer together. If the rites of recalling from the dead have become lost in the Christian tradition, the rites of incorporation into the land of the living after the border has been passed have survived in greater detail in both the Christian and the Moslem traditions. Yet we should note that the Moslem song is much fuller in this section as well. In *The Singer of Tales* I have discussed in some detail this section of the return song in the Moslem variants and in comparison with the *Odyssey*,[10] but did not comment on the differences between the Moslem and Christian traditions among the South Slavs. The "Ropstvo Jankovića Stojana" is rather simple in its scenes of recognition. After saying goodbye to his friend Ilija, Stojan arrives at his own vineyard where he finds his mother and asks her if she has nobody to help her in her old age. She tells him about Stojan's captivity and about her daughter-in-law's coming remarriage. Stojan, without a word goes to his house where he finds the wedding guests, who receive him well. When he has had a drink, he asks permission to sing, and he sings the little song about the swallow which had built its nest for nine years and this morning was beginning to 'unbuild' it. But a falcon has come from the city of the sultan to stop her from destroying her nest. The wedding guests did not understand the point of the song, but Stojan's wife did. She ran to her sister-in-law and told her that her brother had returned. The sister went to see him, and, when she saw, she kissed him and wept. The wedding guests asked what was to happen to them and all the money they had spent for the wedding; Stojan gave them his sister and many gifts, and they departed. In the evening Stojan's mother returned and Stojan's wife went out to meet her and told her that her son had returned. When the old mother saw her son, she died, and they buried her gloriously.

As in the earlier part of the song, the Christian version here has kept some essential elements. For example, someone must die at the time of recognition. In South Slavic, both Moslem and Christian, it is usually the hero's mother. There is thus a kind of exchange of the living for the returned dead. (In the *Odyssey* it is Odysseus' dog who dies! Odysseus'

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 169ff.

mother is already dead; he had met her in the underworld.) In the Moslem songs an animal is among those who recognize the returning master, often, indeed, the first to do so; the animal is generally the hero's horse, but may be his dog or dogs. Animals are often thought to have a sixth sense about living and dead people; they are aware of ghosts, even when humans are not. I suspect that the animal recognition is basically connected with the question of whether the returning hero is alive or dead. One sees something of this in the reaction of the dogs of Eumaeus in the *Odyssey*. When Athena appears to Odysseus only he and the dogs can see her in her beauty and full height, and at the sight of her the dogs did not bark "but cowered away, whimpering, to the other side of the shelter" (Book XVI, line 163, translated by Richmond Lattimore).

The mother in Stojan's tale plays more than one role, as a matter of fact. She is also the faithful retainer (Eumaeus and Eurycleia in the *Odyssey*) who is in many of the Moslem songs, as exemplified in Đulić Ibrahim's story, the first to meet the returning hero. But what is notably lacking in Stojan's story is the very characteristic element of the deceptive story, characteristic because it too is concerned with the problem of the hero's identity, of his being of the world of the dead or of that of the living. Another missing element of importance in the Christian song is the competition, the games in which the hero engages with the wedding guests. Here too is a part of the story that shows the identity and the vitality of the hero, and is part of the remarriage theme with its testing of the bridegroom.

In short throughout the two songs it is noticeable that the Moslem tradition has preserved and developed exactly those elements that are most associated with the meanings of the mythic pattern. On the other hand, it is clear that the Christian tradition of the song has gone part of the way toward losing the mythic symbolism, which, although still present, is weaker. Even in a song which is so strongly mythic in its pattern as that of the return, much of its significance has been lost, especially in the first part.

In the Christian song of "Marko and Mina of Kostur" there are more mythic elements than in "The Captivity of Janković Stojan". Marko Kraljević has attracted and kept more of the older patterns and symbols than any other Christian hero in the Slavic Balkans, and in this poem, as in several others, he is set forth as a faithful cooperative subject of the Turkish sultan. The version of "Marko and Mina" in Vuk II is an especially interesting one. The withdrawal of Marko in anger at the slandering of him by the people close to the sultan and his ultimate

return to battle and victory is much like the pattern of Achilles' withdrawal in the *Iliad.* Yet the setting of the whole poem is a return song, and the pattern would call at this point, as we have seen, for some imagery or symbolism of death which is not death. It may be that Marko's withdrawal and return corresponds to the imprisoning of Ibrahim in the Moslem songs, and thus this Marko song here preserves in an almost uncanny way a mythic element. Indeed, in the song Marko is sorely wounded in the battle with the Arabs and heals himself by drinking, restoring himself in this way to vitality as if he had been dead. In this version he is freed after he receives a letter telling what had happened at home, but there is no mention of a female intervener as in Ibrahim's story. Marko, however, returns in disguise, relates a deceptive story to Mina about Marko's death. But the recognition scenes are weak and muffled, although at least one detail is very reminiscent of the *Odyssey.* Marko's wife brings him his sword, just as Penelope provides Odysseus with the bow with which he kills the suitors. But, as I said, Marko the King's Son is a more mythic hero than any other Christian Slav in the Balkans, and he was fighting with the Turks against the Arabs and against a Greek opponent in Mina of Kostur.

There is one mythic pattern, a very basic one, that seems not to be represented in the Moslem song tradition. This is the story of the killing of the dragon. It is true that Djerdjelez Alija, in legend, was a killer of dragons, and in the Pešter region his fight with the dragon is associated with the names of certain villages. But this is legend, not epic song. The dragon slayers in the Slavic Balkans are Marko Kraljević and Miloš Obilić, and in Greece Digenis Akritas. They are the Heracles's of later Balkan myth.

In the song of "Marko Kraljević and Mina of Kostur" Marko plays a role very like that of Djerdjelez Alija in the Song of Baghdad (Parry No. 1), that is to say, he comes to save the sultan's army in the war with the Arabs. In the well known song of "Marko and Musa" (Vuk, II, No. 66) Marko also is the sultan's champion against the rebel Musa. Like Djerdjelez, too, Marko is slandered and plotted against in "Marko and Mina" by traitors close to the sultan; this is true of Djerdjelez in "The Seven Kings Seek the Head of Djerdjelez Alija". The two Moslem songs I have mentioned, namely that of the taking of Baghdad by Djerdjelez Alija and that of the seven kings, are both songs on mythic subjects; the first has connections with the *Iliad* and the Trojan cycle, the second is concerned with the death of a substitute, and hence also has a relationship with the *Iliad.* Once again we see that Marko Kraljević has a very

special place in the tradition of Christian oral epic in the Balkans viz-a-viz the Moslem songs, particularly in respect to those with a mythic background. This subject needs to be studied in much greater detail than is possible in this paper.

Thanks to the conservatism of the Moslemized bards of the Balkans, the oldest mythic patterns of oral epic in the peninsula were preserved, elaborated, and strengthened. A significant and meaningful core of stories was protected from the movements towards excessive historicizing that influenced so many of the Christian songs at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. The Moslem singers developed a fullness and breadth of narrative style that was to leave a mark not only on their own songs but also on those of the Christian singers who were their neighbors. Profound as the changes were that came over epic poetry as well as many other facets of life in the Balkans with the advent of Turkish rule, the Moslem tradition of song was such that it assured a basic continuity with the deep past, even as it aided in evolving from age-old materials a poetic structure truly worthy of the name of epic.

ROBERT A. GEORGES

PROCESS AND STRUCTURE IN TRADITIONAL STORYTELLING IN THE BALKANS: SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS

As the comparative study of folktales began to evolve in Europe during the early 19th century, it was obvious to researchers that the Balkans should figure prominently in this emerging field of investigation. The strategic geographical position of the Balkan peninsula between East and West, its long and complex history, and the nature of its populations suggested that folktales from the Balkans might contribute substantially to answers which were being sought for the questions that these newly-discovered data had raised about the history and nature of man. In one sense, these expectations have been fulfilled time and time again during the course of the development of folktale research in Europe; yet in another sense, they have never been fulfilled at all. In order to understand this paradox and to comprehend its implications for the contemporary student of Balkan studies, it is necessary to consider the kinds of pronouncements which have been made about Balkan folktales through time in terms of the general intellectual climate that generated them and in terms of the broader context of European folktale scholarship within which they have been presented.

The study of folktales is usually said to have begun in Europe in 1812 with the publication of the first part of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm. Unlike most beginning dates, this one is neither so arbitrary nor so unimportant as one might expect. No one book which appeared in early 19th-century Europe more quickly captured the imaginations of laymen and scholars alike, and few works which have ever been published have been used more freely or frequently as both data base and starting place for speculations and hypotheses about the history and nature of man.[1] As the Grimms and their successors

[1] One reason why the Grimms' work on folktales generated so many speculations and hypotheses about the history and nature of man was the nature of the implications

uncovered from the written literatures of East and West what they conceived to be countless parallels to the stories contained in the volumes of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, and as a growing number of fieldworkers began to record what they regarded as innumerable variants of traditional story types from the memories and mouths of peasant tale-tellers, it soon became apparent to students of every humanistic discipline that this rapidly-growing corpus of textual data contained important clues to unsolved mysteries and ready proof of the validity of working hypotheses concerning human existence and human history.[2]

In its initial phases, the systematic study of traditional stories in Europe was closely bound up with, and was significantly influenced by, the development of the Romantic Movement in literature and the evolution of the Indo-European hypothesis in linguistic studies. It is not surprising, therefore, that the impetus and intellectual motivation for the collection and study of folktales came from England, France, and Germany, where prevailing philosophical notions about human history and social development had engendered an interest in folk poetry, balladry, and mythology since the 18th century.[3] Furthermore, it is easy to understand why the early collections and studies of European folktales, including those from the Balkan area, were edited and authored by writers and researchers from these three countries: it was in England, France, and Germany that the comparative study of historical documents and cultural data was most diligently pursued during the 19th century, and it was the members of the intellectual communities of these three countries by whom new data were most avidly sought and for whom published works containing such data were obviously most often intended.[4]

The earliest publications of folktales from the Balkans, like those from

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which Wilhelm Grimm drew from the story data with which he and Jakob were concerned. For the most complete statement of Wilhelm Grimm's position, see *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Reklam, Leipzig, 1856), III, 427ff.

[2] Among the most important of these were notions concerning the primitive and conservative nature of the peasant and the common cultural heritage of most European and Western Asiatic peoples.

[3] An excellent work which traces the evolution of the scholarly interest in folk poetry and balladry in England and assesses its effects upon continental scholarship is Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* (Chicago, 1961).

[4] A. H. Wratislaw, for example, begins his preface to *Sixty Folk-Tales from Exclusively Slavonic Sources* (London, 1889) with a comment which reveals his awareness of the nature of his reading audience: "So much interest has lately been awakened in, and centered around, Folk-lore, that it needs no apology to lay before THE BRITISH READER additional information upon the subject" (p. iii; my emphasis).

the rest of Europe, consist, for the most part, of story texts, discovered in little-known or relatively inaccessible written sources or recorded directly from storytellers, and translated into the native languages of their editors and the audiences for which they had been gathered together.[5] Little information is provided in these early works about the individuals from whom the field-collected stories had been obtained or about the circumstances under which the stories had been communicated and recorded.[6] Editorial comments and interpretive statements tend to be relatively brief, and they invariably reflect the theoretical biases that were prevalent in European scholarship at the time. Stories from Balkan peoples, like folktales recorded in other parts of Europe, are characterized as direct manifestations and typical products of a collective 'folk mind' and hence tend to be regarded as primary data which provide proof of, and insights into, the simple, but idyllic, character of the peasantry and the static, but equilibratory, nature of their way of life. Coupled with this is the concept of Balkan tale-tellers as preservers and perpetuators of a story tradition which presumably had its beginnings at some time in the remote past, when the cultures of the ancestors of the majority of European and Western Asiatic peoples were felt to have been undifferentiated. Balkan stories, like those of kindred folk elsewhere in the Indo-European world, are conceived by the editors of most of these early collections as cultural artifacts which, though tarnished by time and corrupted by innumerable retellings, survive among the peasantry of the present as living monuments of a way of life and a world-view of an earlier era and another place. The general similarities between folktales from Balkan countries and those from other parts of Europe were readily apparent to editors of these early collections; and differences, when they were discerned at all, were felt to have little significance. "Many an old nursery favourite will be recognised through its Greek disguise by English children when they read...this book", wrote E. M. Geldart in the Preface to his *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece: The Tales of the People* (London, 1884, p. v); and the point of view which is implicit in this

[5] Among these early works were the following: Vuk S. Karadzic, *Volksmärchen der Serben*, trans. Wilhelmine Karadzic (Berlin, 1854); J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien* (Jena, 1859); J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische- und albanesische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1864), 2 vols.; John T. Naaké, *Slavonic Fairy Tales* (London, 1874); C. Mijatovics, *Serbian Folklore* (London, 1874); Bernhard Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* (Leipzig, 1877); and E. Legrand, *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* (Paris, 1881).

[6] This is true of all editors of early folktale collections, of course, not simply those who edited stories from the Balkans.

remark is typical of that of most pioneering students of folktales from the Balkan area.[7]

As the comparative study of folktales attracted an increasing number of investigators throughout Europe in the course of the 19th century, as large quantities of new textual data became available as a result of the efforts of library researchers and fieldworkers to provide more comprehensive and representative historical and geographical coverage of the story tradition, and as scholars began to develop research tools by means of which the comparative study of tale texts could be facilitated, it was inevitable that early speculations and assumptions about the origin and nature of folktales would come under increasing scrutiny. The generally accepted notions that the traditional stories of European and Western Asiatic peoples were all of great antiquity, that the folktales of peoples whose languages were thought to be cognate all had to have had their ultimate roots in a prehistoric common parent culture, and that the tale corpuses of all European peasant peoples must necessarily be similar because of the common life style and world-view of those among whom traditional stories were still being circulated, were subjected to re-examination, debate, and modification. Furthermore, as the reliability of story data increased as a result of the employment by fieldworkers of more careful and rigorous recording methods and techniques, and as more information was made available about storytellers and the ways in which stories were articulated and communicated, folktale researchers began to become increasingly aware of the fact that certain kinds of differences in folktales which early investigators had tended to ignore or which they conceived to be relatively unimportant (or at least less significant than similarities) would have to be explained or accounted for in some way.

These developments had significant effects upon European folktale

[7] Throughout his book on Slavic folktales, for example, A. H. Wratislaw (see note 4 above) makes comments such as the following: "The Bulgarian tales themselves are curious, and some of them very beautiful.... There are old traditions as to the world and its inhabitants, apparently of heathen origin (No. 35); a singular fusion of the history of Abraham and Isaac with some other, probably heathen, tradition (No. 36); a version of 'Cinderella' (No. 37), which, involving as it does the transmigration of souls, clearly exhibits an Indian origin; a beautiful story (No. 38), the latter part of which is a variant of the latter part of the Russian tale of 'Marya Morevna' (Ralston, p. 85); and No. 39, in the latter part of which many people will recognise a variant of an old acquaintance" (p. 176; numbers refer to the numbers of the stories included in Wratislaw's collection). The many inferences which Wratislaw draws from his data clearly indicate the speculative nature of the pronouncements made by early editors of story collections from Balkan peoples.

scholarship, for they called into question the very foundations upon which this field of research had been built. For one thing, if folktales were, for the most part, of more recent origin than had been assumed, then they could not all have originated in the prehistoric common culture from which it was presumed all manifestations of culture of all Indo-European peoples had been derived. In addition, if the differences that had become increasingly apparent in the folktales of different groups of peoples were really as significant as they appeared to be, then this suggested that the general similarities with which early researchers had been preoccupied might have been more apparent than real. Consequently, a number of alternative hypotheses came into existence to take these new discoveries into account, each of which was based upon some prevailing concept concerning the evolution of man or the nature and transmission of culture, but no one of which could account for both the general and the specific kinds of similarities and differences which researchers could discern in the growing corpus of European folktales. Vigorous scholarly debate ensued, the result of which was a kind of compromise which had significant effects upon the kinds of pronouncements that were made about traditional stories of European and Western Asiatic peoples.[8]

The notions which became prevalent in comparative folktale scholarship as a result of this compromise can be characterized briefly as follows: that most folktales — and certainly all 'complexly-structured' ones — which were conceived to be traditional and recurrent in Europe and Western Asia had originated in one place; that a large number, if not the majority, of them had probably either originated in, or had been codified in the early literary words of, India and neighboring parts of the Near East; that these stories probably either originated or began to be disseminated no earlier than the Middle Ages, for the most part; that the tales spread, like ripples on a pond, outward from centers of origin or influence; and that as they moved through time and space by means of oral transmission, they changed in accordance with the regional, linguistic, and national boundaries which they traversed and within which they were circulated. In terms of these notions, the Balkan peninsula came to be regarded as an important crossroads in the diffusion process, for stories

[8] For a summary of these competing theories, see Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1946), pp. 367-390; Richard M. Dorson, "The Eclipse of Solar Mythology", in *Myth: A Symposium*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, Bibliographical and Special Series of the American Folklore Society, Vol. 5 (Bloomington, Ind., 1955), pp. 15-38; and Richard M. Dorson, "Theories of Myth and the Folklorist", in *Myth and Mythmaking*, ed. Henry A. Murray (New York, 1960), pp. 76-89.

coming from the Near East were conceived to have entered Europe through the Balkans and to have been disseminated from the Balkan area to other parts of Europe. Moreover, since the Balkans were conceived to constitute a kind of transition area between East and West, it was felt that the folktales of Balkan peoples should be more similar to each other, to those of the Near East, and to those of their neighboring peoples than they should be to the traditional stories of peoples living farther from the centers of origin and influence from which the tales had spread.

The expected was shown to be true, as we see from a well-known essay on Modern Greek folktales published in 1916.[9] Its author, W. R. Halliday, notes that it comes as no surprise to the contemporary reader to find "close parallels between Teutonic *märchen* and the folk-tales of Greece", for "the same tales and the same incidents are to be found distributed over the greater part of the world".[10] At the same time, Halliday asserts, one can also "trace a narrower nationality in the tone and content of a body of allied folk-stories"; and insofar as Greek tales are concerned, this "narrower nationality" is what Halliday calls the "Nearer East". This area, "including Magyars, Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, Russians, Turks, Armenians, Georgians (in fact the Turkish Empire, Russia, and the Balkan States), presents in its folk-tales the equivalent of its geographical position as a halfway house between East and West."[11] Furthermore, Halliday contends, another fact is readily apparent; and he presents it in these words:

> In ordinary conversation the Greek peasant habitually contrasts Greece with Europe and the Hellene with the Frank, thus implicitly ranging himself among the peoples of the Nearer East. And the admission of this casual comparison is justified by his conditions of life and modes of thought. IT IS FURTHER BORNE OUT BY THE CHARACTER OF HIS FOLK-TALES. The oriental and particularly Turkish character of Greek stories has never been sufficiently recognised. No Greek, however strong the evidence, could do anything but deny a phenomenon, which his sense of patriotism decrees *a priori* to be impossible.[12]

Halliday presents a number of general and somewhat vague examples to support his contentions (e.g., the existence of similar words or similar kinds of actors and agents in Greek and other Balkan or Turkish stories); and his annotations to the collection of stories upon which he focuses in

[9] "The Subject-Matter of the Folk-Tales", in R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), Chapter III, pp. 213-283.
[10] "The Subject-Matter of the Folk-Tales", p. 218.
[11] "The Subject-Matter of the Folk-Tales", p. 219.
[12] "The Subject-Matter of the Folk-Tales", p. 216; the emphasis is mine.

his essay (a corpus of Greek tales from Asia Minor) emphasize what he conceives to be parallel and related stories from other Balkan and neighboring peoples. Occasionally Halliday expresses surprise at the fact that Greek stories do not contain certain kinds of content elements and stylistic devices which occur in tales of nearby countries; but he invariably accounts for these "deficiencies" by stressing the "broken-down" and "corrupt" nature of the story texts with which he is concerned.[13] Thus, Halliday claims that he has found close affinities between Greek folktales and the traditional stories of other Balkan and neighboring peoples; but the nature of the examples which he presents suggests that these similarities, like those which earlier investigators had found between the folktales of Balkan peoples and those of peoples from other parts of the Indo-European world, might have been more apparent than real.

The scholarly notions about folktales in terms of which Halliday and others like him were able to make the kinds of pronouncements which they made about traditional stories from Balkan peoples have persisted among European investigators throughout the 20th century. The appearance of Antti Aarne's tale-type index in 1910[14] — and of Stith Thompson's enlargements and revisions of that work in 1928 and 1961[15] — and the development of the Finnish or historic-geographic method[16] have facilitated the classification, indexing, and comparative study of traditional story types. Moreover, the results which have been obtained from the rigorous systematization of folktale data and from the intensive comparative study of variants of individual story types have reinforced most notions about the nature, distribution, and adaptation of folktales and have required investigators to make only minor modifications in others. But the widely-adopted methods of comparative folktale study have also created some problems for which no satisfactory solutions have yet been forthcoming. Among the most perplexing problems for com-

[13] Such qualitative statements are not uncommon among students of folktales, many of whom have had formal training in literary studies. Moreover, Halliday was apparently convinced that among the Greeks living in Asia Minor, the storytelling tradition was 'dying'.

[14] *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 3 (Helsinki, 1910).

[15] *The Types of the Folk-Tale*, Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 74 (Helsinki, 1928); and *The Types of the Folktale*, Second Revision, Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 184 (Helsinki, 1961).

[16] For a description of the Finnish or historic-geographic method, particularly as it has been used in comparative folktale research, see Thompson, *The Folktale*, pp. 428-448.

parative folktale researchers is one which has been created by story data from the Balkans.

The problem, to state it simply and succinctly, is that story data from the Balkans do not fit into the system. Most of the stories which have been recorded in, and which have been reported from, the Balkan area cannot be readily or easily described or characterized by means of the generalized descriptions of widely-circulated and recurrent story types which appear in the standard tale-type index.[17] Furthermore, even when stories which have been reported from Balkan peoples appear to have some characteristics commonly found in variants of well-known tale types, they also usually differ in such significant ways that they cannot be classified as variants of these tale types without considerable difficulty or arbitrariness. Finally — and perhaps most importantly — stories from the Balkans, whether they be conceived to be variants of well-known tale types, on the one hand, or stories which have been reported from no other part of Europe or Western Asia, are neither so recurrent among Balkan peoples generally nor even among peoples living in any given area of the Balkans as to enable researchers to consider them to be either tale types which are unique to a region, culture, or nation, or regional, cultural, or national sub-types of more widely-distributed tale-types.

That these facts are both real and apparent has been obvious for some time. And they have created a dilemma for the comparative folktale researcher, for they seem to contradict what he has come to expect. Since folktales from the Balkan area are conceived to constitute an important part of a story tradition common to all or most peoples of Europe and Western Asia, then it would seem that widely-circulated and recurrent tales which have been reported in large numbers of variant forms from other parts of this vast tradition area should be better known and should have been reported with much greater relative frequency from the Balkans than the data seem to indicate. Furthermore, when familiar stories are reported from the Balkans, one would expect them to exhibit a greater number of similarities to, and a lesser number of significant differences from, variants of these story types that are known from elsewhere. Finally, the stories which have been reported from Balkan peoples should have, one would think, many more parallels or variants both from within and from outside the Balkans than the data seem to suggest they have. But the data have fulfilled none of these expectations; and researchers have responded to the resulting dilemma

[17] *The Types of the Folktale* (see note 15 above).

by seeking its solution in the stereotypic concept of the Balkans as a 'melting pot'[18] in which peoples of diverse cultures and nationalities have intermingled for so long that the result has been the formation of a kind of conglomerate culture area of which Balkan folktales are but one manifestation.

In terms of this concept, comparative folktale researchers have come to view traditional tales from the Balkan area as 'composites' — that is, as stories which are made up of a number of content elements or motifs which are well known from folktales of other groups of European and Western Asiatic peoples, but which do not occur in Balkan stories in the combinations in which they occur in tales elsewhere and which do not even occur within the corpus of Balkan folktales with the predictable consistency and frequency which investigators have discovered in folktales from other regions, linguistic areas, cultures, and nations. Thus, stories reported from Balkan peoples have come to be regarded, in this sense, as variants of combinations of well-known tale-types; and many of these 'composite' stories have been assigned new or supplemental tale-type numbers so that they can be incorporated, if only in a token way, into the standard folktale index and hence into the system to which they are so ill-fitted.[19]

One consequence of these developments is readily apparent from the kind of treatment that the stories of Balkan peoples receive in the standard work on the folktale by Stith Thompson.[20] In that work, Thompson notes that there is "an unmistakable historical connection among the traditional narratives of all the peoples extending from Ireland to India".[21] Moreover, within this vast story tradition area, Thompson asserts, a number of "sub-areas" can also be discerned,

for affinities in language, consciousness of a common historic past as a recognized tribe or nation, religious unity, and association in a definite geographic

[18] One comparative folktale scholar has used this precise term in her characterization of Balkan stories: "The Balkans have proved a melting pot for the Oriental and the Slavonic traditions, and it is well-nigh impossible to classify particular variants as members of the South Slavonic, Near Eastern or native Balkan traditions" (Anna Birgitta Rooth, *The Cinderella Cycle*, Lund [1951], p. 213).

[19] Among the Balkan stories which have been fitted into the tale-type system in this way are the following: 300A*, *The Princess is Won*, reported from Rumania; 302A* (no title), reported from Greece; 332A*, *Visit in the House of the Dead*, reported from Rumania and Greece; and 409A, *The Girl as Goat* (*Jackdaw*), reported from Serbo-croatia and Greece. In all such instances, these tale types are described as being 'mixed with' other types, which simply means that they contain motifs that are found in other stories, nothing more.

[20] *The Folktale* (see note 8 above).

[21] Thompson, *The Folktale*, p. 14.

territory, all have tended to produce within peoples of certain regions a psychological unity very important for its influence on their traditional lore.[22]

In the list of sub-areas which Thompson delineates, however, the Balkans as such receive no mention, despite the fact that the Balkan region appears to meet all of the criteria necessary for inclusion. Moreover, Thompson says nothing about the story traditions of Greece, Albania, and Rumania; and although he includes all other Balkan peoples under the sub-area which he designates as "the Slavic countries", Thompson qualifies this designation with the following assertions:

> The South and West Slavic peoples — the Bulgarians, the Serbo-Croatians, the Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles — have tales resembling in many ways those of Russia, but also greatly influenced by their neighbors farther to the south and west. Bulgaria is thus marginal between Russia and Greece, and one finds plentiful Italian influence in Serbia, and many German elements in the tales of Bohemia and Poland.[23]

Thus, one never really knows from Thompson's survey just where the stories of Balkan peoples belong in the vast tradition area which extends from Ireland to India; and he can only conclude from Thompson's statements that since the tales reported from the Balkans in general or from any given group of Balkan peoples have so much in common, and yet at the same time so little in common, with each other, with the tales of the peoples of the rest of Europe, and with stories from Western Asia, then neither Balkan folktales nor the folktales of any given group of Balkan peoples can be said to have either distinguishing or distinctive characteristics of their own.

This conclusion is the one which most comparative folktale researchers have reached as a result of their examination of story data from the Balkans; and it is the only defensible conclusion which one CAN draw from the data in terms of the system within which these data have been, and continue to be, examined. But this is a negative conclusion, and it suggests that meaningful studies of the stories of Balkan peoples cannot be conducted by comparative investigators (1) until and unless new data reveal greater consistencies and suggest closer affinities than are apparent in the existing data, or (2) until and unless the prevailing system utilized in comparative folktale research can be modified in such a way as to accommodate story data from the Balkans more satisfactorily than it can at present. There is, however, something else that is suggested by the negative nature of this conclusion, and it is that perhaps story data

[22] Thompson, *The Folktale*, p. 15.
[23] Thompson, *The Folktale*, p. 17.

from the Balkan area cannot be studied in terms of the same system or even the same KIND of system within which story data from other parts of Europe have been studied successfully. In other words, what this negative conclusion suggests is that comparative folktale researchers may be unable to find in Balkan story data that they think they SHOULD be able to find because it simply does not exist in these data. Let us consider this latter possibility further.

The basic premise upon which the widely-used tale-type system is built is that STORIES are traditional — that is, that there are stories which are told over and over again by people and that as these stories are told and retold, they are changed or modified, sometimes accidentally and sometimes deliberately, but that in the process of being transmitted the basic plots and motifs of these stories remain stable enough so that once one has been exposed to these stories, he will recognize them when he is exposed to them again, even though he might be able to detect what he conceives to be additions, omissions, or modifications. Myriad stories can be said to be 'traditional' in this sense; and many stories can be said to be traditional to many different people, at different times, and in different places. And it is the stable plots and motifs which one can detect in stories which constitute the basis for the concept of the tale-type. Thus, the standard tale-type index contains generalized descriptions of many such widely-known and recurrent story types; and the system of comparative folktale study which is based upon the concept of the tale-type and which utilizes the standard index of tale types as its basic research tool is one which is particularly useful for studying the stories of peoples among whom folktales can, indeed, be said to be traditional because the same story types recur so frequently. But when stories reported from a given group of people are not readily identifiable and recognizable as well-known tale-types, and when the stories which are told by these people do not seem to recur with noticeable enough frequency that one is enabled to posit that new story types may have been created and circulated among these people, then this suggests that among the people in that given group there may be less of a preoccupation with stories *per se* and more with the process of telling stories. When one encounters such a situation, then it would appear that what he is dealing with is not so much a STORY TRADITION, but rather a STORY-TELLING TRADITION in which the total structures of the story-messages are not predetermined, as would seem to be the case with a story tradition, but rather one in which the structures of story-messages are generated during the actual course of the story-telling process. From the evolving evidence

in comparative folktale research, it appears that in the Balkans it is more often story-telling that is traditional rather than stories. And this would explain why stories recorded from Balkan peoples can so infrequently be fitted easily into the tale-type system and why that system cannot provide meaningful insights into story-telling in the Balkans.

In order to clarify these points and to illustrate that they are based upon what the data reveal, let us consider three Balkan story texts, which I shall summarize as succinctly as possible. Each of the three stories was told by a different storyteller, and each was recorded at a different time and place. All three story texts have appeared in reputable published collections, and all are characteristic of the kinds of stories which have been reported from Balkan storytellers during the present century.

Text one relates a story of a king and his vizier who are both childless and who both wish for children. They agree that if children of opposite sexes should happen to be born to them, the two should marry. This does, indeed, come to pass. But while the girl born to the queen is beautiful and fair, the boy born to the wife of the vizier is handsome, but black. Determined to get out of his agreement with the vizier, the king sends the black boy to find God and to ask Him whether what has been written can be unwritten.

Perplexed by the nature of the task, but duty-bound nevertheless to carry out the king's command, the boy begins his aimless journey. On the way to his unknown destination, he encounters first a blind man, later a man who is perpetually submerged in water up to his neck, and finally a lonely exile-outlaw, each of whom asks the boy to ask God for a solution to his misfortune, should the boy be fortunate enough to find God. The boy promises to do so; and when he accidentally encounters God, he not only asks Him for the answer to the king's question, but he also asks what those whom he has encountered can do to alleviate their misfortunes. On his return journey, the boy encounters the exile-outlaw, tells him what God has said he must do to regain the favor of his fellow men, and receives considerable wealth from the exile-outlaw for having spoken to God for him. To the drowning man, the boy gives God's answer that there is no solution to his misfortune, for it is a punishment which he must endure for having been blasphemous. When he encounters the blind man again, the black boy, in accordance with God's command, rubs the blind man's eyes with some clay from a nearby hole; the result of this action is that the blind man is able to see again. In the process of

rubbing the clay on the blind man's eyes, however, the boy notices that the hand with which he has applied the clay has turned white. Consequently, the boy rolls his body in the clay; as his entire body turns white, he becomes aware of the meaning of the king's question and the implications of God's answer.

Now both wealthy and white, the boy returns to the city, sets himself up as a merchant, and manages to attract the attention of the king by deliberately underselling all the other merchants, who complain to the king. Motivated by the merchants' complaints, the king visits the boy's shop, but forgets his mission once he sees the boy, for he is immediately struck by the boy's appearance and wealth and desires the boy to be the husband of his daughter. The marriage between the unrecognized boy and the princess is arranged; but before the wedding, the boy visits his parents, is eventually recognized by them and by all others. Then what was written is carried out.

In text two, we are told of a rich man who, at the time of his death, divides his wealth between his two sons and commands that they never separate. The elder son, however, decides to part company with his younger brother after their father's death; while the fortune of the latter grows, that of the former rapidly dwindles to nothing.

Convinced that it is Luck who has let him down, the elder son sets out to seek her. On his journey, he encounters first a shepherd who cannot keep his flock from decreasing in number, then a man whose gluttonous sons treat him disrespectfully, and finally a river which is unable to breed fish. Each asks the elder son to ask Luck what can be done about his plight; and the elder son agrees to do so if he ever does encounter her.

Eventually, the elder son does find Luck, who requests that he remain with her for four days in order to learn why his fortune has been so bad. Each morning during the four days, the souls of newborn babies appear outside Luck's door and clamor for gifts, and each day Luck gives generously of her great wealth. After the fourth day, however, Luck's store of riches has been depleted.

With nothing left to eat or drink and nothing with which to buy provisions, Luck suggests that she and the elder son seek work. The two earn a scanty wage, and between them they manage to make enough to afford a simple meal. But when the newborn souls arrive at Luck's door the next morning, there is nothing for them but crumbs and crusts. Again, Luck and the elder son seek work, but they have even less success than they had had the previous day; the newborn souls which appear the

following day get nothing at all, for there is nothing for Luck to give to them.

The lesson for the elder son is clear, for his newborn soul, too, arrived at Luck's door on such a day. But he can change his fortune, Luck tells him, if he can arrange to marry the adopted daughter of his younger brother and if he remembers never to boast again about his possessions or good fortune. Before departing from Luck's house, the elder son remembers the shepherd, the father of the disrespectful boys, and the sterile river; he asks Luck what they can do to change their fortunes, too. The elder son conveys the advice which Luck has given him to each of the three on his return journey, receives rewards from the father and the shepherd, and returns to the house of his younger brother to request the hand of the brother's adopted daughter in marriage. The marriage is consummated, and all goes well for the elder son. But as he prospers, he forgets Luck's warning; when he boasts of the vastness of his farmlands, he receives reports that many of his land holdings have been destroyed by natural causes. He remembers Luck's warning, repents quickly, and his lands prove to be untouched. He prospers and lives unseparated from his brother for the rest of his days.

In text three, we are told of an old woman who has a single hen which lays a single egg each day. But an unattractive old-man neighbor steals the eggs when the old woman is away. Unable to catch the suspected thief in the act, the old woman decides to seek advice from the Undying Sun.

On her way, she meets three old-maid sisters who lament their unmarried state, a heavily-clad woman who shivers from the cold, a river which can only run turbid and dark as blood, and a montrous rock which is suspended precariously, but which cannot fall and be at rest. Each asks the old woman to describe his plight to the Undying Sun, which she agrees to do when she encounters him. On her return journey, she conveys the Undying Sun's answers to those whom she had encountered earlier. She arrives home, and in accordance with the Undying Sun's promise, the thief has already received his just desserts. The old woman's eggs never disappear again; and when she dies, her hen dies, too.

The kinds of problems which this group of three story texts presents for the comparative folktale researcher are typical of the kinds of problems that confront him repeatedly as he examines story data reported from peoples living in the Balkans. On the one hand, one cannot help but be

struck by many features which are common to, and readily discernible in, these three texts: the existence of a human conflict, the search for a personified abstraction, the encounters en route, the requests of those who are encountered along the way, and the successful completion and effects of this completion of both the secondary and primary tasks. Furthermore, familiar stylistic features are found in all three stories: the trebling and quadrupling of encounters and the happy endings. Motifs well known in other traditional stories — such as the personification of abstractions, the reversal of fortune, and the intervention of supernatural beings in the lives of mortals — are found in all three texts.

At the same time, however, one cannot help but be aware of significant differences among the three stories as well. Texts one and two appear to be more complex than text three, but the relative complexity of the one is quite different from the other. Furthermore, many of the major motifs found in one story text are missing from the others. The old woman in text three, for example, receives no rewards from those whom she encounters and helps; and the black boy in text one encounters only human agents, while the elder son and the old woman interact with inanimate objects as well as with other mortals. Thus, the data create a dilemma from the point of view of those who feel that these three stories belong together and that they should in some way be able to be fitted into the widely-used system of tale types which has come to serve as the basis for comparative folktale study.

When one looks beyond the obvious and superficial similarities and differences, however, he begins to discover things which indicate that the question of whether or not these stories are variants of a common tale type is not just unanswerable, but is completely irrelevant. For while the three story texts contain a narrative sequence which can be characterized as conflict, primary task, search, encounters en route, secondary tasks, confrontation and successful completion of primary and secondary tasks, and resolution of conflict, this common narrative sequence in no way constitutes a common story plot. In text one, the sequence of events which occurs once the boy sets off on his journey proves to be of primary importance in the story, for it provides the means by which the storyteller can alleviate the tensions which arise from the existence of a moral dilemma for which there is no easy solution. It is the black boy's interactions with the exile-outlaw and the blind man that make the resolution of the human conflict possible, for it is only because of the material reward which the boy receives from the exile-outlaw and the miraculous transforming powers of the clay which God has instructed the boy to apply to

the blind man's eyes that what is written can, indeed, be carried out. In text two, on the other hand, the sequence of events which occurs after the elder son begins his search for Luck seems, at first, to be redundant insofar as the total structure of the story is concerned. Yet this redundancy is actually integral to the story, for it serves to reinforce the theme by mirroring the kinds of violations of a moral code which account for the elder son's dilemma and motivate him to seek a means of restituting his state of existence. But in text three, the sequence of events which occurs after the old woman sets out to find the Undying Sun provides the means by which the storyteller can exemplify the common kinds of consequences which result when human beings violate established social norms and when they are unable to comprehend the reasons for these consequences without the intercession and help of one who understands them and who values social equilibrium for its own sake. Thus, one is not dealing, in story texts such as these, with a common story plot which is simply given different treatments by different storytellers. Instead, he is confronted with a basic narrative structure which is manipulated and exploited by different storytellers in such a way as to enable its manipulators and exploiters to generate different story-messages whose principal communicative value is social rather than dramatic.

The three story texts summarized and discussed above were all recorded from nonliterate storytellers. Furthermore, those who communicated these stories to fieldworkers all lived in the Dodecanese Islands, a fact which would normally lead one to expect the three stories to be much more similar and much less different than they actually are.[24] But there are other story texts which have been reported from other parts of the Balkans in which the same narrative sequence is manipulated and exploited and in which the discernible differences, as well as the implicit similarities, are equally noticeable and significant; and these could have been cited just as easily as those which have been utilized above.[25] Whatever the choice of examples, however, the result of the examination is always the same: it is a basic narrative structure, not a well-known tale

[24] The three texts summarized in this paper have been published in the following works: R. M. Dawkins, *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 281-287 (text one), pp. 358-368 (text two); and R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek Folktales* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 462-465 (text three).

[25] See, for example, the story recorded in Lydia Schischmanoff, *Legendes religieuses bulgares* (Paris, 1896), pp. 232-238, which contains the same basic narrative structure as that found in the three stories summarized above, but in which the plot that is generated from this basic narrative structure is entirely different from the plot of any one of the three stories discussed in this paper.

type, which is important to the storytellers; and it is the way in which these basic narrative structures are manipulated and exploited by different storytellers in the Balkans that makes each story-message unique. To consider these three stories to be variants of a well-known and common tale type, as Stith Thompson does in the Second Revision of the standard tale-type index,[26] is to ignore significant aspects of the data for no apparent reason other than to force these data into a classification system of recurrent tale-types which cannot accommodate them and into which they not only cannot, but also should not, be fitted.

There are, then, numerous indications from examinations which have been made of story data from Balkan peoples that in the Balkans one finds a story-telling, rather than a story, tradition. And this suggests that in the Balkans, in contrast to many other parts of Europe, one must approach stories and storytelling in an entirely different way than he does when he is dealing with cultures in which it is the stories, rather than the telling of stories, which is traditional. For in the Balkan area, it would seem that storytelling is really a creative process rather than a kind of communicative event during which well-known story plots are re-created and re-transmitted for their dramatic effects.

In the introductions to two of his well-known and justly-praised collections of Modern Greek folktales, the distinguished comparative scholar R. M. Dawkins draws some inferences from Greek stories which seem to be relevant for other Balkan peoples as well. "It would seem", Dawkins notes, "that as people grow out of what is a very primitive state, the folktale has two paths open to it." Dawkins continues:

> If it [the folktale] is to remain unaltered, then it will fall into the hands of children and those who minister to them. If it is to continue to interest older people, then it will change into a kind of oral novel, dealing with life as known or as imagined by the auditors. But it almost always happens that the second development is blocked, or rather cut short, by the arrival of written stories, and the stage so elegantly represented by the storytelling company of the *Decameron* rapidly passes. This is what makes these Dodekanesian stories so interesting: they show us how people, ready for written stories and not getting them, contrived to make something to give themselves satisfaction, using only their native resources of wit and ingenuity.[27]

[26] In *The Types of the Folktale*, Second Revision (1961), the three stories summarized in this paper are all regarded as variants of a common story, Type 460B, *The Journey in Search of Fortune*. The summary of the story provided by Thompson in the type index corresponds in many respects to our text two; but the similarities between our texts one and three and the summary provided by Thompson are minimal.

[27] Dawkins, *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese*, p. 5.

In another of his publications, Dawkins develops the principal point that is implicit in the passage quoted above. These words, too, are worth quoting at length:

> The brothers Grimm called their book *Haus- und Kindermärchen*: it would not occur to anyone to give such a title to most of the Greek stories. The answer may perhaps be that the Greeks are a people of great natural intelligence and gifts, who lived for many centuries in a country governed by a people intellectually very much their inferiors. In their isolated islands and villages they lived far away from the general current of events which was all the time carrying the peoples of Europe into new ways of thought and life. Even in the revolutionary changes at the end of the eighteenth century Greece could do hardly more than turn in her sleep. For long the Greeks were ready for something new, but the nation lay always in chains. In their folktales, we have, it seems, an art-product of a people naturally progressive and active but with no means of making progress. What they did was to develop the riches of their own home-grown culture, and the art of the folktale, in Europe entirely swept away except as an amusement for children, was in Greece developed until we reach such stories as those I have placed at the end of the present collection: stories in which the national philosophy of life shows itself so clearly.[28]

Although some of Dawkins' comments might be readily disputed (such as those about "natural intelligence" and "intellectual superiority"), they communicate, it seems to me, certain insights into, and plausible explanations for, certain realities which are evident in the story data which have been reported not only from the Greeks, but from other Balkan peoples as well. For it is true that in other parts of Europe — and particularly in those countries in which the theoretical bases and methods of comparative folktale study were first developed — the folktale actually did fall early into the "hands of children and those who minister to them", as Dawkins asserts. And this may well be why one can talk of a STORY TRADITION, but not a STORY-TELLING TRADITION, in Europe in general. For it is true, as Dawkins suggests, that widespread literacy affects storytelling because the very models which written stories provide — even for those people who cannot read them, but who are exposed to and affected by them nevertheless — are STATIC models; and static models obviously make the STORY rather than the process of TELLING THE STORY the focus of attention. Finally — and perhaps most importantly — what studies of comparative researchers seem to have revealed about storytelling in the Balkans generally is something which Dawkins came to realize from his study and analysis of Greek stories; and it is that while in other parts of Europe traditional stories provide the basis for a kind

[28] Dawkins, *Modern Greek Folktales*, p. xxviii.

of social interaction and communication through the participation of taletellers and listeners in the dramatic unfolding of familiar story plots, in the Balkans storytelling itself is a kind of social interaction and communicative event during which the story-messages which are generated as a result of the storyteller's exploitation and manipulation of familiar narrative structures communicate social values which are traditional.

What appears to be implicit in the dilemma which has been created by story data from the Balkan peoples, then, is the fact that if investigators wish to gain meaningful insights into these data, they can only do so by creating new investigative models in terms of which the dynamic processes which appear to be characteristic of story-telling in the Balkans can be better understood. For researchers to continue to try to study Balkan story data in terms of a model which was developed for the study of traditional stories rather than traditional storytelling can only complicate matters and lead to further delays in initiating studies which have the potential to enlighten students of Balkan cultures about social and communicative processes, an intrinsic part of the lives of peoples from which researchers hope to learn more about human behavior, social relationships, and expressive cultural phenomena.

HALIL İNALCIK

THE OTTOMAN DECLINE AND ITS EFFECTS UPON THE *REAYA*

I. THE SEEDS OF DECLINE IN THE OTTOMAN REGIME

The circumstances in which the villager lived during the final period of Byzantine rule and under the feudal regimes of the Balkans cannot be said to have been better than they were after the arrival of the Ottomans. Before the Ottoman conquest villagers who lived on *pronija* lands, those belonging to monasteries or feudal lords, were subjected to a variety of burdensome demands upon their labor. The so-called *paroikos* was obliged to render to his *seigneur* one wagonload each of wood, hay, and straw every year and was bound also to do wagon service and work for the *seigneur* two or three days every week. Even before the Ottoman period there was a tendency in maritime zones where a cash economy had developed or in the zones surrounding larger towns, towards the acceptance of a cash tax of a certain amount in place of these services, resulting, just as in Western Europe, in a loosening of the personal bonds which tied the villager to his *seigneur*. In general this tendency was welcome not only to the *seigneur*, who had a need for cash, but also to the villager, provided that he was in a position where he could obtain cash. This development was accelerated with the establishment of the Ottoman centralized regime. Although the older labor services were allowed to survive in certain areas, the Ottomans generally eliminated the labor services and replaced them with a single clearly-defined tax of 22 *akçes*, called the *çift resmi* or 'yoke tax', which was a specific sum paid by each villager once a year in place of the eliminated labor services. There is no doubt that this taxation policy eased the way for the Ottoman takeover.

In harmony with the traditional view of the state throughout the Middle East, the land and those who worked it were regarded by the Ottomans

as belonging to the sultan himself. This direct control was regarded as one of the great principles upon which the state was based. With it in mind the Ottomans abrogated every sort of personal feudal bond and kept under vigilant control, subject to law, every sort of local military and legal authority and everything which might be exacted from the villager. Those to whom the *padişah* delegated his authority, primarily the provincial *beys* and their local lieutenants as well as the judges whose duty it was to oversee and guarantee enforcement of the law, kept each other under control as countervailing forces and stayed in continuous written contact with the central authority. The PRIME DUTY of the central government was to protect the subject from abuses of authority by local figures. Nonetheless, in every period there was evidence pointing to abuses of authority by those to whom it was delegated. We can see that when the central authority was weak and financial crises were endemic, these abuses widened and worsened to the point that they threatened the very constitution of the Empire. Nor can we overlook the fact that, under the *timar* system, certain rights over the lands and villagers were reserved to the military personnel to whom they were assigned and that in spite of all the intended limitations and attempts at control, these delegated rights were liable to abuse. As a start, let us take a glance at the labor services which were imposed upon the *reaya*, the term used for villagers, be they Christian or Moslem.

According to a law dating from the end of the 15th century, the *reaya* were obliged to transport the tithe belonging to the *sipahi*, the cavalryman set over them, to a granary or a fortress garrison. Moreover, if the cavalryman wished it, villagers had to transport this tithe to the nearest market. But in no instance were villagers supposed to carry produce more then a distance of one day. The *reaya* had to reap hay for the *sipahis* but were not obliged to transport it. But in spite of these limitations, there often were complaints that *sipahis* assigned to the land were using the *reaya* animals and wagons for their own benefit. One more labor service recognized by law was the *reaya*'s obligation to build a granary for the village cavalryman. Apart from this, however, *reaya* were not supposed to be forced to build a house or do anything else for the *sipahi*. One of the more onerous labor services was, of course, the *reaya*'s obligation to work on land reserved for the *sipahi*'s own profit. The *sipahi* of each *timar* had his own special fields, called *hâssa çiftlik* or his own *hâssa* orchard and vegetable garden which had to be worked by the peasants. Ottoman law limited this sort of service to three days in a year.

Subsequently this form of labor service was usually commuted into a cash tax of three *akçe* annually per villager, and the fields reserved for the cavalrymen were rented by him to the villagers. When Cyprus was taken by the Ottomans, they converted the two days of service per week by the *paroikos*, or serf, into one day of service per week in the sugar refineries belonging to the government. But it was not long before this was completely eliminated. Also in force was a custom surviving from older times by which one out of every fifty herders was supposed to render service to a *sanjak bey* (governor) for a period of six months. However, this service was also completely eliminated in 1536. The State serfs, called *ortakçı kullar*, who in the 15th century were drawn in limited numbers from war prisoners, merged completely with the regular *reaya* in the 16th century. Thus those forms of service which were at variance with the principles of the Ottoman system died out.

Another matter which always resulted in complaints by the *reaya* was the practice of obliging the villagers to feed without compensation the soldiers and officials who happened to visit their village along with their animals and all those who accompanied them. To combat this, the State came to place a limit of three days upon the length of time which a *sipahi* might alight in a village within his *timar*. The Ottomans tried to ease the situation of the villager by requiring that these visits be as infrequent as possible, that the visitor take as few people as possible with him and that he pay for everything received from the villager.

A worse form of abuse was the illegal requisition of the villager's grain, livestock, and cash reserves, a practice called *salma* or *salgun*. Normally it was resorted to by high ranking officials and military officers and involved a request for a certain amount of the goods in question from each village household. For this sort of thing, the expression *tekâlîf-i şâkka*, or 'onerous levies', was used. We know too that the central government sometimes issued special orders which permitted a general or commander to resort to this sort of requisition. Those who carried out unauthorized requisitions were severely punished in periods when the central authority was strong, but in the period of decline these arbitrary requisitions came at the head of the list of the abuses which stripped the villagers and ruined the country.

One more field for abuses lay in the widespread application of the practice by which the Ottoman administration allowed government officials to collect various forms of income directly from the *reaya* to make up their salary. In order to prevent abuses, the Ottomans carefully specified in their laws the kind and the amount of tax to be gathered, and

the time of gathering. The practice found its widest application in the *timar* system, in which the *sipahi* collected for himself dues and taxes established by law. Each such *timar* had a known income. So that this income would neither diminish nor be lost, the government granted the *sipahi* a right to use part of the land himself, and also a number of means to control the lands worked by the *reaya*. Naturally, *sipahis* did not shrink from abusing the exercise of this delegated authority. Income from the larger *timars*, called *hâss*, which were assigned to commanders and governors, was either gathered by farming it out to individuals or by means of agents or collectors (*voyvodas*).

Apart from the *timar* system, the law permitted the collection of certain taxes from all *reaya* in return for services which officials performed directly for them. A tax collector, for instance, took for himself a certain fee from each household. Judges took standard fees for legal documents prepared for the *reaya* or when they made judgements on inheritance matters. Only when the central government effectively operated its system of controls was it able to keep at a minimum the abuses arising from this sort of delegated authority.

Finally, we must touch upon those abuses which arose from the operation of the tax farming system (*iltizam*) which existed from the earliest times of the Ottoman empire. This system operated through the sale of state income sources, such as those coming from *timar* or *hâss* lands, to private persons at ever higher prices. The state contracted to turn over such collections to the tax farmers, who each time promised to deliver more; it thus was able to increase indefinitely the tax revenues to be collected. The activities of tax farmers were controlled by a state appointed commissioner, called *emin*. But despite this, most of them managed to get out of the *reaya* just as much as they could, and it must not be forgotten that the State's own military forces assisted the tax farmer in making his collections. The Ottomans knew of the shortcomings of this system, and to the extent that it was possible endeavored to limit its operation and prevent its abuse; but starting from the latter half of the 16th century it both expanded and degenerated, due largely to the concurrent decay of the *timar* system. No better method other than the tax farming system remained for the collection of these revenues once the *timar* holdings, instead of being in the hands of *sipahis* living in their assigned villages, passed into the hands of influential parties living in Istanbul or other cities, or on the other hand, once they were attached directly to the treasury. The tax farming system spread so far that even judges began to lease to substitutes the courts within their jurisdiction,

with each court being a means of income through the dues collected in the judge's name. Anyone leasing a court for its proceeds was of course bound to get involved in bribery. In similar fashion all state positions, all instruments exercising state-delegated authority, came to be means for personal gain. As the central government fell into an embarrasing financial position, it began to sell posts and delegate authority to the highest bidders regardless of qualifications. At the same time one must not forget that bribes were also received by those who vouched for appointees. In all cases, it was the *reaya* who in the end paid for these ever pyramiding bribes.

So here we have the seeds of ruination which the Ottoman State carried within it. According to the traditional view of the state in the Middle East, chief among the factors which kept a government viable was its success in protecting *reaya* from abuse and tyranny, since the impoverishment or dispersion of the *reaya* masses would result in the diminution of a State's sources of income, and a State without income could not survive. Imbued with this belief, the early Ottoman statesmen endeavored to prevent abuses and to make these measures work. But from the 1570's onward, as central authority weakened, they were no longer capable of doing this and the entire system declined.

II. EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE GOVERNMENT CORRUPTIONS: THE JUSTICE DECREES (ADALETNAMELER)

The 'justice decrees' are undoubtedly the Ottoman sources which reflect most authoritatively the administrative corruption which developed during the period of decline. A 'justice decree', or *adaletname*, is a decree of the *padishah* in the form of a manifesto which strongly forbids behavior contrary to law and justice, or any misuse of authority affecting the *reaya* by those who exercised authority in the name of the state.

The 'justice decree' sent to the commander-in-chief of Anatolia and to the district commanders and judges in 1595 on the occasion of the accession of the Sultan Mehmed III describes with an unprecedented explicitness the confusion which then for the first time prevailed within the Empire and the widespread abuses which accompanied it. After making clear that laws and regulations originating in the period of Süleyman the Lawgiver were being trampled underfoot and that dues and taxes extracted from the *reaya* had swollen by virtue of a host of unlawful innovations, it goes on to list the principal abuses of the day as

follows: (1) *Vizir*, commanders-in-chief, and their agents in the provinces — the collectors, the other commanders, the bailiffs (*subaşıs*), the property administrators and private trustees, as well as supervisors (*kâhyas*) in villages (positions which had been given to palace favorites), state collectors and tax farmers, and judges' substitutes — had all been making rounds in the provinces, frequently accompanied by ten or fifteen cavalrymen, and after alighting in the villages they would oblige the *reaya* to feed them and their animals free of charge, and by misusing their authority would collect money in an unwarranted fashion. (2) *Sancak Beys*, district commanders, and *subaşıs*, bailiffs responsible for the peace and security of their zones, were collaborating with brigands instead of catching them. (3) Individuals from the various regular forces maintained by the central government *kapı-kulu*, or at least individuals who pretended to be such, had been going around in groups to villages and towns to rob the *reaya* causing the *reaya* to flee and scatter. The 'justice decree' adds that because of this oppression the *reaya* were abandoning their villages and scattering. This decree was published on the eve of Mehmet III's major expedition against the Hapsburgs.

Here we must pause for a moment to give attention to the *kapı-kulu* groups calling themselves government regulars who descended upon the people at that time. The beginning of all this dates to the last years of Süleyman's reign. At that time, because of the competition for the throne which was going on, worrisome pockets of resistance had arisen *vis-a-vis* the central government. One contender for the throne, Prince Bayezid, attracted freebooters coming mostly from the villages of Anatolia, and from them he founded a personal army, promising that if he acceded to the throne he would take them into the regular forces, or *arkapı kullar*. After Bayezid passed from the scene, the Ottoman government put this Anatolian soldiery on the payroll because of their skill with firearms, and used them during the wars in Iran (1578-1590) and Hungary (1593-1606), increasing their numbers steadily. These forces, which bore the name of *Sarıca* or *Sekban*, got into the habit of living off the people of Anatolia during periods when the government was not paying their wages by means of requisitions of their own invention, burning, plundering and killing in villages and towns which did not give in to their demands. To these the Ottoman statesmen gave the name *jelâli, eşkiya*, or 'rebels'. Most of them purported to be janissaries or regular army men and appropriated for themselves the privileges that went along with such status. On the other hand, the real janissaries and regular army men who had settled in cities and towns used what authority they had to intimidate and exploit

the people around them, thus making themselves into a privileged socio-economic group. This situation thrust Anatolia into anarchy. Some of the people fled to Rumeli and to other surrounding regions. After 1603, when Iran became the aggressor and the Ottoman forces in Azerbaijan were withdrawn to Anatolia, the situation took on the proportions of a catastrophe. The confused scattering of the masses of villagers who fled Anatolia to save themselves from the *celalîs*, was called the *Büyük kaçgun*, the 'Great Flight'.

The 'justice decree' published by Ahmet I in 1609 reflects the grave circumstances of the time. The Anatolian and Rumelian commanders-in-chief and district commanders and judges are told:

> You are not making the rounds of your provinces doing your duties. Instead you are going around taking money from the people unlawfully. And it has been brought to my attention that during these so-called 'patrols' which you are making for this purpose accompanied by unnecessary numbers of cavalrymen you are committing the following abuses: If somebody falls out of a tree you make this out to be a murder, you go to a village, settle down, and in order to rout out the supposed killer you harrass the people by putting them in irons and beating them. Finally besides taking hundreds of gold or silver pieces as 'blood money', you collect from the villager free of charge as a so-called 'requisition' horses, mules, slaves, barley, straw, wood, hay, sheep, lambs, chickens, oil, honey and other things to eat. You lease out your incomes to collectors at excessive rates. They on their part go out to collect with far too many horsemen and instead of satisfying themselves with collecting your incomes according to law and as is prescribed in the record, try to get as much money as they please. And besides the normal villages, they go onto imperial holdings, which are immune, under the pretense of following criminals and demand thirty or forty extra gold or silver pieces per month. And because you, you commanders and bailiffs, have been taking money from brigands and letting them off rather than giving them their just deserts, brigands have been getting hold and have been descending upon the people in groups. This is the sort of tyrannizing that I have been hearing about.

The decree continues:

> The object in appointing you commanders-in-chief and district commanders and in giving you incomes is not to have you go around collecting goods and ruining the country. Rather, it is so that the holy law and the government's laws be respected, so that no one be allowed to tyrannize, so that individuals who cause trouble will be taken in hand and if necessary imprisoned and handed over to the government, or if necessary to get punishment executed according to the decision of the local justice and in this way to protect the country by every means and to make it prosper and flourish. To take from the *reaya* a tithe of blood money belonging to the victim's relatives, calling it 'blood tithe', is contrary to law and forbidden. Commanders who descend on

a village with two or three hundred horsemen in order to get a blood tithe are causing the ruination of that village.

In the same justice decree we find information on abuses by judges:

Judges and judges' surrogates have been going around from village to village together with bailiffs on the pretext of judging wrongdoers in the villages or seeing to other legal work and have been taking sheep, chickens, oil, honey, barley, straw and wood from the *reaya* without paying for them.

Judges had the authority to take a fee of fifteen or twenty parts in a thousand in inheritance cases, but instead, they had been interfering into inheritance matters without being invited and without its being necessary and had made it a rule that people must get permission from them before the dead could be buried.

They have been denying permission for the burial of non-Muslims unless they get some money. When they make the rounds of the villages they have been going around to the graveyards, counting graves and fining those who have buried their dead without permission. And they have been committing various abuses in the settlement of inheritances. They have been raising appraisals of the value of goods in order to raise the tax they take, or have been making inheritance settlements a second time claiming that the first settlement was unjust. In this way the majority of inheritance goods have been adjudged two or three times and as a result a large part of these goods end up in the judges' hands in the form of a fee.

From time to time the central government appointed judges as inspectors in order to establish the reasons for confusion in this or that district or in order to hear the complaints of the *reaya*. Judges abused these missions for the purpose of robbing the people: they went around from village to village judging people who were innocent of any wrongdoing and then taking bribes for crimes which did not exist.

Judges have not hesitated to interpret the decrees of His Majesty the Sultan according to their own advantage. If anyone tries to find out how the decree actually runs, they accuse him of the crime of opposing that decree and thus get money out of him.

Again according to the aforesaid justice decree, judges who were in the process of making up tax registers deliberately overstated the number of those who were liable to taxes to extort bribes from them. Judges were taking fees higher than the law allowed on documents and copies of documents which the *reaya* received from the courts. Also judges had been ignoring clear instructions contained in imperial decrees with regard to *timars* or religious posts by issuing documents awarding them to whichever claimant gave the most bribe money. Judges, who had the

right to appoint surrogate judges in their own jurisdictions, were dispensing these positions to whoever gave the most money. These in turn went out to harrass the *reaya* in order to collect various taxes and on those visits they forced the villagers to feed their numerous companions free of charge.

The same justic decree touches upon abuses by hoodlums, both military and non-military. This sort of individual would dispense some little thing to the *reaya* as a so-called gift — a knife, a skullcap, or a bar of soap — and afterwards would demand in return from each village family a sheep, a beehive, or two or three measures of wheat. In general soldiers did this sort of thing in order to fulfill their needs. Others of these strong arm soldiers would buy goods cheaply as they went into a town and then sell the same goods at a high price inside the town and in that way exploit the people.

Finally this justice decree depicts what a social blight the usurers had become for the villager. The *reaya*, left penniless by the lawless extortions of the military, were obliged to take money from usurers, the rate of usury going up to fifty percent. The *reaya*, unable to pay off this ever increasing debt load, were obliged to work for the usurer and become little more than his slaves. It was always easy for the usurer to have anyone opposing him thrown into jail.

III. THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

The deterioration of order in the Empire was already being cited by historians of the late 16th century such as Selânikî and Âlî. In the 17th century, Koçi Bey laid out the reasons for the Ottoman decline in sharp clear lines in his representations to Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640). And already in the 1610's an Ottoman author who concealed his identity dwelled on the same points in his *Kitab-i Mustatab*. Both writers assert that the authority of the sultan had weakened and broken down. In olden times, the grand vezir, acting as the sultan's right hand, secured order and unity in administration and maintained the state's interests above all other considerations. Now, they said, palace favorites and irresponsible individuals were interfering in the use of this authority, thrusting the administration into confusion and using their influence to fill their own pockets. Bribery was widespread. Palace favorites were handing out leases and posts as they pleased and taking money for it. Also very important, these favorites were having *timar* and *hâss* lands

assigned as their own farms and as a result the *sipahi* forces living on the land were greatly reduced. For this reason it had been necessary to increase the other regular forces, especially the janissaries, and because these got their wages from the central treasury, the load on it had become excessive. Therefore the state was obliged to lay heavier taxes upon the shoulders of the *reaya*. One result of the increase in the remaining regular forces was that the latter was becoming rebellious and unmanageable both in the capitol and in the provinces. Both writers considered the decline to be a consequence of the degeneration and abandonment of the classic laws and regulations of the Ottoman State. According to them, in order to straighten out the situation, it would be necessary for the sultan's authority to be concentrated in the hands of the grand vezir, for the *reaya* to be protected from abuses, for the *timar* system to be reformed, for the number of janissaries to be reduced and discipline restored in the army, and for the practice of taking bribes to be eliminated absolutely.

The similarity between these views and the kind of thinking we see in the justice decrees is striking. No doubt there is a lot of truth in this thinking, which conforms to a traditional view of state and society by attributing decline to corruption. But the modern historian sees more in the Ottoman decline than administrative failings and corruption. Population increase accompanied by economic stagnation, and the destructive financial and political consequences of long years of war with Iran and in Hungary are accepted among the valid deep-running causes. Here we shall pause to discuss them.

It has been established that the population of the Ottoman Empire increased two-fold during the 16th century just as was the case in other Mediterranean lands. The Ottoman government was not able to send this excess population into conquered territories as in the past when compulsory deportations, called *sürgün*, played a large role in the Turkicization of certain parts of the Balkans. The last time this kind of deportation had been resorted to as a systematic effort had been following the conquest of Cyprus when landless villagers from central Anatolia were sent to the island. But now the great conquests in Europe had come to a halt.

At the same time the Ottoman economic system was not suitable to the task of securing new economic resources at a rate even with the population increase, a condition which I have attempted to demonstrate in a study on capital formation in the Ottoman Empire (see Bibliography). The Ottoman State was intrinsically bound to the corporation

system typical of the Middle Ages. Here the principles found their place in the religious law of pre-Ottoman Islamic states under the name of *ihtisab* or *hisba*. Under this system, an industrial development capable of utilizing the increasing masses of workers in the cities was impossible. The concept then current among the mercantilist elite of West Europe held that industrial development and the exportation of goods enriched a country, but this concept was utterly foreign to the Ottomans. In the Ottoman economic system only in commerce was there any encouragement for the investment of capital. There did indeed exist a capitalist-minded class of traders in the 16th century, but changes in world trade routes at the end of that century and the beginning of the 17th began to take their toll on the Ottoman market with the result that the mercantilist states of the West were enabled to surbordinate the Levant to their own economic systems. Moreover, due to the fact that the English and the Dutch gained a supremacy in the Mediterranean, the Ottomans lost the upper hand at sea even in their own waters. Thus the advantages which could have been obtained by the Ottomans from the East-West or North-South trade were lost.

One more development of greatest significance can be seen in the great financial and economic crisis which befell the Ottomans following the 1580's. In Western Europe silver fell in value with reference to gold and it began to infiltrate the markets of the Levant. In the Ottoman markets now it was not the Ottoman *akçe* but the Spanish *reale* and the Dutch *rixdal* which prevailed. All the consequences which the 'price revolution' had brought in its train in Europe were experienced equally in the Ottoman Empire. The loss in value of silver money caused prices to jump to twice what they were. Counterfeit money flooded the market while speculation and soaring interest rates turned the finances and the economic existence of the state upside down. All of this upset the state's old establishments and institutions. The new circumstances opened the way for unpleasant incidents and frequent revolts by groups with fixed incomes, particularly the janissaries and other standing forces who subsisted on a small daily wage. This financial chaos had to be counted as one of the basic reasons for the confusion and slippage which became apparent after the 1580's.

The situation was not only the underlying cause of the military rebellions at the center but also of the attempts by military groups in the provinces to squeeze more money out of the *reaya*. *Timar* holders whose incomes had been cut in half were so impoverished that they were unable to make their way to the battlefields of the Hungarian and Iranian wars

and were instead robbing the *reaya*, avoiding campaigns and abandoning their holdings. Commanders and judges were resorting to bribes and abuses in order to hold their incomes level in the face of ever more costly living conditions.

The central government too was sharply aware of the insufficiency of its older fixed income. The continuous need for meeting the heavy expenses of long wars made its financial crisis ever more severe. Lowering the amount of silver contained in the *akçe* as a counter measure simply opened the way to more confusion. The government often was forced to resort to collecting extraordinary levies for the treasury (*âvâriz-i divâniyye*) a practice which formerly had been saved for only the most unusual circumstances. These levies became a regular cash tax collected year in and year out from villager and townsman alike. Gradually the amount of the tax rose. It was about 250 *akçe* per household in 1590 while the usual taxes were maintained. The principal traditional taxes were: *Ispenje*, 25 *akçe* for an adult male; tithes of usually one-eighth from each kind of crop, garden and orchard; 2 *akçe* for each one thousand square meters; pig-tax and sheep-tax, one *akçe* for each two; and fines and occasional dues grouped under the names of *badihava* and *niyabet*. Our calculation based on the *defters*, Ottoman surveys, showed that the average tax burden per household was about 250 *akçe*, which was equal to four gold florins by 1580 and only two florins in the early 17th century. Thus an increase of a hundred per cent in the amount of taxes was not real in value. The same was true for *jizye*, poll-tax. It was usually one gold florin which the Christian *reaya* had been bound to pay yearly but now it was raised to conform to the new value of the *akçe*. In the middle of the 16th century, when the gold florin exchanged for sixty *akçe*, the polltax varied between 40-60 *akçe*, whereas by the beginning of the 17th century the tax amounted to 140 *akçe*. About the same time the government announced that the official exchange value of a gold florin was 120 silver *akçe*. But the rate for gold was always 10-20% higher on the free market. At any rate in the countryside where the effects of the monetary changes were slow and incomplete the new *avâriz-i divâniyye* taxation was felt as a heavy burden by the *reaya*. And, as we have already pointed out there were many other abuses committed in the collection of these taxes. Under these conditions the situation of the Balkan villagers became drastically worse.

IV. THE VILLAGER AND THE LAND: THE ADVENT OF LARGE ESTATES

When a villager had become saddled with an impossible tax burden his only choice was to abandon his land and move. Such villagers, wandering on the loose, show up in the records as *haymana* or '*reaya* left out of the record' (*defter harici reaya*); often their trails were lost and they settled in other regions altogether. Naturally some of them turned to brigandage which constituted one of the chief headaches of government. The passive resistance by the villagers was a most effective factor in forcing the central government to condemn abuses and to take measures to lighten taxes. Now influential people among the military were appropriating lands abandoned by the villagers and settling on them by bringing slaves and hirelings to work them, thus converting them into their own estates. Because of the general shortage of labor, lands of this sort were generally used for livestock raising, thus becoming veritable ranches. After the confusion died down, the *reaya*, dreading these soldiers, found it impossible to return to their old villages. Although the sultan often demanded that the houses and stables of these military interlopers be torn down and that these soldiers quit their holdings immediately, such orders were rarely obeyed.

There were three main modes by which the great estates of Rumeli came into being in the 16th and 17th centuries:

1. *Estates established on unused land*

Rich and influential individuals would buy for cash land which was not officially registered in the tax registers or which was not being worked, then would settle slaves on it and make it into their own estate. In the records, one notices that private estates were generally established on lands to which the state had not previously laid claim and that they utilized slave labor instead of *reaya* labor. *Reaya*, working for wages on these estates as farm laborers, called *irgad*, are those who had fled their own lands and were left out of the tax surveys. Starting from the 17th century this kind of *reaya* constantly increased. Because of the confused way in which tax registers were maintained at this time it became easier to get state land through bribery and add it to a private estate or for the *reaya* to sell their fields and enter the service of the estate owners. According to citations from the Edirne region dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, a large part of the estates there were established in this manner and were generally turned over to animal raising. The animals

were sold to the villagers while the grain which was raised was sold either directly or by circuitous routes to European merchants who paid good prices in return. Under these conditions, large estates developed and became numerous. Most of the estate owners were military men by origin. They often lent money to villagers, who then lost their fields because they were unable to pay these debts. With some local differences the same conditions can be identified in other parts of Rumeli.

2. *Trust estates (vakf) founded by turning State Land into Property*

Influential figures from the palace or close to palace circles got hold of state lands in the form of property grants and subsequently turned them into trusts, thus giving rise to plantation-like establishments. This sort of trust-estate was not unknown in the older periods, but to the extent that central authority and control loosened in the decline period this style of converting state land into property and *vakf* increased proportionally. There was no great difference between these trust estates and the other big estates just described from the point of view either of their management or even their basic purpose. A large part of their rent went either to the trust founder personally or to his family. Slave labor and animal raising were widespread. Estates and trust establishments in the hands of the powerful were generally free from the interference of local governors and for this reason it is understandable why fugitive *reaya* generally settled on them. But once they did that, the *reaya* were bound tightly to the trust or the estate.

3. *Estates Founded by Renting State Lands*

Because the treasury rented out on a rent-lease basis (*mukataa*) the *timar* and *hăss* lands belonging to the state, rich and influential individuals were enabled to take control of many villages and farms. Owing to the treasury's difficulties in the era of decline, rent-lease contracts began to be made out on a life-term basis, sometimes even on a hereditary basis, so that they became virtually like private property. Originally the lessor was the villager who now was regarded as leasing the land hereditarily and eternally from the holder of the *timar* or *hâss*. Under this arrangement the villager paid taxes and dues fixed by law to the *timar* or *hâss* holder and in theory was not obliged to pay anything else. Under the new system, where a whole class of rich and influential landlords inter-

vened between state and *reaya* and obtained the rights to the usufruct of the soil, the villager was obliged to pay a separate rent to them in ADDITION to the taxes due to the state. The majority of the new leaseholders were again of military origins. Landlords who had succeeded in obtaining lease rights to extensive holdings were eventually entrusted with a number of functions, such as gathering taxes, raising troops, and keeping order, thus ushering in the era of the *âyâns*. But this era only reached its full development in the second half of the 18th century. Thus the state allowed its control, even its sovereign rights over the *reaya*, to grow weaker, demonstrating that the classic regime associated with the Ottomans had completely broken down and that the Empire had become feudalized.

There is one other important development which took place at the same time in which the great landlords and notables (âyâns) were making their appearance: This came about as the state left to communities of villagers and townsmen the collection of certain taxes and their delivery to the treasury; or to put it another way the communities took on the task of farming taxes. As a result, an individual who headed such a community gained some control over it. At the same time the community took on an organization which began to function in ways other than the collection of taxes. The Ottoman government used this method in many districts both to defend the interests of the treasury and of the *reaya* from the rapacity of the officials and tax farmers. And in fact the *reaya* would promise more than the tax farmer precisely in order to secure the application of this other system, which was called *maktûa bağlamak* or *maktû 'iyyet*. This *maktû 'iyyet* system was applied especially in Balkan Christian zones for the collection of the poll tax (*jizye*). By giving the Christian communities an opportunity for some kind of organization this system actually provided a means and prepared the ground for future action on their part against the Ottoman regime.

For all these reasons, we can verify that, starting from the 1590's, the *reaya* under Ottoman rule, including the Christian *reaya* of the Balkans, fell into far worse circumstances than had formerly prevailed. As a result, dissatisfaction spread among the *reaya*, and brigandage increased. This situation contributed to the rebellion of Michael, Prince of Wallachia, starting in 1594, the first large scale reaction to the Ottoman regime in the Balkans; and to the resulting reverberations which this created south of the Danube. Nor can one forget the upsurge of rebellious activity in the mountainous parts of Albania in the same period nor the fact that the

Serbs, Greeks and Albanians were making contact with foreign powers in opposition to the Ottomans.

Systematic archival research to uncover the precise forms which the Ottoman decline took in the Balkans is still in its beginning stages. To this end there is a great need for detailed studies on changes within the framework of village life, the spread of brigandage and its causes, migrations and the reasons for them, the circumstances leading to the formation of landed estates, and changes taking place in town life.

On the other hand it should not be forgotten that in the beginning years of the period of decline Rumeli was not as deeply affected as Anatolia. Recent studies have suggested that an acceleration in trade relations between Rumeli and Europe had a positive effect upon the circumstances of the *reaya*.

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JOSEF MATL

DIE PATRIARCHALE ALTKULTUR UND DER WEG ZUR NEUKULTUR

Die Kultur der Balkanvölker, ihre Genesis und Struktur ist in kulturmorphologischer Hinsicht durch folgende, landschaftlich variierende Merkmale charakterisiert:[1]

I. *Die kontinuierliche Bewahrung bzw. Regeneration* der patriarchalen Altkultur, in den zentralbalkanischen verkehrsfernen Gebieten, so im Sandschak, in Nord-Albanien, in den Rhodopen bis in das 20. Jahrhundert hinein. *Wesen und spezifische Manifestationen dieser Altkultur*: In dieser archaischen Sozialstruktur mit dem gentilen Gesellschaftsaufbau in Großfamilien, Sippen, Bruderschaften und Stämmen (tribus, clans), mit den sozialen und kulturellen Äußerungsformen wie z.B. der Blutrache, des Brautraubs, des Brautkaufs, des Brigantentums serbischer, kroatischer, bulgarischer, albanischer, rumänischer, griechischer Freischärler; mit der traditionellen Gastfreundschaft und künstlichen Verwandtschaft (pobratimstvo), mit der Funktion rechtlicher, sozialer und religiöser Bräuche an Stelle von staatlichen und kirchlichen Gesetzen, mit der mythischen traditionsgebundenen Welthaltung in Lied, Sage, Volksglaube, Volkskunst, — sind die Geschlechts- und Fortpflanzungsverhältnisse und -beziehungen entscheidend. Ihre Institutionalisierung garantiert beim Fehlen bzw. geringer Wirksamkeit staatlich-politischer Herrschaftsformen die Stabilität und die Kontinuität der Gesellschaft. Am Balkan sind demnach die horizontalen Verwandtschafts- und die

[1] Zum Gesamtkomplex Details mit weiterer Einzelliteratur: *Völker und Kulturen Südosteuropas. Kulturhistorische Beiträge.* (= *Südosteuropa, Schriften der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft* 1. Bd., München 1959, 284 S., insbesonders die Beiträge von Balduin Saria, Franz Dölger, Günther Reichenkron, Alexander V. Soloviev, Franz Babinger, Josef Matl); ferner: *Die Kultur Südosteuropas, ihre Geschichte und Ausdrucksformen*, Wiesbaden 1964 (= *Südosteuropa-Schriften*, 6. Bd.). Für das Gebiet der Südslawen: Josef Matl, *Die Kultur der Südslawen.* (= *Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte.* Lieferung 101-105, Athenaion Verlag Frankfurt a. Main, 1966, 118 S.).

vertikalen Autoritätsmuster sowie die stammesmäßigen bzw. konfessionellen Gruppengemeinschaften dominant zum Unterschied von dem an den Arbeitsaufgaben orientierten Arbeitsteam der modernen Industriegesellschaft, das sich erst in der jüngsten Entwicklungsphase, die alten Gemeinschaftsformen zersetzend durchsetzt. Daher also durch eineinhalb Jahrtausende der soziale, wirtschaftliche und mentale Konservatismus und die gegenüber dem früher rationalen Westen geringere Mobilität.

Diese Altkultur manifestiert sich

a) in der *Sippenfamilie* (skr. zadruga, kuća; bulg. goljama kăšta, "Hauskommunion", communité de famille), mit 30-70 Mitgliedern und ihrer Schutzfunktion, unter der Herrschaft des Pater familias (starešina) und des Familienrates der älteren Männer (vijeće) mit großfamiliärem Vermögen ohne Erbteilung und seiner gemeinsamen Bewirtschaftung mit den verheirateten Söhnen, deren Frauen und Kindern, mit den religiösen Sippenfesten (Hauspatronfeier — *slava* —). Diese Sippenfamilie, bereits im Mittelalter (Gesetz von Vinodol, Poljica, des Zaren Dušan, Lex Dukadjini), aber auch unter der türkischen und österreichischen Herrschaft rechtlich bestätigt, bildet die soziale Basis der Brauchtumsüberlieferung, des gesellschaftlich-ethischen Verhaltens und seiner Kontinuität durch die Generationen. Sie ist heute noch in westlichen und mittleren Teilen der Balkanhalbinsel bei Kroaten, Serben, Bulgaren, Mazedoniern, den nördlichen Albanern anzutreffen.

b) In der Blutrache (osveta, alb. gjak) als alter Rechtssitte, mit der die auf sich selbst gestellte Gentilordnung in ihrer männerrechtlichen patriarchalen Form den lebensnotwendigen physischen und moralischen Selbstschutz erhält. Die auch bei anderen Völkern bekannte Blutrache ist nicht an eine bestimmte ethnische Gruppe gebunden und bis in das 20. Jahrhundert, vor allem in Nordalbanien und im Sandschak existent.

c) Im Brautraub (skr. otmica, bulg. otvličanie, mariage par rapture), der als Eheform ursprünglich auf Exogamie, also auf Eheverbot innerhalb des Stammes zurückgeht, seit dem Mittelalter bekannt ist, verbreitet ebenso wie die Blutrache vor allem dort, wo sich die Staatsgewalt nicht durchsetzen konnte, vereinzelt noch im 20. Jahrhundert in Serbien, Montenegro, Gebirgs-Dalmatien, Nordalbanien und West-Bulgarien erhalten.

d) Noch stärker bis in die Gegenwart erhalten hat sich in Mazedonien, Bulgarien, Albanien die Kaufehe (Mädchenkauf, im Tausch gegen Vieh oder Waffen, in neuerer Zeit auch gegen Geld).

e) Im sozialwirtschaftlichen Bereich in der kooperativen bäuerlichen Hilfsarbeit (sprega, môba).

f) In der materiellen bäuerlichen und Hirtenvolkskunst, in der konservativen Erhaltung und Ausbildung einer auch künstlerisch hochwertigen alten Webe- und Stick-, Holz- und Metalltechnik sowie der traditionellen Nahrung und Kleidung.

g) Auf dem Gebiete der geistigen Kultur als besonderer Ausdruck des Sippenethos im Weiterleben alten Brauchtums, vor allem bei Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod, im künstlerisch hochentwickelten lyrischen Volkslied als Ausdruck des Familienethos, im Sprichwort, in der Volkslegende, im Volkstanz und in der zur Existenzerhaltung, insbesondere bei den kriegerischen Hirtenstämmen und den Freischärlern (Hajduken usw.) lebensnotwendigen Abwehrreaktion gegen willkürliche Übergriffe und Gewalttaten lebendig gebliebenen heldischen Lebenshaltung (Albanischer Volksausspruch: Was hilft es dem Sohn, wenn er lesen und schreiben kann, aber nicht schießen; serbischer Ausspruch: "Der Mann ist geboren, daß er vom Gewehre umkommt"); künstlerisch manifestiert in dem in der ganzen Welt bekannten und berühmten (Urteile von Goethe, Jakob Grimm, W. Scott, J. Bowring, Charles Nodier, Prosper Merimeé, Auguste Dozon, R. Chadwick, M. Parry, A. Lord), in den abgelegenen Gebirgsgegenden bis in das 20. Jahrhundert lebendig gebliebenen Heldenlied.

h) Bei dieser Jahrhunderte langen alltäglichen Kampfessituation um die Erhaltung der primitivsten Existenz ergab sich, daß sich das Christentum des Volkes in seiner Praxis aus einem Ethos des Gebetes, der Duldung, der Ergebenheit, präformierte, vergröberte, balkanisierte zu einem "Cryptochristianism" (Bezeichnung von Stavro Skendi) zu einem kämpferischen Condottiere-Christentum der heldischen Tat "für das heilige Kreuz und die goldene Freiheit", wobei Mord und Totschlag als geringere Sünde angesehen wird als z.B. Diebstahl oder Betrug, und wobei sich mental ein dionysischer Rächerzorn, die violente Note, die Geringschätzung des Lebens und der Gefahr entwickelte, die sich noch im politischen Leben des 20. Jahrhunderts äußerte.

Für die kontinuierliche Erhaltung bzw. Regeneration der Altkultur wurde als sozial-konservierender Faktor wichtig die lange Dauer und Prädominanz des durch die Türkenherrschaft verstärkten und verbreiterten Hirtendaseins, sowie die Tatsache, daß die Türkenherrschaft vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert wenig in das innere Leben der Hirten und bäuerlichen Bevölkerung eingriff.[2]

[2] Details und weitere Literatur in: *Die Volkskultur der südosteuropäischen Völker.* (= *Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch*, 6. Bd., München 1962, 173 S. plus 42, insbesondere die Beiträge von Zoran Konstantinović, Leopold Kretzenbacher, Cvetana Romanska,

II. Diese patriarchale Altkultur hat im Laufe der geschichtlichen Entwicklung — abgesehen von dem altbalkanischen Erbe im Weiterleben keltischer, illyrischer und thrakischer Gottheiten präformiert im christlichen Kult und Volksglauben, so im Kult des heiligen Georg und des heiligen Theodosius, in der materiellen Kultur der Milch- und Viehwirtschaft, in der Erneuerung der altillyrischen Gentilität, im Karawanenwesen — zahlreiche Kulturelemente und Traditionen der antiken, byzantinischen, osmanischen, romanischen und mitteleuropäischen Hochkultur bzw. hochliterarischen Gestaltung, aber auch der volkstraditionellen Überlieferung als "gesunkenes Kulturgut" aufgenommen, assimiliert und präformiert. In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich die balkanische Altkultur wesentlich von den archaischen Kulturformen in Amerika (Ruth Benedikt, Pattern of culture). Einige Beispiele für die Hereinnahme und Assimilation von Kulten, Motiven, Stoffen, Traditionsgestalten in die Volkstradition und Volksdichtung der balkanischen Völker: Aus der Antike der Kult des Mithras als des Schöpfers und Erhalters des Lebens auf der Erde, des Getreides, des Weines; die Sage von Hero und Leander, die Polyphemsage; die homerische Erzählung von der Heimkehr des Gatten; die Ödipus-Legende; die Gestalten der Kaiser Diokletian, Trajan, Ptolemäus, Konstantin des Großen und Alexander d. Gr.; über die griechisch-byzantinische Vermittlung Stoffe orientalischer Herkunft, verchristlicht zum geistlichen Roman und Verherrlichung des asketischen Lebensideals, z.B. Varlaam und Joasaph; aus der byzantinischen Tradition die Legende von der Gründung und Einnahme

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Eleutherios N. Platis, Richard Wolfram, Robert Schwanke, Emanuel Turczynski, Christo Vakarelski, Heinrich Felix Schmid); für Albanien insbesondere: Eqrem Cabej, "Albanische Volkskunde", in: *Südostforschungen* Bd. XXV, S. 333-387, München 1966; P. Giuseppe Valentini, *La famiglia nel diritto tradizionale albanese*, Roma 1945 (= *Annali Lateranensi* vol. IX); P. Giacomo Marlekay, *Aspetti di ospitalità indoeuropea presso gli Albanesi*, Roma 1951 (= *Annali Lateranensi* vol. XV). — Zum altslawischen Erbe: Milovan Gavazzi, *Sudbina stare slavenske baštine kod Južnih Slavena* (= *Biblioteka Etnološkog Društva Jugoslavije* 2), Beograd 1959. — Zur Regeneration der Volksbräuche in der Türkenzeit: Tihomil R. Djordjević, *Naš narodni život I-X*, Beograd 1930-1934. — Zur Wahlverwandtschaft: Leopold Kretzenbacher, "Gegenwartsformen der Wahlverwandtschaft (pobratimstvo) bei den Serben und im übrigen Osteuropa", in: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients* II. Bd., S. 167-182. — Zur Altkultur bei den Südslawen, Brautraub und Brautkauf vgl. Jos. Matl, in: Südslawische Studien S. 13ff., 191ff. (= *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* 63), München 1965; zur Gentilität und zadruga ders., "Historische Grundlagen der agrarsozialen Verhältnisse auf dem Balkan", in: *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 52. Bd., besonders S. 149ff.; Philipp Mosely, "Adaption for Survival: The Varžić Zadruga", in: *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XXI (American Series, vol. II), Menasha 1943, S. 147-173.

Konstantinopels;[3] verschiedene Stoffe aus der hagiographischen und Exempelliteratur vom Osten und vom Westen; aus dem osmanischen Kulturbereich im Wege der osmanischen Sekten, besonders der Bektaschen-Legenden, in denen auch antike Traditionsgestalten wie der Midas-Kult, Erinnerung an Plato, Aristoteles, Sokrates, aber auch Alexander d. Gr., Diokletian in türkisierter Form erhalten bleiben;[4] anderseits aus der unmittelbaren Symbiose die Schelmengestalt des Nasredin hodža bei Slaven, Albanern, Rumänen.

Die neuere Forschung hat Zusammenhänge, Wechselwirkungen bzw. Wirkungen bildlicher ikonographischer Darstellungen in den Kirchen und Klöstern auf die motivische Gestaltung der Volksdichtung, ebenso auch Zusammenhänge mit den Chroniken (Kronika Dukljanska) und historiographischen Werken wie Orbini festgestellt.[5] Aber die Einwirkung des gesunkenen Kulturgutes auf die Volksdichtung erfolgte nicht nur vom Osten und Süden aus dem byzantino-griechischen bzw. islamischen, sondern auch vom Westen, aus dem romano-germanischen Kulturbereich, vermittelt zunächst vorwiegend über Dalmatien: So, abgesehen von den erwähnten religiös belehrenden Geschichten und Exempeln der Gesta Romanorum, und Fiore di virtù, Prato fiorito usw. durch die Predigten der bosnischen Franziskaner, westliche Ritterromane, die abendländischen Fassungen der Alexandreide und der trojanischen Geschichten bei den Kroaten, Serben, Bulgaren, Rumänen. Wir stoßen auf Auswirkungen der Ritterromane in den bildlichen Darstellungen an den Grabsteinen der bosnischen Bogomilen, auf Parallelen der Chansons de Geste und zu Rabelais, auf Motive und Stoffe der mittel- und westeuropäischen Erzählliteratur, so auf die Schelmengestalt des Till Eulenspiegel und des italienischen Bertoldo Bertolino, auf Motive der Bildungsliteratur, z.B. Schillers "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer" und Bürgers

[3] Vgl. die grundlegende Untersuchung Ivan Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine", in: *Byzantinoslavica* XIV, S. 14-54, XVI, S. 318-329, XVII, S. 276-340.

[4] Näheres darüber insbes. über islamisch-christliche synkretistische Erscheinungen, Hans Joachim Kissling, *Antikes Erbe in islamischen Sekten* (Vortragsmanuskript, München-Graz, 21. V. 1969).

[5] Über wechselseitige Zusammenhänge zwischen bildlicher Darstellung und Volksdichtung vgl. Dimitrije Vitković, "Utjecaj hrišćanske ikonografije na neke narodne pjesme", in: *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena JAZU*, kń. XXIV, S. 1-28; ders.: Ko su Gavan i Gavanka u narodnoj pjesmi, ibid. kń. XXX, S. 1-16. — Grundlegend zum Komplex der balkanischen Fresken, Miniaturen und ihrer Zusammenhänge mit der Volks- und literarischen Überlieferung mit Literaturangaben, Svetozar Radojčić, "Tekstovi i freske", *Matica Srpska* 25, insbes. S. 94ff. — Für das rumänische Gebiet Details in: *Cărţile populare în literatura romînească* vol. I, II, ed. Jon C. Chitimia şi Dan Simonescu. Editora pentru literatura 1963.

"Der wilde Jäger". Auch in den Sprichwörtern finden sich zahlreiche Parallelen nicht nur mit griechischen und römischen, sondern auch mit türkischen und arabischen.[6]

III. Die Ursachen bzw. historischen Voraussetzungen liegen in der spannungsreichen und unruhigen eurasischen Brückenlage durch 2000 Jahre, die zur Deformation der politisch-staatlichen, gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Eigenentwicklung z.B. der bulgarischen, serbischen, kroatischen, bosnischen, später auch albanischen nationalen Staatsbildungen, und damit zu politisch-staatlichen, rechtlichen zivilisatorischen und kulturellen Überschichtungs- und Infiltrationsprozessen, so von Rom, Byzanz, Osmanenreich, Venedig, österreichischem Habsburgerreich, führte. Es sind also die kultur- und sozialgeschichtlichen "changes" mehr außen- als innenbedingt.

IV. Die Kulturinhalte und Kulturformen zeigen infolge der gemeinsamen großräumigen politisch-rechtlichen byzantinischen und türkischen Herrschaftsbereiche über die Balkanvölker, aus der Tatsache der Symbiose bei Mehrsprachigkeit (slavisch-griechische, slavisch-romanische, rumänisch-slavisch-türkische, albanisch-türkische, albanisch-romanische Bilinguität), sowie aus der Tatsache der zahlreichen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert dauernden Bevölkerungsverschiebungen, also der relativ späten Siedlungsstabilisierung, und schließlich aus der Tatsache des Konfessionswechsels (Islamisierung usw.) aus opportunistischer Anpassung oder unter politischem oder sozialem Druck bei Beibehaltung der Brauchtumsgewohnheiten *intraethnische* bzw. *intrakonfessionelle Integrations- bzw. Synkretismuserscheinungen* zwischen Slaven, Albanern, Griechen, Rumänen, Türken. Beispiele: Ebenso wie in der Entwicklung der Sprachen der balkanischen Völker gemeinsame strukturelle Züge wie auch in der Lexik gemeinsame Lehnwortschichten aufscheinen, die die balkanologische Sprachforschung festgestellt hat,[7] so zeigt auch die Volks-

[6] Details mit Literatur: Maja Bošković-Stulli, *Narodne pripovijetke*, Matica Hrvatska 1963 (= Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti knj. 26). — Josef Matl, *Europa und die Slaven*, Wiesbaden 1964, insbes. S. 48ff; ders. "Forschungsbericht über die serbokroatische Volksdichtung", in: *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* XI und XII, insbes. XII, S. 142ff. — Über die mazedonischen Sprichwörter und ihre türkischen Parallelen, vgl. Tome Sazdov, "Makedonskite narodni poslovici i pogovorki", in: *Sovremenost* XIX, 1969, S. 26-35.

[7] Die Einzelliteratur ist angeführt bei Josef Matl, Sprache und Dichtung als Schicksalspiegel der südosteuropäischen Völker (in balkanologischer Sicht), in: *Die Kultur Südosteuropas, ihre Geschichte und ihre Ausdrucksformen*, Wiesbaden 1964, S. 171ff; ferner, ibid. in den Beiträgen von M. Çamaj, O. Haas, M. Pavlović, E. Petrovici, V. Polák, G. Reichenkron, J. Schröpfer, Stavro Skendi.

dichtung gemeinbalkanische Züge.[8] Es sei hier auf die gesamtbalkanischen Helden und Traditionsgestalten hingewiesen, so wenn z.B. Kralj(ević) Marko im kroatischen, serbischen, bulgarischen, albanischen Heldenlied aufscheint; Mujor und Gjergalez-Ali bei Bosniaken und Albanern, der albanische Heros Skanderbeg nicht nur in der albanischen, sondern auch in der kroatischen (Kačič-Miošić, Šporer), in der serbischen (J. St. Popović), in der mazedonischen (Prličev) Volks- und Kulturtradition Jahrhunderte lang lebendig geblieben ist, oder die Bauopfersage (Bau von Skutari) bei allen Balkanvölkern verbreitet ist, abgesehen von anderen gemeinsamen Balladenmotiven; so wenn der Lenore-Stoff als das "Lied vom toten Bruder" bei den Balkanvölkern eine ganz spezifische balkanische, von der westeuropäischen (Bürger Ballade) wesentlich verschiedene Fassung und Deutung gefunden hat, die die balkanische patriarchale Familienethik, das innige Bruder-Schwester-Verhältnis, unmittelbar zum Ausdruck bringt.[9] Die assimilatorische Kraft des Sippenethos zeigt übrigens auch die Präformation der Apokryphe "Der Gang der Muttergottes zu den Qualen" (Choždenie bogorodicy po mukach) in der Vorstellung von der Hölle und den Höllenstrafen bei Bulgaren, Serben, Kroaten, nach der nicht die kirchlichen und sogenannte kriminelle Vergehen, sondern die gegen die Sippenmoral (mangelnde Ehrung der Eltern und Paten, Stiftung von Unfrieden unter Eltern und Geschwistern, Verleumdung, Abtreibung der Leibesfrucht), als die unverzeihlichen Sünden erklärt werden ("99 Morde können vergeben werden, aber eines kann nie vergeben werden: Wer die Ehre eines Mädchens verunglimpft hat").[10] Bei der konfessionellen Aufspaltung in der gleichen ethnischen Gruppe z.B. bei Bulgaren, Bosniern, Albanern, ergeben sich synkretistische Erscheinungen z.B. Erhaltung des gemeinsamen Brauchtums (Familienfeier, christlich-muslimische gemeinsame Kultstätten z.B. im albanisch-mazedonischen Grenzgebiet, utraquistische Heilige). Die Blutrache wird auch von anderskonfessionellen Sippenangehörigen als

[8] Vgl. zuletzt und richtungwesisend Alois Schmaus, "Probleme und Aufgaben der balkanischen Epenforschung", in: *Südosteuropa-Schriften* 7. Bd., S. 14-33, München 1966; ders., "Studien zu balkanischen Balladenmotiven", in: *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung*, (München 1966), S. 285-304 und *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* IV, S.100-138 (Wiesbaden 1966).

[9] Vgl. die grundlegende komparatistische Untersuchung von Ivan D. Šišmanov, "Pesen'ta za mărtvija brat", *v poezijata na balkanski narodi*, in: *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija*, kn. XIII (1896), S. 474-559.

[10] Vgl. Josef Matl, "Zur Ethik der Familien- und Sippengemeinschaft im religiösen Volkslied der Kroaten", Serben, Bulgaren, in: *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje JAZU*, knj. 40 (Zagreb 1962), S. 355-366.

verpflichtend angesehen. Die intraethnische Integration zeigt sich schließlich in der Übernahme von Elementen der städtischen Ess- und Kleidungskultur, darunter auch des türkisch-persischen Kunsthandwerkes bei den Serben im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,[10a] also vor allem ihre Orientalisierung und Balkanisierung in der Türkenzeit, mit Auswirkungen auch auf das Dorf, anderseits ihre Mediterranisierung an der westlichen Küste, ihre mitteleuropäische Okzidentalisierung im Norden. Es ist also das, was in der nationalistischen Ära zu Ende des 19. und zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts z.B. als spezifisch national-serbische, national-bulgarische, national-rumänische, national-griechische kulturelle Äußerungsformen, vor allem der Volkskultur wie auch der älteren Hochkultur in Architektur und Fresken herausgestellt wurde, einer weitgehenden Korrektur gegenüber den gemeinbalkanischen Zügen zu unterziehen; ein Gesichtspunkt, der übrigens schon in den Arbeiten des Belgrader Balkaninstituts (1936-1938) Ausdruck gefunden hat. Bei dem historisch feststellbaren Hin- und Herwandern der Meister z.B. von Athos und Saloniki zu den Bulgaren und Serben, von der Walachei zu den Bulgaren, ist die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Schule wichtiger als die ethnische Zugehörigkeit.

V. *Der Aufbau der Neukultur bzw. Hochkultur* weist folgende charakteristische Merkmale auf: Wir finden auf der archaischen altbalkanischen thrakoillyrischen Grundlage aufgebaut drei verschiedene Entwicklungs- und Ausdrucksformen entwickelt, die byzantinisch-, die mediterran- und die mittel- bzw. westeuropäisch-geformte.

a) Die nach byzantinischen Vorbildern und Anregungen auf antiker Grundlage mit Einverleibung kleinasiatischer orientalischer Elemente geformte dominiert im orthodoxen Bereich der Griechen, Bulgaren, Serben, Rumänen, orthodoxen Albaner in ständiger innerer Wechselwirkung bis ins 18. bzw. beginnende 19. Jahrhundert mit eigenständigen kulturellen Manifestationen auf dem Gebiete der Literatur, der bildenden Kunst, des Rechtes, der mittelalterlichen sozialreligiösen Erneuerungsbewegung der Bogomilen in Bulgarien, Serbien, Bosnien.[11] Die profane laizistische Hochkultur auf dem Gebiete der schönen Literatur, der

[10a] Bojana, Radojković, "Les influences turko-persanes sur les metiérs d'art. serbes au XVIe et XVIIe siècles", in: *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 1, 1965, S. 117-142.

[11] Darüber, Dimiter Angelov, "Eine Ketzerlehre, die zum rationalistischen Denken anregte", in: *Bulgarische Beiträge zur europäischen Kultur*, Sofia 1968, S. 51-84; dazu-Linda Sadnik, "Einfluß der Hochkulturen des Ostens auf das Weltbild der südost, europäischen Volkskulturen", in: *Wissenschaft und Weltbild* 1 (1948), S. 295ff; ferner: A. Schmaus, "Zur altslawischen Religion", in: *Saeculum* 4 (1953), S. 206-230.

profanen bildenden Kunst, der Wissenschaft, weist also gegenüber der Ausprägung im romanisch-germanischen Westeuropa gewisse Verspätungserscheinungen auf. Beispiele der literarisch-künstlerischen Manifestationen: Auf dem Gebiete der literarischen Manifestation sei hier nur die sogenannte cyrillo-methodische, handschriftlich verbreitete Literatur genannt, die in der Hauptsache liturgischen, religiös-erbaulichen und das kirchliche und Klosterleben reglementierenden (Typika) Zwecken diente. Ihre auch für die Serben, Rumänen und Russen durch Jahrhunderte richtungweisende fruchtbare Leistung bestand in der von den aus Mazedonien stammenden Slavenaposteln Cyrill und Method und ihren Schülern begründeten slavischen Literatursprache und literarischem Kodex, insbesondere in dem Šestodnev-Hexaemeron des Bulgaren Ivan des Exarchen, sowie in den serbisch-kirchenslavischen Herrscherbiographien (Žitija),[12] welch letztere auch als Träger des national-staatsgeschichtlichen Traditionsbewußtseins bis in das beginnende 19. Jahrhundert fungierten, ebenso wie später bei den Bulgaren die Geschichtsdarstellung des otec Paisij. Die bedeutenden literarischen Persönlichkeiten sind Hl. Sava, Camblak, Euthymios, Konstantin der Philosoph.

Diese sogenannte byzantinische Kulturlandschaft hat sich nicht streng abgeschlossen von der mittel- bzw. westeuopäischen entwickelt. Dies beweisen die westöstlichen Oszillationsprozesse. Ebenso wie vom Osten her auf literarischem Gebiet ursprünglich orientalische budhistische literarische Stoffe selbständig literarisch affirmiert wurden, ebenso wie die cyrillo-methodische Literaturtradition auch im katholischen Bereich bei den nordwestkroatischen Glagoljaši durch Jahrhunderte lebendig blieb, so wurden auch aus dem Westen stammende literarische Gestaltungen des Alexander- und Trojaromanes, höfische Epen, Legenden, Ritterromane aufgenommen und selbständig verarbeitet. Islamisch-slavische Oszillationserscheinungen finden wir in Bosnien in serbokroatischen Dichtungen bosnischer Moslims.[13] Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Protestanten wirkte sich auch im orthodox-serbischen Bereich aus, ebenso wie die katholisch-jesuitische barocke Geschichtstradition (Orbini, Änea Silvio Piccolomini, Baronius, Stratemann) über das Bildungszentrum der orthodoxen Welt auf Athos auf die Balkanvölker weiterwirkte.

[12] Vgl. dazu die neue Interpretation und Neubewertung durch Stanislaus Hafner, "Studien zur altserbischen Historiographie", in: *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* 62, München 1964, 141 S.

[13] Vgl. F. Barjakterević, "Srpska pesma o Muhamedovu rodjenju", in: *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva*, knj. III, S. 189-202.

Auf dem Gebiete der bildenden Kunst sind unter den eigenkulturellen Leistungen neben den frühchristlichen Klöster- und Kirchenbauten der Griechen in den Zentren Konstantinopel, Saloniki, Ohrid, die früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Kirchen- und Klösterbauten und Malerei bei den Bulgaren (Bojana, Bačkovo, Rila, Trnovo), bei den Mazedoniern und Serben (Ohrid, Nerezi, Nagoričino, Prizren, Peć, Gračanica, Studenica, Dečani, Kalenić, Ravanica), bei den Rumänen die Kirchenbauten und Fresken in Curţea de Argeş, Neamţ, Voroneţ, Arbore, Putna in der Region Suceava genannt. Charakteristisch die dauernden Wechsel- und Vorbildwirkungen der einzelnen griechisch-byzantinischen Kunstschulen (Paläologen etc.) bei dauernden Wechselseitigkeiten zwischen Griechen, Bulgaren, Serben, Rumänen und Russen. Bei dieser Kunstausübung sind auch westliche Einwirkungen der dalmatinischen Romanik (Dečani, Studenica) zu beobachten. In einzelnen Spitzenleistungen der Fresken und Buchminiaturen wird bereits die Ausdrucksleistung der europäischen Renaissance z.B. in der individualisierenden Porträtkunst antizipiert. Die gesellschaftliche Hochkultur der mittelalterlichen höfischen Adelsschicht in den bulgarischen und serbischen Staaten zeigt ihren Niederschlag in der kirchlichen Malerei. Ebenso finden Motive und Stoffe der Volksdichtung Eingang in die bildnerische Darstellung.[14]

Auf dem Gebiete der rechtlichen Kultur formte das byzantinische Recht vor allem in seiner justinianischen Fassung die Rechtsordnung und das Rechtsdenken, das Staatsrecht und die Reichsidee, das Kirchen- und Familienrecht (Nomokanon), das Agrarrecht (Nomos Georgikos), das bürgerliche Recht, insbesondere in den Staaten der Bulgaren und Serben. Aber dieses Recht wirkt nicht nur bis zum Untergang des byzantinischen Reiches 1453, sondern vereinzelt weiter auch in der Türkenzeit, vor allem im Kirchenrecht. Dieses Recht findet in dem serbisch-griechischen Recht des Zaren Dušan eine selbständige Kodifikation in dem Gesetzbuch von 1349 (Dušanov zakonik). Wie lange das byzantinische Recht auch in der Türkenzeit weiterlebte, beweist die Tatsache, daß ein Volksgericht in

[14] Über die byzantinische Kunst am Balkan: Neben den älteren Arbeiten von G. Millet (*L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, Paris 1930), A. Grabar (*Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris 1928), A. Protič, "Denacionalizirane i văzraždane na bălgarskoto izkustvo prez turskoto robstvo ot 1393 do 1879 godina", in: *Bălgarija 1000 godini 927-1927* (Sofia 1930), S. 383-540; derzeit vom gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung und für unsere balkanische kulturmorphologische Fragestellung maßgeblich und wichtig in Details und Spezialliteratur: Svetozar Radojčić, *Tekstovi i freske*. Matica Srpska, Mosaik 25; für das bulgarische Gebiet: Kyrill Krastev, "Ein unbekannter Vorläufer der Malerei der Renaissance", in: *Bulgarische Beiträge zur europäischen Kultur*, Sofia 1968, S. 85-108. Für das griechische Gebiet die Arbeiten von Stylianos Pelekanidis (Saloniki).

Montenegro noch im Jahre 1800 sich auf die Vorschrift im "Gesetz von Konstantin und Justinian" beruft, daß man noch im 19. Jahrhundert auf Grund des Strafrechtes der Ekloge der untreuen Frau die Nase abschnitt. In Rumänien setzte die Wirkung des byzantinischen Rechtes später im 13. Jahrhundert ein, erhielt sich aber bis ins 19. Jahrhundert. Die kulturelle Umorientierung nach dem Westen in den neuen Nationalstaaten des 19. Jahrhunderts wird dadurch sichtbar, daß jetzt teils das österreichische, teils das preußische, teils das belgische, teils der Code Napoléon zum Vorbild im Aufbau der rechtlichen Ordnung genommen wurde.[15] Die Weiterwirkung der griechischen Sprache und Kultur, also des sogenannten Byzantinismus durch die Jahrhunderte der Türkenherrschaft war vor allem durch die Tatsache gegeben, daß die griechische Geistlichkeit im Türkischen Reich auf dem Balkan einen beherrschenden Einfluß hatte, ebenso wie im sozialwirtschaftlich gesellschaftlich-urbanen Bereich die griechischen Händler. — Der griechisch-byzantinische Kultureinfluß erlebte in Rumänien im 18. Jahrhundert eine neue Hochblüte durch die Griechen aus dem Phanar, die sogenannten Phanarioten, die hier mit der Errichtung von Akademien, Förderung der Dichter und Gelehrten, zu einer Renaissance der klassischen Traditionen führten. In der neugriechischen Renaissance in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden dann durch Griechen auch westliche französische und deutsche Bildungswerte den Balkanvölkern übermittelt.[16]

Im territorialen Bereich der byzantinischen hochkulturellen Ausdrucksform entwickelt sich in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft vom 15.-19. Jahrhundert, vor allem im zentralen, östlichen, westlichen und südlichen Balkan, eine balkanisch-orientalische Stadtkultur, mit spezifischen gesellschaftlichen, zivilisatorischen, wirtschaftlichen und architektonischen Erscheinungsformen (Marktleben der čaršija, handwerkliche Produktion und Organisation des Esnaf, eigenes Bildungswesen, Liebesleben usw.) — ich verweise auf die literarische Gestaltung ihrer mentalen Eigenheit durch Bora Stanković und Ivo Andrić, — eine Stadtkultur, die in Tracht-, Ess- und Wohnformen heute noch sichtbar ist und in das ländlich-

[15] Vgl. Alexander V. Soloviev, "Der Einfluß des byzantinischen Rechts auf die Völker Osteuropas", in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 76. Bd. (1959), S. 432-479.

[16] W. Theodor Elwert, "Zur griechisch-rumänischen Symbiose der Phanariotenzeit", in: *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung*, S. 391-402, München 1966; zu den Auswirkungen auf Bulgaren und Serben: Beweise im Einzelnen bei Michail Arnaudov, "Gărcka i bălgarska prosveta v načaloto na XIX věk", in: *Bălgarska istoričeska biblioteka* Bd. I, 3, S. 148-176, Sofia 1928. Hinsichtlich der serbisch-griechischen Kulturbeziehungen, vgl. Vladan Djordjević, "Grčka i srpska prosveta", *Srpska Kraljevska Akademija*, Pos. izd. VI, 2, Beograd 1896.

dörfliche Leben ausstrahlte und auswirkte wie das islamische Recht der türkischen Herrenschicht.[17]

Wie in der Volkskultur finden wir auch in der Hochkultur synkretistische Erscheinungen so im literatursprachlichen Schriftgebrauch z.B. bulgarische Dichtungen von Konstantin Miladinov und Grigor Prličev in griechischer Schrift, bosnische serbokroatische Gedichte in arabischer Schrift.

b) Die mediterran geformte Kulturlandschaft ist ausgeprägt vor allem in den dalmatinischen Stadtkommunen mit eigenen Rechts- und gesellschaftlichen Gemeinschaftsformen, mit einer blühenden eigenständigen Literatur, Wissenschaft und bildenden Kunst vom 15.-18. Jahrhundert, mit Hauptanregungen und Vorbildwirkungen von Italien her, aber auch mit engen Kulturverbindungen mit dem westeuropäischen, darunter auch französischen Kulturleben. Diese mediterrane Kultur wirkte besonders in ihren Bildungserrungenschaften fruchtbar anregend auch während der Türkenherrschaft in das Innere des Balkans, in den bosnischen, bulgarischen und nordalbanischen Bereich von Skutari, vor allem durch die Tätigkeit der in den dalmatinischen und italienischen Bildungsstätten ausgebildeten katholischen Franziskaner und Jesuiten.[18]

c) Die mitteleuropäisch geformte Kulturlandschaft: Abgesehen von den Auswirkungen von Ungarn auf das mittelalterliche Bosnien (Jajce), handelt es sich vor allem um den nördlichen Bereich des Balkans, den Bereich der nördlichen Kroaten, der unter türkischem Druck aus dem Zentralbalkan über die Donau und Save nach Norden gewanderten und dort im pannonischen Bassin, der späteren Vojvodina, angesiedelten Serben, und die Rumänen diesseits der Karpaten. In diesem Bereich wirkten seit der Zeit des Humanismus gesellschaftlich, wirtschaftlich und

[17] Zur Charakteristik der balkanisch-orientalischen Stadtkultur, vgl. Josef Matl, *Kultur der Südslawen*, S. 26ff; ders., "Das orientalische Element der in Kultur der Balkanvölker", in: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients*, Bd. II (München 1967), insb. S. 76ff. — Zur Wirkung des islamischen Rechtes: Avdo Sućeska, "Die Rechtsstellung der Bevölkerung in den Städten Bosniens und der Herzegowina unter den Osmanen (1463-1878)", in: *Die Stadt in Südosteuropa, Struktur und Geschichte*, S. 84-99 (= *Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch* 8. Bd., München 1968). Weitere Literatur zum osmanischen Recht am Balkan bei Josef Matl, *Historische Grundlagen der agrarsozialen Verhältnisse* ... S. 157f.

[18] Über den kulturellen insbes. künstlerischen Ausdruck dieser mediterranen Kulturlandschaft vgl. Ljubo Karaman, *Dalmacija kroz vjekove u historiji i umjetnosti*, Split 1934 (= *Pomorska biblioteka Jadranske Straže*, Kolo II, svezak III); in der gleichen Serie über die Assimilation und Slavisierung antiker ethnischer und Kulturgrundlagen Petar Skok, *Dolazak Slovena na Mediteran*, Split 1934; über die kulturelle Ausstrahlung ins Innere des Balkans vgl. Josef Matl, "Das romanische Element am Balkan", in: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients* Bd. VII, S. 33:52.

kulturell erneuernd und präformierend (Entstehung eines neuen Bürgertums und Militäradels), die mitteleuropäischen Bildungsstätten, vor allem Wien, Budapest, später Prag. Diese präformierende Wirkung wird dann verstärkt im Barock, dessen kulturell- und wirtschaftlich-organisatorische Auswirkungen über die Donau nach Süden bis nach Bulgarien reichen.[19] Mit der Aufklärung, insbesondere in seiner Form des österreichischen Josefinismus, werden neue profane Bildungsideen und Institutionen (Schulen, Presse, Theater, Wissenschaft) auch südlich der Donau im Zentralbalkan wirksam und begründen dann in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts mit der Nationalisierung der Kulturziele und Kulturarbeit, mit dem Anknüpfen an die eigene Volkskultur und die nationale Geschichte im Geiste der Volkstumsromantik die heutige europäische Form der neuen Hochkultur am Balkan.[20] Von jetzt an haben die Balkanvölker all einzelnen Entwicklungs- und Erneuerungsstufen der europäischen politisch-ideologischen, wissenschaftlichen wie auch der Kunsttätigkeit als Aufnehmende und auch als gleichwertig Mittätige mitgemacht, bei fortschreitender Verdrängung der früheren byzantinischen und orientalischen Ausdrucks- und Lebensformen.

VI. Wenn man im kulturellen Gesamtprozeß und beim Aufbau der Hochkultur die Wirksamkeit der Faktoren *Staat*, *Kirche*, *Gesellschaft* ins Auge faßt, so ergeben sich folgende charakteristische Unterschiede gegenüber der Entwicklung in Westeuropa: Die Kirche ist besonders bei den orthodoxen Bulgaren, Serben, Griechen, Rumänen, aber auch bei den katholischen bosnischen Kroaten und Nordalbanern, der stärkste und am längsten, bis tief ins 19. Jahrhundert, dauernde Faktor nicht nur der Erhaltung des patriarchalen Volkstums und seiner Ethik, seiner Kulturformen, des nationalen Traditionsbewußtseins, sondern ebenso auch der Äußerungsformen der Hochkultur.[21] Der Faktor Staat mit einer staatstragenden und kulturprägenden aristokratischen Oberschicht ist nur im mittelalterlichen Bulgarien (Zar Boris, Zar Simeon, Trnovo) und

[19] Über die Spätauswirkungen des Barocks auf dem Gebiet der bulgarischen Architektur vgl. Milko Bičev, *Bălgarski barok*, Sofia 1955; des Dramas, Venceslava Bechyňová, "K otázce bulharského literarního baroka", in: *Slavia* XXXVII, S. 270-292, insbes. 286f.

[20] Näheres darüber mit Literaturangaben bei Josef Matl, "Die Europäisierung des Südostens", in: *Völker und Kulturen Südosteuropas*, S. 218-236.

[21] Über den Faktor orthodoxe Kirche vgl. H. F. Schmid, "Funktion und Organisation der orthodoxen Kirchen in Südosteuropa", in: *Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch* 3. Bd., S. 34-46, München 1959. Details über die Mäzenatenleistung serbischer Mitropoliten und Patriarchen bei Djoko Slijepčević, *Istorija srpske pravoslavne crkve*, I (München, 1966).

Serbien (Hl. Sava, Nemanjiden, Milutin, Zar Dušan, Despoten als Klosterstifter) hochkulturell wirksam, während dann der Staat ebenso die Aristokratie für ein halbes Jahrtausend als kulturprägender Faktor ausfällt, wenn man von den für die Türken bzw. Muslimen selbst bestimmten Repräsentationsbauten der Moscheen, Bäder, Brunnen, von ihren theologischen Bildungsanstalten z.B. in Sarajevo absieht. In dieser Zeit vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert üben wesentlich nur die autonomen dalmatinischen Stadtkommunen, vor allem Dubrovnik-Ragusa, eine kulturtragende Funktion aus, bis dann seit dem 18. Jahrhundert mit den österreichischen Kaisern Maria Theresia und Josef II. wieder der Staat als kulturaufbauender Faktor mit Auswirkungen bis nach Serbien, Bosnien, Albanien in Erscheinung tritt; schließlich dann im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert die neuen Nationalstaaten. Vom Standpunkt der Feudalität und Urbanität als Kulturfaktoren finden wir hier also eine andere Struktur als in Westeuropa, eine geringere Wirksamkeit des feudalen und urbanen Elementes; allerdings mit einer ganz spezifischen Erscheinung, daß nämlich vor allem bei den Serben wie auch bei den Bulgaren die Vertreter des neuen wirtschaftlich erstarkenden und kulturell aufgeschlossenen Handelsbürgertums als Mäzene großen Stils im Aufbau der neuen Kulturinstitutionen, vor allem seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, mit ihren Stiftungen (zadužbine) in Erscheinung treten, daneben aber und früher schon auch kirchliche Führungspersönlichkeiten wie serbische Mitropoliten und Patriarchen wie z.B. die Gründung einer Druckerei durch den Mitropoliten von Novo Brdo Nikanar im Kloster Gračanica Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, dann die Schulfonds der Mitropoliten Pavle Nenadović und Stevan Stratimirović im 18. Jahrhundert, des Mitropoliten und Patriarchen Georgije Branković im 19. Jahrhundert, die Legate des Archimandriten Nićifor Dučić für nationalhistorische Untersuchungen. Oder der katholische kroatische Bischof J. J. Stroßmayer, der die Universität, die Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Bildergalerie in Zagreb schuf und auch die Kulturbemühungen der orthodoxen Bulgaren aktiv finanziell unterstützte.[22]

VII Beim Aufbau der neuen Hochkultur ergab sich schließlich ein weiteres charakteristisches Moment: daß nämlich dieser Neuaufbau im 19.

[22] Beispiele für die Serben bei Dušan Popovič, *Srbi u Vojvodini*, Knj. 2, S. 381-400. — Über J. J. Stroßmayer als Mäzen vgl. J. Matl, "Joseph Georg Stroßmayer", in: *Neue österreichische Biographie ab 1815*, Bd. 9, 1956, S. 73-83 und ders., "Die Leistung des kroatischen Bischofs Stroßmayer für den nationalkulturellen Fortschritt der Bulgaren", in: *Bulgarische Jahrbücher* Bd. I, 1968, S. 111-119.

und 20. Jahrhundert in seinem literarischen wie auch in seinem bildnerisch-künstlerischen Ausdruck eine *Wiederentdeckung*, neue *Fruchtbarmachung* und neue *Interpretation* der literarisch künstlerischen Manifestation der Altkultur, besonders der Volksdichtung und seiner Ethik, beinhaltete und damit das neue nationale Geschichtsbewußtsein mitformte — bei gleichzeitig aktiver Abwehrstellung gegen die politisch-national-kulturelle Überfremdung. Beispiele: Bei den Kroaten von Ivan Mažuranić "Smrt Smail age Čengića" (1846) bis zu Ivo Vojnović "Smrt majke Jugovića" (1907), M. Ogrizović "Hasanaginica" (1909), bis zur Gestaltung der heroischen "Vidovdanska etika" durch den weltberühmten Bildhauer Ivan Meštrović; bei den Serben von P. P. Njegoš "Gorski vijenac" (1847) bis zu Milutin Bojić und M. Rakić; bei den Bulgaren von G. Rakovski bis zu P. Slavejkov "Kărvava pesen" (1911-1913); bei den Albanern Gj. Fishta "Lahuta e malcís" "Laute des Hochlandes"; bei den Rumänen Michail Kogălniceanu, Bogdan Haiden, Vintila Horia, Miha il Sadoveanu.[23]

Im Ganzen, weltgeschichtlich gesehen, haben die Balkanvölker sowohl in ihrer Leistung auf dem Gebiet der archaischen Volkskultur wie auch auf dem Gebiet der Hochkultur in Kunst und Wissenschaft trotz der schwierigen und ungünstigen Entwicklungsverhältnisse den Beweis erbracht, daß sie voll- und gleichwertige produktive Glieder der europäischen Völkerfamilie sind. Die in Mitteleuropa bis heute übliche pejorative klischeemäßige Bewertung des "Balkanischen" und der "Balkanisierung" besteht also nicht zurecht.

[23] Für die Südslaven weitere Details bei Josef Matl, *Die Kultur der Südslawen*, S. 98ff. Für die Albaner: Maximilian Lambertz, *Gjergj Fishta und das albanische Heldenepos Lahuta e Malcís Laute des Hochlandes*, Leipzig 1949; ferner, Stavro Skendi, "Skenderbeg and Albanian National Consciousness", in: Südostforschungen XXVII, S. 83-88.

THOMAS EEKMAN

PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POETRY OF THE SOUTH SLAVS

(Late 19th and Early 20th Century)

Among the Slavic peoples on the Balkan peninsula, literary life (which in the 19th century came more and more to the fore as an important part of national cultural life) crystallized into four national literatures. These literatures were relatively new; it is true, the Croats had their old cultural traditions, but these had centered around Dubrovnik and some Dalmatian towns in the South; Zagreb had only recently developed into a cultural center. It was only in the 19th century that a new literary language, based on the Štokavian rather than the Kajkavian dialect, was introduced and accepted. As for the rest, Croatia is the only South Slavic area where an uninterrupted literary life can be traced through the centuries, and where the writers of the late 19th century were directly linked with an age-old tradition of written literature. In Serbia cultural development came to a standstill at the end of the Middle Ages and was revived only in the course of the 18th century, mainly among those Serbians who had settled on Austro-Hungarian soil. Serbians took part in general European literary trends, such as the Enlightenment (Dositej Obradović) and romanticism (Branko Radičević, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj and others), but in very small numbers and with a considerable retardation. Only towards the end of the 19th century did literary life become more intensive. An agreement was reached between the Croats and Serbians as to their literary language, which in both cases was based upon the Štokavian dialect. However, there were regional linguistic differences (the Serbians using the Ekavian, the Croats the Ijekavian variant of Serbo-Croatian), differences in vocabulary (partly due to a certain lexical influence of Turkish upon Serbian) and differences in local expressions, etc. There was the still more conspicuous fact, also, that each literature was written in its own alphabet. Moreover, there were the differences in national historical background, religion, and political development

(Serbia became an independent kingdom, whereas Croatia remained part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy) which kept the two peoples apart. Thus two literatures grew, although basically written in one language and situated on adjacent territory (the situation may be compared to that of Dutch and Flemish literature). Although there were many literary contacts between the two peoples, these contacts were not much more intensive than between them and other Slavic peoples. Zagreb and Belgrade were two clearly distinct cultural and literary focuses, and remained so to a certain extent up to the present day, even after half a century of co-existence in one Yugoslav state. As minor literary centers Sarajevo and Mostar played a certain role.[1]

To the West and East of these sororial literatures two other literatures sprang up: the Slovenian and Bulgarian. The circumstances here were quite different. The Slovenians, a small nation incorporated and integrated in Austria, gravitating towards Vienna ("Dunaj" — the Danube —, as it was usually referred to) and Graz, had barely been saved from cultural, and maybe national dissolution by a handful of men of letters. Their literature, though producing the genius of France Prešeren in the first part of the century, had to fight hard battles in order to receive recognition and to become the carrier of national thought and self-expression.

In Bulgaria the long Turkish domination had produced the same mummifying effect on social and cultural life as in the case of Serbia, but the situation was even worse. The ways of escaping the Turkish yoke were blocked; those who succeeded in emigrating found themselves on territories that were farther removed from any cultural center, so they missed strong literary and other cultural stimuli and models. The national liberation, bringing about an enormous expansion of literary activity, came only towards the end of the century.

Thus Zagreb and Belgrade, Ljubljana and Sofia[2] were the hotbeds of four new, or relatively new, literatures.[3] In the last decade of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th century, these literatures all reached

[1] There were other centers, like Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad in Serbia, Karlovac, Zadar and Split in Croatia; however, they lost much of their importance in favor of the rapidly growing two capitals.

[2] Next to Sofia, there were some minor centers: Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Varna, Tŭnovo, Ruse, and others.

[3] Macedonian literature is not discussed here, as it was, during the period in question, still insufficiently developed and crystallized. The literature of Dalmatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro is considered here as a part of Croatian, resp. Serbian literature.

a certain fullness and maturity, a richness of vocabulary and expression. They gained a degree of public interest, a degree of influence upon public opinion and national thought which makes them comparable to many other older European literatures. What was their interrelation or interdependence, and what was their connection with the leading literatures of Europe?

It is obvious that the first trait these literatures have in common is the relationship of the languages they used as their tool. For an intellectual of one of the South Slavic nations it was not too difficult to learn how to read a text written in the language of a neighboring Slavic people. It was in this period not hard to cross the borders between the respective Balkan countries and an exchange of thought was not strongly hampered, although there were periods in which intellectual freedom was suppressed (for instance, the regime of king Milan in Serbia, of governor Khuen Hedervary in Croatia). One might point to the Yugoslav movement which during these very decades gained support and momentum.

However, without denying the importance of a somewhat similar intellectual climate prevailing in the four capitals of comparable national circumstances, I am inclined not to attach too much weight to these resemblances for literary life among the South Slavs. If we choose as a barometer the number of literary translations, we see that there is, during the 19th and 20th century, a considerable number of such translations from one South Slavic language into another. However, this number is not notably larger than the number of translations from, let us say, Italian or Hungarian, not to speak of the stream of translations from German, French, Russian and English. Although it is true that, for instance, the Slovenian poet Stanko Vraz wrote verse both in Slovenian and in Croatian, that the Bulgarian writer Ljuben Karavelov lived in Serbia for some time and wrote short stories in Serbian, that there were personal contacts and even mutual friendship and admiration between writers like the Bulgarian Penčo Slavejkov and the Croatian Ivo Vojnović, etc., nevertheless, these ties were not markedly stronger than those which existed with other European nations. We may take as examples the Croatian poet Petar Preradović, who wrote originally only in German, or France Prešeren and other Slovenians, who also left works written in German. Svetozar Marković, Serbian literary critic, wrote articles in Russian; the Bulgarian writer G. Stamatov wrote in Russian before he started to use Bulgarian in his writings; the Bulgarian poet Stojan Michajlovski was also the author of French verse, etc. Between the Serbians and Croats, because of their almost identical literary language,

the ties could easily be strengthened, and they were in some cases, but there were the many barriers mentioned above.[4] As far as the Yugoslav movement is concerned, we shall see that the modernist poets were largely indifferent towards politics. Few of them were ever engaged or even interested in socio-political problems and slogans. But the old patriotic feelings still had a strong appeal, and this led to the perpetuation of national frictions instead of brotherhood, especially in periods of political or even armed conflicts (e.g. the Serbo-Bulgarian wars of 1885, 1913 and 1914).

It seems obvious that the common features among the South Slavic literatures are to be reduced to general European literary trends, movements, tastes, fashions and preferences, rather than to a strong mutual relationship. It has been stated, for example, that the neighboring Croatian and Slovene literatures in the period under discussion, although developing along parallel lines, had little mutual contact, drawing their inspiration from the same foreign sources (Vienna and Paris, to a large extent).[5] Non-Slavic literatures in South Eastern Europe followed exactly the same line of development. I realize that matters of literary influences and trends do not lend themselves to exact measurements and are not strictly definable, except in very clear-cut cases. A foreign literary influence, for example, may work either directly or through the medium of a third language and literature. Heinrich Heine was one of the major literary influences among the South Slavs, read, admired and emulated by innumerable poets, but known to many of them exclusively in Russian translations. Thus, not only the German poet with his imagery, his way of thinking and expressing himself, his cultural baggage, was transferred to these Bulgarian or Serbian readers-writers, but so were certain qualities of versification, syntax, and modes of expression that were part of the Russian literary tradition.

A factor that should not be underestimated is the impact of folk literature. It is well known that the oral literary tradition (folksongs, lyrical and epic poetry, fairy tales, etc.) was stronger among the Slavs, especially the Eastern and Southern Slavs, than among most Western peoples, and that this tradition constantly enriched written literature.

[4] For instance, the Croatian writers Matoš, Ujević and Krleža lived some time in Belgrade, etc. In periods of national goodwill authors published their works in each other's literary magazines and publishing houses.

[5] Jože Mahnič, *Obdobje moderne* (*Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva*, V, ed. Lino Legiša, Ljubljana 1964), p. 17. There was some personal contact, however: Cankar met and became friends with Matoš and a few other Croats in Vienna; Croatian magazines published some Slovenian poetry.

Folk poetry of the Bulgarians, Serbians, Croats and Slovenes shows many common features and clearly has common foundations. And as this folk element is frequently mirrored in written literature, there is a basis here for literary concurrence. This applies to aspects of imagery, subject matter, ways of expression, vocabulary and language, and to formal aspects of genre, versification, etc. There are Croatian and Serbian as well as Bulgarian poets who took Krali Marko/Marko Kraljević and other epic figures as their heroes. The *deseterac* (decasyllable), major metrical form of lyrical and especially epic folk poetry, was frequently applied by poets both in Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian literature.

It should be pointed out, however, that this unmistakably common factor worked less actively during the period under consideration. It is a period in which many writers turned away from what they considered home-bred, stale literary forms and examples, and instead turned to international models, perennial themes, cosmic issues and the depths of their own microscosm: no more Marko Kraljević, but Cain, Childe Harold, Beethoven, Ibsen's Brand; fewer syllabic folk meters, more syllabotonic forms based on classical, German, English and Russian models. This does not apply to all modernists — in fact, many did use folk elements, as we will see later.

The 1880s were a period of crucial, far-reaching importance in the history of European literature. Handbooks usually mention that it all started in France, where decadence was born in 1880, and symbolism in 1885. But the whole development, which embraced the poetry of most European nations, and changed, enriched, impregnated it, should not be ascribed solely to what Verlaine or Verhaeren wrote in a certain year. It has its roots in general, international trends, feelings, longings, reactions, needs for change, the causes of which cannot be discussed within the scope of this paper. It was not only a question of literary style, but a whole complex of new ideas, stimulated by philosophical theories which gained momentum in the same period: the neo-idealistic writings of such diverse philosophers as Emerson, Maeterlinck, Nietzsche or Bergson. In Germany and Austria the movement was referred to as "die Moderne", (*scil. Bewegung*), and this label (*moderna*) was usually applied to it in Bohemia and the South Slavic regions.[6] For a movement of such diverse aspects this neutral nomenclature is maybe preferable to designations

[6] In Bosnia a group of modernist poets called themselves after the political movement with which they were closely connected, "Young Bosnia" (*Mlada Bosna*), like the "Young Poland" movement of the same period.

like symbolism, decadence, *fin-de-siècle*, impressionism and neo-romanticism. It referred mainly to new developments in poetry, although parallel developments took place in prose. Realism, positivism and naturalism had predominantly used prose as their vehicle; the modernist movement, which largely was a reaction against these trends, expressed itself preferably in verse.

In France Baudelaire was the precursor, Verlaine the first great representative, and Mallarmé and Rimbaud were the further generators and more sophisticated continuators of symbolism. Their poetry was during the eighties and nineties a more prominent, novel, and influential genre than the work of most of the French prose writers of that period. In all of Europe a poetical revival could be observed. In Russia Merežkovskij, Bal'mont, Brjusov, and others initiated the "silver age" of Russian poetry.

As for the Southern Slavs, their poetry likewise flourished more abundantly than their prose, and Miodrag Pavlović even speaks of a "golden age" of Serbian poetry during the modernist period.[7] In the following, we shall eliminate prose and concentrate on poetical matters. This florescence of verse has been preceded by a period of preponderance of prose — I hesitate to say: of realistic prose, as was the rule in most higher developed European nations, because in the mid 19th century, in some cases even during the '70s and '80s, literature in the South Slavic countries still bore a clear stamp of romanticism. It is true, writers in all four areas started to use the devices and methods of realism, stimulated by French and Russian realistic prose: Josip Jurčič, Janko Kersnik, Ivan Tavčar in Slovenia, Evgenij Kumičić, Ksaver Šandor Djalski, Ante Kovačić in Croatia, Jakov Ignjatović, Laza Lazarević, Stevan Sremac, Sima Matavulj in Serbia, and Ivan Vazov, Aleko Konstantinov and Ljuben Karavelov in Bulgaria. But most of these writers published their works only in the eighties, and their appearance did not mean that they immediately superseded the romantic writers.

If the modernist trend in South Slavic poetry was a reaction to preceding, established literary schools, its main targets were the remnants (sometimes still very tenacious) of romanticism rather than realism or naturalism. It was a movement of enthusiastic young men who rejected and combated the literary powers that were the dominant tastes and trends of the eighties. This was expressed at times in a haughty attitude towards the established authorities or towards great names: in Croatia

[7] In the volume *Poezija od Vojislava do Bojića* (ed. M. Pavlović), series *Srpska književnost u književnoj kritici*, VI (Belgrade 1966), p. 192.

towards Ivan Mažuranić and August Šenoa, in Serbia towards the conservative, late epigones of romanticism like Jovanović-Zmaj, Jovan Ilić, Jovan Sterija Popović, in Slovenia towards the cup-and-saucer epigones of Josip Stritar, and even towards such genuine, but old-fashioned poets as Simon Gregorčič and Anton Aškerc, and in Bulgaria towards Ivan Vazov, the glorified, many-sided national writer, and a few of his contemporaries. The modernists in South-Eastern Europe were not 'modern' in their reaction to naturalist art, positivist philosophy and rationalistic, empirical science, as in the West, because these hardly existed here. They were modern in their reaction to pseudo-classical and romantic patterns they had yet to destroy — patterns that had been dead a long time in the rest of Europe.

Thus from a bird's-eye view the modernist movements in each of the four South Slavic nations developed along the same lines and seem to be almost identical. Of course, closer examination shows considerable differences in each of these literatures; at the same time, only on closer examination can we detect similarities that were not visible yet from what was pointed out thus far. Therefore, I would like to dwell briefly on the situation *in poeticis* in each of the four national literatures from about 1890 to the First World War.

In Slovenia this situation is the most surveyable and least complicated. There were four modernists, no fewer and no more. They were schoolmates and friends; they discussed their poetry and wrote part of it in one and the same building — an old, partly burned sugar factory outside of Ljubljana. This *star cukrarna* had been converted into a cheap apartment building, and one of the quartet, Josip Murn (1870-1901), had rented a room there.

Almost anything that can be said of Murn is typical of all of the Slovenian and other South Slavic modernists: his early enthusiasm for Russian literature, which was read and discussed in a high school circle guided by the later prominent publicist Ivan Prijatelj; his passion for the Slavic folk song, for Kol'cov, for romantic literature, for Mickiewicz and Ševčenko, and subsequently for the French symbolists and decadents; his departure (on a scholarship) to Vienna (from where he, however, returned after one semester because of his ill health and an unhappy love affair); the sensitive lyrics he started to write (his first verse was published when he was nineteen) — among other things two cycles of love lyrics with the significant titles *Noči* (Nights) and *Fin de Siècle*; and finally his premature death at the age of twenty-two. As we shall see, virtually all

the South Slavic modernists lived for some time in Western Europe (France, less often Germany or Austria) during their formative years; most of them were nourished by the Russian classics; and — detail of a different order, but no less striking — many of them died at a very early age.

Characteristic of Murn's modest poetic output,[8] and characteristic, to a large extent, of the poetry of the modernists under discussion, is first of all a preponderance of love and nature lyrics, in which he endeavors to avoid all rhetorics, to write simply, directly, and to convey intimate feelings. Usually nature is described in an impressionistic way, in a few broad outlines or salient, evocative details, and usually it is not described for its own sake, but in concord with the poet's own inner life.[9] Of course, the linking and equating of natural phenomena like sun and blue sky, storm and rain, lovely or wild scenery with the state of the poet's soul is an old poetic device which was used in classical or romantic poetry as well. What is specific about the modernist (symbolist) style is a preference for the night, for dreary weather and desolate landscapes, corresponding to pessimistic, gloomy or desperate feelings; furthermore, a search for original, striking images, similes, terms, and sounds, a melodious language.

It should be mentioned that in Murn's case not all of his lyric poems are melancholic; in several of them he gives utterance to a cheerful mood (e.g., "Pelin", "Enaka", "Pesem" ["Kakor roža na poljani"], "Tu je jesen in mi se ženimo)". We find the same in the work of several other modernists: their hopelessness does not pervade their entire poetical output. In some cases we may assume that the *fin de siècle* gloominess is not an integral part of their being, their world outlook, but acquired and developed under the impact of an influential and very international fashion. In other cases the modernist trend may have aroused and activated a genuine pessimistic attitude; but after a certain period of time this attitude may have given way to other moods. Only in some instances a deep melancholy or pessimism became part and parcel of a poet's physiognomy and of his work throughout his creative years.

Another quality of Murn's poetry that should be signalized is his use of rhythms and meters, images, tones and terminology of folk poetry. This feature the South Slavic modernists certainly did not have in

[8] The best edition of his works is by D. Pirjevec, *Zbrana dela*, 2 vols. (Ljubljana, 1954).

[9] Examples would be Murn's poems "Sneg" ("Prelepa noč, pomladna noč") and "Ko dobrave se mrače". Only in a few instances is his nature description more detailed and written for its own sake, without references to the poet's own inner life (cf. "Zima").

common with West European contemporaries, in whose poetry the folklore element was mostly absent. It is characteristic of the Slavic poets of the modernist period that they, although intensely preoccupied with their inner self, the sufferings of their heart, and their relation to God and the universe, did not despise the simple popular song and the forms of folk poetry, just like their romantic predecessors; some of them used these elements even quite frequently. This fully applies to Murn (cf. his "Prišel čas je krog Božiča", "Ah, ti bori", "Želja po nevesti", and others). A poem like "Pa ne pojdem prek poljan" shows a combination of folklore and symbolistic elements: the tone of a popular song, the image of the raven as a symbol and augury of death and destruction:

Pa ne pojdem prek poljan,
je v poljani črni vran,
je v poljani noč in dan.

Jaz bojim se ga močno,
črno vranje je oko,
črnja slutnja gre z meno.

Ah, v tujini budem pal,
vran oči mi iskljuval,
krakal bo, ne žaloval.

Murn's poem is, for the rest, reminiscent of a poem by Walter Scott, which he may have known in Puškin's version: "Šotlandskaja pesnja".[10]

We would go into too much detail if we would here discuss the question in which respects the modernist attitude towards and its use of folklore elements differ from that of other poetic schools.

Connected with the element of national folklore is the feeling of patriotism — again a feature that is seldom found in the symbolist (modernist) poetry of the West. It is true, Verlaine wrote that "l'amour de la patrie est le premier amour,/ Et le dernier amour après l'amour de Dieu",[11] but in his poetry or in that of his symbolist compatriots even the word "France" is rarely mentioned.[12] In the minds of the South Slavs, however, national consciousness was so much alive that it had to find an outlet in their poetry, too. Here again the modernists carried on

[10] Also known as "Voron k voronu letit". Compare Murn's last line with Puškin's similarly constructed last line: "ne ubitogo, živogo". The meter is identical, except for Puškin's alteration of masculine and feminine endings.

[11] The opening lines of his poem "Bonheur", II (Paul Verlaine, *Choix de poésies*, 20e mille, Paris, 1902, p. 349).

[12] In fact, the word "Belgium" occurs more often: Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé and Rimbaud all visited Belgium and referred to it in their poems.

existing traditions, not bringing about a break with or reacting against preceding trends. However, they tried to avoid bombastic tones, and rarely let their patriotic poetry preponderate over other genres. As their respective nations were, during the period under discussion, still fighting for national independence or national existence, it is understandable that the theme of the fatherland turns up from time to time, especially in periods of tension, which in some cases meant: conflicts of Slavic states among themselves (particularly Serbia and Bulgaria). While, in the times of the Second Balkan War (1913), the Serbian poet Aleksa Šantić sang the praise of the Vardar as a Serbian river, Ivan Vazov claimed that same river as Bulgarian. Speaking of Macedonia Vazov exclaimed "Mi ne davame ja" ('We don't abandon her'), and warned the Serbians "Ni pedja zemja!" ('We won't budge an inch!'), while Šantić states that "mi dodjosmo samo u domove stare" ('We only returned to the old dwellings'). However, more often Serbian and Bulgarian poets pronounced for reconciliation between the two nations (cf. Vazov's contemporary Penčo Slavejkov, who was friendly with the Serbian poet Jovan Dučić and the Croatian Ivo Vojnović, and who loved and translated the Serbian Jovanović-Zmaj).

In the works of the Slovene modernists expressions of patriotism are rare — only one of them, Župančič, repeatedly struck patriotic notes, for instance in his longer poem "Naša beseda" ('Our Word', in which appears the line: "Slovenska misel, vzpluj, vrzi se do nebes!"), or in "Duma", another longer poem in the volume *Samogovori* (Soliloquies, 1908).

There are certain aspects which are characteristic for the French, but are missing in the Slavic poetry of this movement. To start with, French symbolist poetry is often less purely lyrical and emotional, but more intellectual and rhetoric than the South Slavic. Typical examples would be Baudelaire and — in a later generation — Rimbaud (especially in his later works), with their often ironic attitude, their exclamatory style, their tendency to give a poem a witty turn. Moreover, symbolists like Mallarmé and Rimbaud wrote part of their poetry in an associative, difficult, sometimes even almost hermetic style, which made them the forerunners of Valéry and of the surrealists. Compared to them, the South Slavs are much simpler, much more direct in their language and the expression of their feelings, less sophisticated and more logical in their meditations. A second point of difference is the erotic and sensual element, which is definitely more prominent and more strongly developed among the French poets. In French symbolist poetry one can distinguish

three basic attitudes with respect to women: that of adoration, deification almost, which is not frequently found among South Slavic poets, partly maybe (especially in the case of the Serbians and Bulgarians) because it was not accepted in a still strongly patriarchal society; secondly, a playful, lighthearted, and often — for those times — quite outspoken sensuality, which is traditionally called typically French and seems not quite to tally with the nature of the (South) Slavs. Besides, we should remember that each of the four South Slavic literatures was subject to censorship of one form or another. Baudelaire's exclamation "Volupté sois toujours ma reine!"[13] would not easily be adopted by any of the South Slavs under discussion. A third attitude is that of mockery at negative qualities of women: their domineering spirit, their unfaithfulness, perfidy, subtlety, and their seductiveness. Complaints about female infidelity are an ever recurring theme in Slavic poetry, but it usually brings the poet to distress and despair, not to a mocking attitude. Finally, an element that is more strongly represented in French than in South Slavic poetry of the late 19th and early 20th century is its classicism, i.e. the constant references to Greek and Latin history, mythology and literature and the frequent use of names from antiquity. This classicist tradition was so much alive in French literature that it continued its existence throughout the symbolist period. Among the South Slavs, on the other hand, classicism had no strong roots; unlike the Russians and Poles, they did not know a (pseudo)classicist period, their modern literary traditions go back to the early 19th century, when classicism had disappeared and was replaced by romanticism. The only exception is Dalmatia, which had shared the classical heritage with Italy; it is, therefore, not surprising that vestiges from antiquity are somewhat more frequent in Croatian than in any of the other South Slavic literatures.[14]

Returning to modernism in Slovenia, I should mention, next to Murn, the name of his friend Dragotin Kette (1876-1899), whose works in many ways resemble Murn's. He seems to have paid somewhat more attention to the technique and the formal aspect of his verse and had a special preference for the sonnet. This is again characteristic of the modernists, who on the whole polished the forms and strove after well constructed, beautiful, melodious verse (although they, on the other hand, as a reaction against outworn versificatory traditions, often neglected the

[13] In his poem "La prière d'un païen", *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1951). A whole cycle of verse like his "Galanteries" would be difficult to compare with anything in South Slavic poetry of this period.

[14] For instance, in the poetry of S. S. Kranjčević, A. Tresić Pavičić, V. Vidrić and V. Nazor. (We do find some antique reminiscences in Kette's sonnets.)

obligatory stanza form and, following the French symbolists, introduced 'free verse' without a division into stanzas). The sonnet was a special favorite form with the symbolists — few of them did not express themselves in it. Kette, in his short lifetime, wrote about sixty sonnets, forty-five of them in a period of nineteen days in the summer of 1898. They show a greater variety of meters, endings (both masculine and feminine), and rhyme structure than the classical type, which in Slovenian literature was practiced with such mastery by France Prešeren. Like Murn, Kette wrote poems full of mirthless pessimism; however, he arrived at a more balanced, philosophical point of view, basically Christian, but clearly influenced by pantheistic conceptions: Kette read and admired Maurice Maeterlinck's *Trésor des humbles*.[15] We find among his poems quite a number of ironic sallies, scherzandos, romances and ballads, short-lined songs in popular style, sometimes reminiscent of Kol'cov, but without his feeling of pity on the poor peasant's plight.[16]

More serious-minded, somber and melancholic is the third Slovene modernist, Ivan Cankar (1876-1918), who during his studies in Vienna became extremely interested in the new currents in French and German-Austrian literature, literary criticism and philosophy. He was a most active avant-gardist, transmitting the poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, the German Richard Dehmel, and others, and the philosophical ideas of Maeterlinck and Nietzsche to his friends in Ljubljana and, via his works, to the Slovenian public.

After his first collection of verse, *Erotika* (1899), he soon left decadence and even gave up poetry altogether; he became Slovenia's foremost writer of short stories (which do contain symbolistic elements). Cankar also left his individualistic, Nietzschean philosophy and developed a strong, critical social consciousness and engagement. But he admitted later that the modernist period had developed in him a gift of rendering genuine, diverse and subtle emotions, a refined way of expressing himself. And this was exactly what the movement meant to many poets in all of the South Slavic literatures. This is what lent it its extraordinary importance.

[15] Cf. his cycle of eight sonnets "Moj Bog", which is preceded by a quotation from Maeterlinck (Dragotin Kette, *Zbrano delo*, I, Ljubljana, 1949, p. 144).

[16] It is noteworthy that Kette, in one of his sonnets, addressing the Slovenian writers, says: "Bežim pred vami, slavni morituri, / ker, kaj je treba tožnih vzdihovanj, / čemu je treba brezkoristnih sanj?" ('I fly before you, glorious morituri, because what is the use of sad lamentations, of vacuous phantasms?'). So in contrast to what usually happened, a 'decadent' expressed himself here against the excessively tragic tone of other (older) poets.

A more significant poet than Cankar is Oton Župančič, who likewise during his years in Vienna first read the French and Russian realists, but was then seized and inspired by the decadents — German and French. Although much of his early verse bears the stamp of folk poetry (few Slavic poets were completely free from that folk influence) and one of his poems was even taken by some people as an actual folk song,[17] the new wave in European poetry drove him into another direction. His first collection, *Čaša opojnosti* (1899, the same year as Cankar's *Erotika*), has typical modernist traits: an abundance of personal confessions, spleen, melancholic love poetry, dark symbols and sometimes a truly tragic, ominous tone.

However, his tone gradually changed, his work became permeated with an optimistic vitalism (cf. his ode "Pesem mladosti", 1900). Nevertheless, even in his second volume, *Čez plan* (1903-1904), the nostalgic, gloomy notes have not disappeared ("Grobovi tulijo", "Raznim poetom", "Sonet"). Župančič is one of the best Slovene poets, in whose verse deep reflection and evocative images are coupled with a rich and subtle language and an innovative versification (lines of uneven length, a greater freedom of rhymes than in pre-modernist poetry: compound rhyme, truncated rhyme, assonance rhyme; also inner rhyme). His work shows the strange dichotomy which can be observed in the verse of many modernists; on the one hand, the tendency, signalized in the above, to break with the strict classicist traditions regarding meter, length of lines, stanza structure, and to write 'free' verse — and on the other, the endeavor to polish a poem, to cultivate the forms that were sometimes neglected by romantic and 'realist' poets — an endeavor expressed in the frequent occurrence of sonnets, gazelas, rondels and other old types of verse construction. Župančič practices both sonnets and free verse. As a true modernist he expressed pantheistic, spiritualistic ideas and in some of his poems Nietzschean-romantic conceptions about the exceptional role and position of the superior man, of the creative personality, the poèt. The idea of the poet as a prophet, as the God-inspired bard, occurs frequently among the romantics (Puškin's poems like "Prorok", "Poèt", being among the best known examples). In Župančič's work we find these thoughts in poems like "Ptič Samoživ" (*Čez plan*), "Umetnik in ženska", "Metamorfozi", "Epilog" (in his third volume, *Samogovori*, 1908). The poem "Ob Kvarneru" is a hymn to the sea, a favorite topic

[17] The poem "Da sem jaz ptičica, kam bi zletela", published in 1897 with the subtitle "narodna pesem".

and symbol of the modernists, and at the same time a hymn to free will and superior power.

There were minor poets, epigones, younger followers and continuators of the Slovenian modernists, but the four discussed above stand out as the true representatives of the *moderna* (symbolized by their common grave in Ljubljana), although Cankar and especially Župančič developed in other directions after the turn of the century. Their appearance meant a new chapter and a considerable enrichment of Slovenian literature.

I have dwelt upon the Slovenes at some length in order to exemplify a few qualities of the South Slavic modernists in general; the remaining three literatures will therefore be dealt with more briefly.

In Croatia the movement was no less important; it embraced more poets and is somewhat more complicated, because there are more transitory and peripheral or borderline figures.

Silvije Strahomir Kranjčević (1865-1908) was a forerunner, who taught the modernists how to free the language of the flourish, the stereotypes and rhetorics of the romantics, although even his verse is not free from rhetoric elements (cf. the large number of exclamation points, question marks and dots in his poems). In several of his works he showed his pessimism, his "tragic perception of the world".[18] On the other hand, he is clearly linked with folk poetry (as is shown by the title of his first collection, *Bugarkinje*, 1885). He wrote many poems in a light, folkish style, in syllabic verse (sometimes unrhymed). Kranjčevic demonstrates how, among the South Slavs, romanticism was often, especially in poetry, directly followed by modernism, without the intermezzo of realism, naturalism and rationalism through which literature passed during the 1860s and '70s in Western Europe, Russia and Poland. His belief in the exceptional role of the poet as a visionary is typical of both the romantics and the modernists — at least a considerable number of the latter — and so is the patriotic pathos, expressed mainly in his earlier poetry.

More closely connected with the international modernist movement was Antun Gustav Matoš (1873-1914), a prominent literary critic, prose writer and poet, whose life work it was to renew and uplift Croatian literature, to strip it of its provincial features and to acquaint his fellow countrymen with European literature and esthetic thought (Lemaître, Sainte-Beuve, and others). He was a great worshipper of Beauty — a trait which he had in common with many modernist poets and literary critics. Contrary to the general pattern, he did not start out as a poet and

[18] M. Šicel, *Pregled novije hrvatske književnosti* (Zagreb, 1966), p. 104.

subsequently switch to prose, but published his first poetry only around 1906, after he had established his fame as a prose writer and critic, and wrote about eighty poems during the last eight years of his life.

These poems show him as a sensitive, melancholic personality with a wide cultural background, expressing himself in a variety of genres. He did not shun folklore (cf. the poem "Suza", in 8- and 7-syllable lines), occasionally wrote in a humoristic, satirical vein (cf. "Basna", a fable with the characteristic rhymes *naciju: deputaciju: delegaciju: deklaraciju*), produced love lyrics, nature- and *Stimmung* lyrics (usually gloomy and nocturnal) and patriotic verse. He carefully polished versificatory forms (the sonnet is again one of his favorite verse types). Some of his longer poems (e.g., "Mora") remind us with their long, emotional, voluble stream of words of Miroslav Krleža's prose. Matoš certainly served as a model for later generations of Croatian writers.

Younger contemporaries of Matoš, who in their majority concentrated on poetry and form the phalanx of the modernist movement, are Vladimir Vidrić (1875-1904), Dragutin Domjanić (1875-1933), Milan Begović (1876-1948) and, in a younger generation, Ljubo Wiesner (1885-1951) and Janko Polić-Kamov (1886-1910). Vidrić is the most original and significant poet of the Croatian *moderna*,[19] who published only one volume of poetry (1907) which shows him as a poet of impressionistic description rather than reflection. Domjanić was one of the first modern poets to write, next to Štokavian, also in the Kajkavian dialect. His poem "U mistične noći" is, as it were, a prototype of modernist poetry (not only because of its title): written in an exquisite style, it confronts us with death, nocturnal nature, and then with the "I", the poet's languishing heart.

Begović's poems sometimes have an aristocratic tone and atmosphere, although some of them are sensual, written in a daring, free style and un-poetic language, which strikes us as very modern (cf. the unrhymed poem "Liddy", 1911). He studied and worked (as a dramatist) in Vienna and Hamburg, but the influences upon his poetry came rather from France and especially Italy; he excelled as an author of (syllabic or syllabotonic) sonnets.

Wiesner's poetry is largely descriptive, impressionistic, often typically symbolistic. He was the editor of an interesting volume of poetry by young poets published at the outbreak of World War I (*Hrvatska mlada lirika*, 1914); some poets who later became famous made their début here.

[19] Cf. N. Milićević, A. Šoljan, *Antologija hrvatske poezije* (Zagreb, 1966), p. 314.

It belongs, more than to the *moderna*, in a strict sense, to a new era in Croatian poetry. Polić-Kamov is much freer even than Begović both in his verse technique and his themes and language. In blank verse he expressed his aversion of and revolt against the established society and all its hypocrisy in irate invectives (*Psovke*, 'Abuse', is the title of his first collection, 1907); he was followed by many younger poets. Blank verse became popular with this generation, born around 1890, both among the Croats and the Bosnians ("Mlada Bosna" movement).

More talented, more prolific and of greater impact on the future development of Croatian poetry was Vladimir Nazor (1876-1949), who only under reserve can be reckoned among the modernists. He is — like Tin Ujević in a later generation — such an original, peculiar personality that it is hard to incorporate him in any group or movement. His first poems originated in the early 1890s; his last volume, written during his participation in the partisan struggle during World War II, appeared in 1945; in all, he wrote over one thousand poems. Besides, he was active in almost all other fields of literature. Especially in his early years he wrote preponderantly lyric poetry which was, as contrasted with most modernist poetry, basically optimistic, full of fine observation and deep, ecstatic feeling in nature. His art was rooted in classic and Italian poetry, but the folk and the national element were also represented. A feature that links him with the modernists is his frequent usage of symbols (cf. a poem like "Galeb").

In Serbia, modernism likewise encompassed a great number and a great variety of poets. As a result of historical circumstances the Serbians had, as was previously pointed out, taken part in European literary movements with considerable delay and little intensity. Consequently, during the '70s, '80s and '90s different trends, and schools which were historically widely separated coexisted among Serbian men of letters. A good example is Vojislav Ilić (1860-1894, son of the prominent romantic poet Jovan Ilić), who during his short life went through several poetic trends. He was widely read and influenced by various great figures and schools in European literary history. "These contacts of Ilić with English, German, Russian, antique and other poets..., because of which his originality as a poet has often been denied him, were, in fact, the most original thing he contributed to our poetry", wrote Milorad Pavić in his introduction to a recent Ilić-volume.[20] Ilić admired the

[20] *Vojislav Ilić*, collection of essays, ed. M. Pavić (series "O književnosti", Belgrade, 1966), p. 9. Cf. on Ilić also Robert Felber, *Vojislav Ilić. Leben und Werk* (München, 1965).

classical authors and ancient mythology, which left a deep imprint on his work (also formally: he repeatedly tried his hand at the hexameter and pentameter, to which he gave a somewhat serbianized form); he was a better classicist than professed classicists like Lukijan Mušicki or Jovan Sterija Popović in the first half of the century.[21] At the same time he was strongly influenced by the romantic poets and, in fact, more imbued by the great poetry of romanticism (Byron and Heine on the one hand, Puškin and Lermontov, on the other) than was any other Serbian author, even those usually called romanticists. As a matter of fact, Ilić fought the bombastic chauvinism of the untalented romantic poets of the '70s.

Since Ilić lived and worked in the era of realism in Europe (and he kept abreast of international literary developments, without the long delay that had been normal in Serbian letters), it is only natural that this trend was also mirrored in his work. It appears in the purely descriptive, objective poems not showing the author's intervention (cf. poems like "Jesen", "Veče"). He has been compared, in this respect, to Leconte de Lisle (whom he never read) and the other French parnassists.[22] One contemporary called him "a pure naturalistic Parnassian poet".[23] However, modern Serbian literary historians have noticed that Ilić did not stop here, but during the last years of his life, searching for new roads in the development of poetry, reached a form of symbolism, which makes him the direct predecessor of the modernists.[24]

The word "symbol" is used in his poem "Kleon i njegov učenik" (1892), in more or less the same sense as Baudelaire used it. He recognizes the existence of hidden meanings behind the phenomena of 'correspondences'.[25] Like the symbolists, he seems to be obsessed by the acoustic, musical aspect of the world surrounding him; cf. poems like "Veče na brodu", or "Kad se ugasi tama", which he wrote only a few days before his death:

> I staro, strpljeno hrašće zašušti monotono
> Starinsku nekakvu pesmu, starinski neki jad;
> Beli se zanija cvetak, k'o malo srebrno zvono,
> Zapeva ceo sad,

[21] Cf. Milorad Pavić, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

[23] Jovan Dučić, quoted by J. Skerlić, in the volume *Vojislav Ilić* (Belgrade 1966), p. 247.

[24] Milorad Pavić in his introduction to *Vojislav Ilić*, p. 12; also in *Poezija od Vojislava do Bojića*, series "Srpska književnost u književnoj kritici", VI, (Belgrade, 1966), p. 53-59.

[25] In the poem, Cleon's disciple complains: "What a terrible thought: to consider all I see and hear / As a symbol, a thing that means something different."

and:

To nisu čiste sile,
No moje nemirne duše neopevani jad.

Like the modernists, he identifies himself with nature (in such poems as "Elegija na razvalinama kule Severove" and "Zapušteni istočnik"). He paints in a truly impressionistic way, often evoking melancholic and elegiac moods. But he was not, like some of his contemporaries, a transcendental or mystical poet.

Thus Vojislav, who passed through at least four main periods of European literary style in a creative period of less than fifteen years, is a unique phenomenon in South Slavic literature. One of the important aspects of Ilić's activity was, as in the case of modernism elsewhere, the attention he drew to the form and technique of poetic creation. In this respect the Serbians still had very much to learn. In the nineties a true "Vojislavism" reigned among young Serbian poets;[26] he was proclaimed the greatest Serbian poet, or, as the modernist Jovan Dučić put it later: "Even if Vojislav did not succeed in becoming our greatest poet, he is certainly our most beautiful poet."[27]

Ilić thought highly of the poet as a visionary, an individualistic, aristocratic personality who has the elevated task of looking for and singing the praise of beauty ("Smrt Periklova", "Pa šta me se tiče njihovo veselje?", "Dva pesnika", "Pesnik"). This esthetic exclusivism did not prevent him from being at times politically engaged ("Kralj Ričardo", obviously aimed at king Milan), patriotic ("Domovini"), and panslavistic ("Slovensko zvono"). There is a contradiction between this panslavism and the fact that he voluntarily took part in the Serbo-Bulgarian war of 1885.

Most important is his role as a transmitter of western poetic patterns, themes and thought — even though the only foreign language he knew was Russian; but in that language he read not only Žukovskij, Puškin and Lermontov, but also Marlowe, Byron and several other English poets from the 18th and early 19th century. Remarkable, likewise is the fact that Ilić used classical motifs, images, forms etc. not under the influence of his study of the classics, not even from reading them in Serbian translations, but via the abundant classical references he found in poets like Žukovskij and Puškin.

Aleksa Šantić (1868-1924), who lived most of his life in the Herce-

[26] Ilić also exercised a certain influence upon Croatian poets like S. S. Kranjčević and V. Nazor; cf. Ante Petravić's essay in the volume *Vojislav Ilić*, p. 323.

[27] Jovan Dučić, "Spomenik Vojislavu", in *Delo* (1902), reprinted in the volume *Vojislav Ilić*, p. 182.

govinian capital Mostar, published his first verse in 1887, and at the turn of the century, with his collections of 1891, 1895, 1901 and 1908, became one of the most popular Serbian poets. He, too, studied Heine, and translated his works and those of other German poets. Though older than the true Serbian modernists, he partially belongs to them. A poem like his "Noć" (1906), written in the sonnet form (which Vojislav Ilić had rarely used), is very much a modernist poem with its ominous tone, its dreary, frightening resources (night, wind, lightning, a seething ocean), the presentation of a hopeless struggle of man against inexorable fate. A somber tone, complaints of loneliness, and melancholic memories are the main characteristics of his well-known longer poem "Predpraznička veče". One of his recurrent themes is the transitoriness of youth. But Šantić had other themes and topics as well: a good deal of his poems are patriotic.

Widely open to French influences, much more than to German ones like in the case of Šantić, were Jovan Dučić (1874-1943) and Milan Rakić (1876-1938), usually regarded as the main representatives of modernism in Serbia. Dučić has been accused of plagiarism and of producing banal verse, *Kitsch*. Although some of his poems, however, evince a certain snobbery and false sentimentalism, and some show resemblances to poems by French poets (Baudelaire, Sully-Prudhomme, Albert Samain, José Maria de Heredia), he nevertheless has enough originality and genuine poetic talent to deserve a prominent place in this "golden era" of Serbian poetry. In his twelve-syllable verse (alexandrines), with high technical perfection, he wrote about beauty, about strong emotions and longings, striving, in the spirit of symbolism, after a fusion of the author and his object. This fusion should take place in love lyrics, too; the modernist, therefore, does not describe his beloved as a concrete person, does not talk about her or to her, but is rather preoccupied with his (more or less abstract) love, his own sufferings and longings.

Dučić considered a poet great "only when he will tell great truths about the three greatest and most fatal motifs of life and art: about God, Love, and Death."[28] There are, however, few great truths in Dučić's own work, in a philosophical sense. He wrote beautiful meditative verse and nature evocations (in which he is more often than not objective, leaving his ego out of the picture; cf. cycles like "Jutarnje pesme" and "Sunčane pesme"). There is no doubt that Dučić gave Serbian poetry a new, modern spirit and tone.

[28] Quoted by Zoran Gavrilović, "Jovan Dučić", in the volume *Poezija od Vojislava do Bojića*, p. 170.

Milan Rakić published in total about fifty poems, the first one in 1902. Like Dučić, he spent years in Paris and was imbued with French poetry and literary theory. However, regardless of these influences, the traces of Verlaine, Samain, Jammes, Théophile Gautier, Leconte de Lisle and others, his well constructed and disciplined (likewise 11- and 12-syllable) lines show originality and a peculiar beauty. He was a master of versification and enriched the poetic language; but his scale of ideas, colors, ways of expression, and emotions are limited and give the impression of a certain monotony.

Without speaking of Mileta Jakšić, Milorad M. Petrović, Kosta Abrašević, Stevan Luković, Milan Ćurčin, Dušan Srezojević and other contemporaries, I can spend only a few sentences on such interesting poets as Vladimir Petković-Dis (1880-1917) and Sima Pandurović (1883-1960). The first, author of a small number of poems only, many of which show an inferior expressive technique and even contain numerous grammatical errors, left a number of sublime, usually deeply pessimistic poems (cf. his volume *Utopljene duše*). His desperate pessimism and strong preoccupation with death were so much out of tune with the general atmosphere in Serbia and with the ideas of the leading literary critics, particularly Jovan Skerlić, that the bohémien Dis antagonized almost the entire literary world of Belgrade. It is noteworthy that an unmistakable similarity with Baudelaire in themes, requisites and images has been established,[29] though Dis apparently did not read him and did not even know French.

Dis, with his poetry of suggestions, subtle sensations, vague feelings and irrational dreams, started a new trend in Serbian modernism and found followers among the poets after the World War I.

His friend Pandurović, a more prolific author in various fields, was also "a poet of death", but is closer to Rakić in his lack of vagueness, his rational attitude. His almost cynical celebration of death, depravity, the madhouse, was accepted and admired by a certain group of artists and intellectuals, and Skerlić expressed his apprehension of "A Literary Infection", which is the title of his review of Pandurović's first volume of poetry (*Posmrtne počasti*, 1908).

It is somewhat hard to realize that all these individualistic, asocial poets: Dučić, Rakić, Petković-Dis, Pandurović, nevertheless also wrote patriotic verse. This is easier to understand in the case of Milutin Bojić (1892-1917), poet of passion and exaltation ("Himna pokolenja" and

[29] Cf. Velibor Gligorić, "Vladimir Petković Dis", *Poezija od Vojislava do Bojića*, p. 328; Miodrag Pavlović, "Vladimir Petković Dis", *ibid.*, p. 338.

others) and Veljko Petrović (1884-1968) (*Rodoljubive pesme*, 1912), who is much more socially minded, at times even didactic, more optimistic and, in his later work, returns to the folk decasyllable, to the earth and the countryside. Although in his case there is no question of strong and direct ties with French or German modernists, his poetry, partly in 'free verse', shows definite symbolistic features (cf. "Robovi na galiji", "Stope", "Repatica" and others).

Among the Young Bosnians, the most prominent and gifted poet was Miloš Vidaković, propagandist of blank and free verse, but at the same time author of a collection of gracious sonnets (*Carski soneti*), with strong French modernist influences and leanings (he translated Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird*, Bergson, Anatole France, etc.).

Even more so than in Serbia, the new symbolist movement was grafted in Bulgaria upon a literary stem that was still young and meager; it was not a vehement reaction against preceding schools that had outlived themselves, but a first and quite radical widening of horizons, a first intimate acquaintance with what was going on in the international contemporary world of art, thought and literature.

There had not, here, been a succession of baroque, classicism, sentimentalism, romanticism, realism, which the modernists would offset, which would fecundate and at the same time repel them and would urge them to seek new directions. Almost all that existed in Bulgarian poetry prior to the modernists can be summarized in one name: Christo Botev (1848-1876), the inspired bard of national life, national consciousness and national struggle for freedom, who perished in that struggle at an early age. If with anything, he has to be connected with the romantic school in poetry.

A most important and rich source of inspiration was, of course, folk literature. As elsewhere in the South Slavic lands, it was this peculiar blending of folklore elements, romantic reminiscences and new ways of feeling, thinking and expression stimulated by (or copied from) foreign models that gave the *moderna* its special character. In Bulgaria, too, the movement was carried by a few very gifted poets and brought national poetic expression on a European level, enriching the literary language, poetic vocabulary, thematics and forms. This does not mean that the formal aspect of poetry underwent a revolutionary change during the modernist period. Most South Slavic modernists adhered to the syllabotonic verse meters that were traditional in European versification, largely under German and Russian influence, although they occasionally

used syllabic meters, mostly following the folk-song patterns, and only rarely the model of French and Italian syllabic verse.

Unlike the Russian symbolists whom they so admired, the South Slavic poets clung to the classical perfect rhyme system. Only after World War I did bulgarian poets, almost without an exception, change to imperfect, assonance rhyme as it was introduced by some of the Russian symbolists and made into a system by Majakovskij *et al.*[30] Among the other South Slavs, imperfect rhyme never took root. Different explanations of this phenomenon are possible, one of them being the fact that rhyme, which, as a rule, was absent from folk poetry, had no long, strong tradition among the South Slavs and was not time-worn, as in the West (where it was superseded by blank verse in modern poetry) or in Russia.

Another trait that Bulgarian modernism has in common with simultaneous movements elsewhere among the South Slavs is the fact that it did not rise suddenly, but was preceded by a transitory stage, or rather by one man of outstanding personality and talent who, older and more closely connected with the preceding (romantic and/or realist) school, showed traits of the new trend, foreboding it, as it were, and paved the way for the full-fledged modernists. In Slovenia, this role was played by Anton Aškerc; in Croatia, by Silvije S. Kranjčević; in Serbia, by Vojislav Ilić. In Bulgaria Penčo Petkov Slavejkov (1866-1912) had a similar function. There were a few other earlier poets who likewise had some traits in common with the generation born in the '70s and '80s and form a transition to modernism/symbolism, like Ivan Vazov (1850-1921), much more famous as a novelist, Konstantin Veličkov (1855-1907), Stojan Mixajlovski (1856-1927), and Canko Bakalov-Cerkovski (1869-1926).

However, Slavejkov was more important and influential as a poet than any of them, and was considered by a whole group of poets, gathered around predominantly modernist magazines like *Misŭl* (1892-1908) and *Zlatorog* (from 1910 on), as their teacher. He visited Paris and Vienna as a young man (not for study, but for medical treatment); he lived for many years in Leipzig and became well acquainted with European culture through German channels; moreover, he studied Russian literature. As a young man he, too, got to know Heine from Russian translations; later, in Leipzig, he wrote his dissertation on "Heine and Russian Literature".

Slavejkov gave Bulgarian poetry, which up to his time had been rather limited in scope, genres, subject matter, poetic vocabulary and style, a

[30] Cf. T. Eekman, "Rifma v poèzii slavjanskix narodov", in *American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists*, II (The Hague, 1968).

much more profound and varied character. His verse and his world-outlook bear a certain imprint of various European writers: of Goethe, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Stirner, Volkelt — of Puškin, Lermontov, Tolstoj — of Tennyson and Burns. Heine's hypochondria is reflected in Slavejkov's first collection of verse, *Momini sŭlzi* (1888), and in his *Soneti* (1890). This shows that a spirit of despondence and pessimism was not necessarily generated by or imitated from foreign modernists or decadents, whom Slavejkov did not know yet, but could arise without their direct influence. Upon Vojislav Ilić, for example, Heine did not act in a pessimistic way!

With *Epičeski pesni* (1896-1898) Slavejkov for the first time introduced in Bulgarian literature international problems and figures (Beethoven, Michelangelo, Shelley, the German poet Lenau and the Greek antique woman Fryne are among the heroes of his epic poems). Like Šantić in Serbia, he compiled, translated and published a collection of German poetry (*Nemski poeti*). There is a certain impressionism in his lyrical poetry, and he paid attention to questions of form and composition, cultivating exquisite verse and musical language, like the modernists, but unlike most preceding poets; he showed for Bulgarian literature "that it is necessary not only to sing, to improvise, but also to create".[31] Slavejkov is an example of a poet who, without himself going through the school of Baudelaire, Verlaine, Dehmel or Blok, felt and created in a similar spirit (a poem like "Simfonija na beznadežnostta" evinces a profound, philosophically thought-out pessimism) and thus contributed to making the mind receptive to symbolist themes, phrases, and moods.

Kiril Xristov (1875-1944) is one of Bulgaria's most cosmopolitan poets (he studied, lived, traveled in various Western countries, knew several literatures and translated many works from them), who chronologically belongs to the modernist period, but his work is only partly connected with this movement. He showed himself as an anacreontic, hedonistic lyricist (*Pesni i vŭzdiški*, 1896; *Trepeti*, 1897; *Večerni senki*, 1899: volumes with a partly erotic content, which made him extremely popular). He also wrote socially and nationally engaged poetry, even chauvinistic verse during World War I (*Kŭm Carigrad*, *Na nož*, *Pobedni pesni*). And he was the author of the first Bulgarian drama in verse ("Bojan Magesnikŭt", 1914). But at least during a certain period in his life he was drawn towards the international trends of symbolism, decadence and spiritualism, as is evidenced by his volumes *Slŭncogledi* (1910) and

[31] Cf. Boris Jacov, "Penčo Slavejkov", in *Bŭlgarski pisateli*, ed. M. Arnaudov, vol. V (Sofia, n.d.), p. 54 and 87.

Himni na zorata (1911).[32] He was an excellent versificator, his poems have a strong and regular rhythm and perfect rhyme, sometimes also inner rhyme.

Cvetan Minkov writes about Xristov's modernism:

> Under the influence of the symbolistic wave, by which so many were carried away, Kiril Xristov wanted to try his forces in that field. But to do so he lacked not only the adequate literary training, but also the temperament. Symbolism requires a more complicated mental organization, a mystical feeling of the world and of things, an immediate communication with the secrets of the universe. Symbolism presupposes a universal world outlook, an inner affinity (not one that is stimulated by reading and imposed by the will) to the elusive enigma of existence. Therefore Bulgarian symbolism, which, generally speaking, was organically alien to the Bulgarian's intellectual make-up, to the stage of his cultural evolution, was unsuccessful, did not produce big names, did not leave permanent traces in our literature. The cycles "Intermezzo", "Carski soneti", "Igra nad bezdni" are just an interesting episode in the poet's lyrical production, without any special significance for his own development. They labor under speculation, bookish symbolism and a forced mysticism.[33]

Minkov is probably too negative in his evaluation of symbolism in Bulgaria; on the other hand, his words do apply to many South Slavic poets, not only to Xristov.

More intimately connected with the modernist movement was Pejo K. Javorov (pseudonym of P. K. Kračolov, 1878-1914), who was one of the first, and one of a numerous group of Bulgarian poets who were carried away by the new wave, as Minkov described it, originating from France, Germany and Russia. Initially Javorov showed compassion and love for the poor and oppressed in his verse, a social interest which was not at all typical of the modernists. His symbolist passion started about 1903, when he began to write impressionist poems, the tone of which was adapted to their theme. He introduced free verse in Bulgarian poetry (Stojan Mixajlovski had written a few poems without a division in stanza's, but far less frequently and consistently). Many of his poems belong in their thematic structure to the frequent modernist pattern of a) nature-evocation (usually gloomy or eery: night, fall or winter, rain, etc.); and b) the ensuing transition to the parallel inner situation of the author, which, consequently, usually means: feelings of frustration,

[32] Poems like "Samotno dŭrvo" and "Okoto na planinata" have a definite symbolistic meaning. "Letna nošt", for example, is a perfect nature poem, anthropomorphic and impressionistic.

[33] Cvetan Minkov, "Kiril Xristov", in *Bŭlgarski pisateli*, ed. M. Arnaudov, vol. VI (Sofia, n.d.), p. 41-42.

unhappiness, inner tortures ("Dve duši"), weariness of life, despair.[34] Sometimes the scenery described in Javorov's lyrics is so dreary and grey that it creates the impression of a moon landscape. Everything is related to the emotional world of the poet ("There is no evil, no suffering, no life outside of my heart", he says in the poem "Pesen na pesenta mi").

In the case of Javorov his depression was so real and so much connected with tragic personal circumstances that he, after a first unsuccessful attempt, committed suicide. It is indicative of the dominant role that Russian literature played in Bulgaria that Javorov, who certainly was acquainted with and influenced by French and German symbolism, was much more impressed by some Russian poets, especially by Lermontov, whose personality, as it expressed itself in his lyrics and his long poem *Demon*, appealed strongly to the Bulgarian. Javorov became acquainted with Russian literature at an early age; he, too, knew Heine from Russian translations.

Trifon Kunev (1880-1954), Teodor Trajanov (1882-1945), Nikolaj Liliev (1885-), Emanuel Popdimitrov (1887-1943), Dimčo Debeljanov (1887-1916), and Xristo Jasenov (1889-1925) are other prominent representatives of the modernist movement in Bulgaria. It would take too much space to discuss all of them here, and it is not strictly necessary to do so for our purpose, because they have many traits in common — traits that have been mentioned above. They were all predominantly lyricists; they all underwent to some degree the European modernist influences we indicated before; and this inevitably causes some monotony, some limitation in their style, themes and moods.[35] If Popdimitrov, in a blank verse poem, "Obožestvjavane", declares:

> I am singing
> of you, clouds,
> azure and pink,
> you golden sun,
> pale moon and pure stars,
> I am singing of you in a way
> no poet has sung of you.

[34] For instance, "Ugasna slŭnce", "Videnija", "Srednošten vichŭr", and others.

[35] Georgi Canev, in his study "Poezijata na Nikolaj Liliev" (In *Pisateli i problemi*, Sofia, 1965, p. 321) says of Liliev that "his poetry is the highest and most direct expression of those moods and feelings which were introduced in our literature by symbolism after Javorov". Liliev's poetry, Canev remarks, "sounds like the crying of a lost child" (p. 314). The tone of his poems, therefore, is very much in accordance with that of international modernist poetry. The combination of modernist motifs and elements of folk poetry is exemplified by the works of Trifon Kunev: as P. Zarev points out in his *Panorama na bŭlgarskata literatura*, vol. I, 2 (Sofia, 1967), p. 458, in some

he has to be corrected: many poets sang in a more original way than he did, at least in this poem.

It is sometimes hard to tell which modernist is the author of one of these poems that give utterance to 'world-wide grief'. One poet may have read Verlaine and François Jammes more eagerly, another Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, or Bal'mont and Sologub, but a similar spirit pervades them all. Of course, taken as a whole, the *oeuvre* of each of the poets mentioned above evinces a distinct personality; modernism inspired them often only temporarily, later on they would evolve in a direction of their own (unless they would die very prematurely: Javorov was only 36 when he took his life, Debeljanov was killed on the battlefield when he was 29).

In recent Bulgarian literary historiography and criticism the movement and its adherents are not favorably looked upon, for some time they were even proscribed, but during the last years editions of their complete or at least selected works and critical studies have been published; only in rare cases has the ban not been completely lifted (T. Trajanov). The modernists are blamed for their lack of interest in social and political issues, their disdainful attitude towards the tradition of realism and radicalism.[36] But most of the modernist poets produced some political or even revolutionary, and at any rate some patriotic verse, which modern literary historians are quick to emphasize: Javorov became a member of the Social Democratic Party in 1892, fought in Macedonia, and was for some time the editor of a communist satirical magazine, *Červen smjax*. Popdimitrov wrote about or addressed the people ("Narod", "Černozem", "Vŭglekopi" and others). Liliev showed his patriotism in poems like "Rodina", "Kŭm rodinata" (the latter poem finishing with an appeal not to give up the Vardar river!).

In Bulgaria, as in the other South Slavic countries, most modernist poets stuck to the traditional meters and rhyme schemes and were no great innovators with respect to versification. Imperfect rhyme, no doubt under Russian influence, becomes frequent only after 1912. Debeljanov has rhymes like *zamine : gradini, zabranèn e : plenni, nevolen : Solun, dnes :*

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of this poems "national folkloristic traditions are interwoven in an original and peculiar way with the melancholic evening atmosphere of the symbolist poet".

[36] I. Radoslavov, main critic in the modernist camp, wrote in 1914: "Realism has created an esthetics that has nothing in common with creativity", an opinion which is, of course, at complete variance with those of modern Bulgarian critics (quoted by D. F. Markov, *Bŭlgarskata poezija prez pŭrvata četvŭrt na XX vek*, translated from the Russian, Sofia, 1961, p. 32.)

čest, Bŭlgaranov: prodrano, all in the even lines (there are even more cases in the odd lines, in which rhyme incongruence is less conspicuous).

Special attention and care for the technical, formal aspect of their verse is what characterizes all these poets. This has undoubtedly been of great importance for the further development of Bulgarian poetry and poetical language. The poets of the late 19th and early 20th century in Bulgaria combined the functions which poets of different subsequent schools and periods had in other countries. Like lyrics in Russia in the early 19th century, lyrical poetry in Bulgaria suddenly bore an amazing richness of fruits during the period we have discussed here, and the term "golden age" could be applied to this period (about 1890-1920) in Bulgaria as much as it has been applied in Serbia.

Summing up our conclusions seems to be superfluous, since this would be a repetition of statements we have made throughout this paper. Much more detailed work could and should be done to establish similarities in particular cases; comparative research into the common traits or common ways of further development in the poetry of the South Slavic peoples (from 1920 to the present)[37] may provide interesting and rewarding results.

[37] On Serbian-French contacts in the period of surrealism after World War I cf. H. Kapidžić-Osmanagić, *Srpski nadrealizam i njegovi odnosi sa francuskim nadrealizmom* (Sarajevo, 1965).

R. V. BURKS

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM IN YUGOSLAVIA: AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS

In the years immediately following World War II, the Yugoslav leaders regarded the national problem, which had made interwar Yugoslavia almost ungovernable, as definitively solved. As Marshal Tito once said during these years, "the reason that I don't say anything about the national question is not because with us it is posed in this or that form. No, the national question with us has been solved and to be precise, solved very well, to the general satisfaction of all our nationalities. It has been solved in the way Lenin and Stalin taught us."[1]

1944-1951: TELEOLOGICAL INDUSTRIALIZATION

The basis of this optimism was first of all the situation within the Yugoslav Communist Party (CPY), whose membership contained a significant representation from each of the Yugoslav nations, and which combined democratic centralism with the employment of ethnic cadres according to region and locality. In the underground factional struggles of the

[1] Cited in Fritz Hondius, *The Yugoslav Community of Nations* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), p. 182, n. 34. In the preparation of this essay I have been particularly indebted to Hondius and to Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968). In addition, I have had the advantage of lengthy conversations on the national question with Dejan Janča of the Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade; Bostjan Markić, member of the Federal Constitutional Commission; Najdan Pasić, editor-in-chief of *Socijalizam*; Sergije Pegan, director of the Yugoslav public opinion poll on the national problem; Latinka Perović, secretary of the Serbian Communist Party; Eugen Pusić, Professor of Political Science of the University of Zagreb; and Stanko Žuljić of the Croatian Institute of Economics. Madame Perović and Professor Pusić were contacted in this country, the others in Yugoslavia. The visit to Yugoslavia was made possible by a joint grant of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

interwar period, the party had rid itself of the Serbian hegemony which had characterized the first years of its existence, had established organizationally separate sub-parties for Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia,[2] and had confronted the disaster of Axis occupation and territorial partition as the one organization in the country which possessed both a clandestine capability and a state-wide structure. In the civil war which served as counterpoint to the armed struggle against the foreign occupier, the CPY consequently came to serve as the paladin of a new Yugoslav nationalism. On the one hand, the Communists defeated in battle the Chetnik forces under Draža Mihailović, whose purpose was to restore royal Yugoslavia, with its Serbian dynasty, its Serbian officers' corps, its Serbian police, and its Serbian bureaucracy. On the other hand, the CPY held at bay the Croatian nationalist forces of Ante Pavelić, who aimed to establish an independent Croatia under the sponsorship of a victorious Axis. Thus the CPY could regard itself as a revolutionary power which embodied within itself the national aspirations of all the Yugoslav nations, now synthesized in the dialectically higher form of a Yugoslav national consciousness.[3]

The post-war optimism of the Yugoslav leadership with respect to the national problem was also rooted in the belief that the exacerbation of national differences had been the result of exploitation by the bourgeosie, and that therefore the development of a Socialist society would put an end to national prejudice even among the masses of the population, whatever their current attitude toward the Communist Party. More specifically, the leadership held to the view that national differences were a reflection of regional differences, of the division of the country into advanced and retarded areas, the retarded having been the victim of exploitation by the advanced. Rapid industrialization, which was to be accomplished through the mechanism of Stalinist central planning, would assuredly bring about an equalization of these differences, which divided the land into a progressive northwest and a backward southeast. Indeed, the first five-year plan, 1947-1951, was teleological in character, that is, characterized by a pervasive belief in economic miracles. The parallels of Soviet industrialization during the first five-year plan (1928-1933) and of the Chinese Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) come to mind. For Yugoslavia overall, an industrial growth rate of 38% per annum was

[2] Republican parties were created for Serbia in 1945 and for Bosnia and Montenegro in 1948-1949.

[3] R. V. Burks, *The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 107-130.

envisaged; in the case of backward regions, an annual rate of 90% was believed possible. To assure the less developed republics of equality in educational and social services, their budgets were heavily subsidized by the federal government (half the Montenegrin budget was so provided).

Meantime the CPY introduced a federal constitution on Stalinist lines. This was to serve as a lightning rod for national discontent until the more fundamental economic measures could take effect. The country was divided into six republics, of which one, Bosnia-Herzegovina, was established as a compromise designed to end the competition between Serbia and Croatia for control of a province which was inhabited by Serbs, by Croats, and by Serbo-Croatian-speaking Moslems. The region of Kosovo-Metohija, inhabited preponderantly by Shiptars,[4] was given the status of an autonomous oblast within the Serbian Republic, whereas the Vojvodina, an ethnically very mixed area with a bare majority of Serbs, was organized as a Serbian autonomous province. Roughly two-thirds of all minorities were inhabitants of these two districts. Constitutional forms to the contrary notwithstanding, however, the situation of the non-Slavic minorities was not a very happy one in the early post-war years. The German minority in Slovenia, Croatia, and the Vojvodina vanished completely, either as a consequence of withdrawal under the protection of the retreating Axis forces, or as a result of emigration under pressure after the Communists came to power. A Shiptar rebellion erupted in December, 1944, and aimed at the union of Kosovo with Albania; it required some six months of counter-insurgent activity. At the apex of the entire constitutional structure stood a federal parliament composed of an upper house based on national representation, and a lower house based on population. There was the usual set of all-union, union-republic, and republic ministries.

Not only did the Yugoslav leaders believe they had solved once and for all the national problem within the frontiers which they had inherited from the Karageorgević kings, but they also proposed to expand the new Federation to include the only South Slavic population not comprehended within these frontiers, namely, the Bulgarian, and in addition, if possible, certain non-Slavic populations as well. The idea of Balkan federation

[4] With the elevation of Kosovo to the status of a Socialist Autonomous Province in 1968, the official term for its majority population was changed from Shiptar to Albanian. For the sake of convenience only, the word Shiptar will be used in this presentation to designate the Albanian population of Yugoslavia, and the word Albanian, the population under the jurisdiction of Tirana. Similarly, the word Magyar will be used to denote the minority in the Vojvodina, the Hungarian population of the sovereign state.

was, of course, by no means new to Balkan Marxists. The notion had been dear to the Socialists long before the outbreak of World War I, while in the interwar period a special section of the Comintern, dominated by the powerful Bulgarian party, had sought its realization at the expense of such states as Greece, Yugoslavia, and Romania. Now that the Yugoslav party was in charge of the operation, the Bulgarians had second thoughts. One of the key issues involved in the Bulgarian-Yugoslav negotiations concerning federation was the disposition of Macedonia, much of which was already organized as a Yugoslav republic, but on territory to which the Bulgarians had long-standing claims. The solution agreed upon was the union of Bulgarian and some part of Greek Macedonia with Yugoslav Macedonia in a unified Macedonian Republic, which would become a constituent element of the larger federation. The outstanding weakness of this proposal was that the Greek party, unlike its northern confreres, was not in power. Thus the Yugoslavs, aided and abetted by the Bulgarians, gave extensive encouragement and support to a new period of Greek Communist insurgency, from 1946 to 1949, with the object of replacing the royal with a Communist government and paving the way for the enlargement of the Federation. The Albanian Communists were also involved. The Yugoslav party had played a key role both in the organization of the Albanian party and in the supply and support of Communist Albanian resistance to Axis occupation. Albania was also being prepared for membership in the expanded Federation. The ambitious schemes of the Yugoslav leadership came to naught, as is well known, partly because of United States intervention in the Greek affair and partly because of the excommunication of the CPY by the Cominform and the subsequent economic blockade of Yugoslavia and the build-up of propaganda and military pressure against her.

The excommunication of 28 June 1948, was a turning point in the history of the national problem in Yugoslavia. It meant the postponement *ad infinitum* of Balkan federation, thus limiting this Communist experiment to the traditional Yugoslav populations and thereby increasing its chances of success. Furthermore, excommunication inevitably meant a whole new way of governing for the CPY, and a new kind of relationship between regime and population, since the Communists now had to make their own way in the world, without any support from the Bloc, and indeed in the face of its avowed enmity. In his campaign against Yugoslavia, Stalin did attempt to exploit the national question, particularly with respect to the Macedonian issue. But the Cominform appeal

had little impact among the Yugoslav nations, with the possible exception of Montenegrin party members, among whom the percentage of pro-Cominform defections was the highest. Generally speaking, the Yugoslav nations, whether we speak of their Communist or their anti-Communist elements, appeared strongly to approve and endorse the independent stand of Marshal Tito with respect to Soviet Russia. The Shiptar and Magyar minorities were suspect because of the inimical activities of Tirana and Budapest, and these minorities were subjected to various repressive measures. But the security police made widespread arrests only among the White Russian emigrant colony, and the unity displayed by all the populations of Yugoslavia in the face of heavy Cominform pressure amounted to a major political victory for the CPY.

1951-1960: OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV NATIONALISM

The decade 1951-1960 witnessed an attempt to create a Yugoslav national consciousness among the masses of the population. As a consequence of experience with the first five-year-plan it became evident to the Communist elite that the regional differences which they believed to underly national hostility were not so easily overcome as at first supposed. Much of the industrial growth achieved during the era of teleological planning was artificial. Indeed, industries were created which required permanent subsidization. Despite the allocation of huge sums to the backward south, the most rapid and meaningful progress was made in the north. The gap between the two areas was hardly narrowed, except that the persistence of budgetary subsidies gave life throughout the Federation the appearance of a drab uniformity. If national differences would not soon disappear as the consequence of economic advance, it seemed necessary to promote a Yugoslav nationalism by more direct means.

The purpose of replicating within the masses the integral national consciousness which prevailed within the Party was made more relevant by the economic reform of 1951. The motives of the reform were to be found outside the national field. They were in part ideological, i.e., to demonstrate that it was the Soviets who were heretical, not the Yugoslavs, for among the latter the state had already begun to wither away, whereas among the former it was more bureaucratic and relied more heavily on the police power than ever before. The economic reform was also intended to broaden widely the base of support which the regime enjoyed

among the population, it being too risky in the circumstance of excommunication to continue the very leftist policies of the early post-war years. The key characteristic of the economic reform was decentralization. Substantial authority for the implementation of the perspective plan of 1952-1961 was transferred from the center at Belgrade to the party cadres at the level of the republic, the commune, and the enterprise. Agriculture was decollectivized, the only instance of its kind in the history of world Communism. The security police were much less in evidence and the use of administrative measures fell off sharply. In these circumstances it was necessary for all the regions and all the peoples to move forward together. The motivation for compliance with regime dictates was in part to be supplied by the new Yugoslav national consciousness.[5]

Paradoxically, the policy of promoting Yugoslavism was reinforced by the death of Stalin and the end of Cominform pressure. These events terminated what had been a severe external threat, and thus reduced the need for cooperation among the peoples of the Federation. To be sure, pressure did not disappear. In the south relations with both Bulgaria and Albania continued to be strained. In 1955-1956 the Yugoslav security police believed it necessary to undertake a collection of privately-held weapons in the Kosovo, and this turned out to be a bloody affair. In the Macedonian republic, on the other hand, the situation appeared to improve. The new literary language, based on a dialect spoken in the extreme southwest of the Republic, and thus as far removed from both Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian as possible, became the general mode of written expression by the middle 'fifties. The foundations of a separate Macedonian Orthodox Church were laid with the establishment in 1958 of an autonomous archbishopric at Ohrid, also in the extreme southwest. The representation of Macedonia in the central organs of government was likewise enhanced, as was the flow of investment subsidy. But, generally speaking, relations with the East were much improved after Stalin's disappearance from the political stage, and it is noteworthy that in the very year of his death there occurred the first instances of ethnic conflict in the post-war history of the country. The economic reform, moreover, paved the way for much particularism and provincialism. Authority had been moved from the center to the periphery, most of it into the hands of local party cadres. Every locality appeared determined to have its factory, regardless of economic feasi-

[5] Charles P. McVicker, *Titoism: Pattern for International Communism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957), pp. 23-36.

bility, and each republic seemed inclined to have its own steel mill, electronics industry and port facility. For all these additional reasons, then, Yugoslav nationalism appeared to the leadership to be the order of the day.

The first major expression of the new national policy was the Constitutional Act of 1953 which, although in form an amendment of the Constitution of 1946, was in fact a new organic law. The Act of 1953 was intended to de-emphasize the federal system. The set of all-union and union-republic ministries was abolished and replaced with a unitary federal bureaucracy. The sweeping promises of the 1946 Constitution with respect to the rights of the republics were eliminated. The Chamber of Nationalities, which had served as the upper house in the first constitution, was merged with the lower house, or National Assembly. Henceforth each republican parliament would elect ten delegates, and each provincial assembly five, who would sit in the National Assembly alongside the popularly elected deputies. If an issue arose which concerned the rights of the republics, the delegates could assemble separately, and their consent would be necessary for the legislation at hand. But as a matter of fact, the Chamber of Nationalities never did convene as long as the Act of 1953 was in force. A new second house was provided in the form of a Council of Producers; this was syndical in character.

Throughout the period 1951-1960 the leadership waged a campaign against what it chose to call "cultural isolation". Since there were no central cultural or academic organizations, no Yugoslav academy of sciences, no Yugoslav ballet, a federal unit was formed to 'coordinate' the activity of the various republican cultural institutes. A program of cultural exchange between the republics was worked out, pressure put on republican ministries of education to produce and utilize common textbooks, and newspapers encouraged to devote more space to the happenings in other parts of the country. In minority areas cultural organizations were integrated with those of the dominant Slavic population. Thus, for all of Vojvodina there was one set of cultural institutions, with sub-sections for Hungarian speakers, Romanian speakers, Slovak speakers, and the like. In mixed areas such integration was also true for the schools of the minorities. They were merged with those of the dominant population, and although some subjects continued to be taught in the minority language, the minority children also had classes in common with Serbo-Croatian speakers.[6] This policy was comple-

[6] This policy did not apply to the Italians, who were protected by international treaty.

mented by the granting of permission to the surviving Jews, and, after Yugoslavia and Turkey became allies in the Balkan Pact of 1963, to the Turks, to emigrate. The vast majority of the Jews took advantage of this permission, and the exodus of Turks was large enough to embarrass the Macedonian authorities. Some 50,000 Shiptars also emigrated to Turkey. Approximately 25,000 Italians returned to the Italian motherland.

The culmination of the campaign against cultural isolation was reached in 1954, when representatives of the Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins met in Novi Sad, capital of Vojvodina and traditional seat of Serb learning, to announce that the three peoples employed an identical language (a substantially factual statement) and that a commission would set to work on a common dictionary.[7] From time to time the regime raised the possibility of the ultimate merger of all the Yugoslav cultures into an integral whole, although always entering a disclaimer to the effect that such integration naturally presupposed the flowering of the individual cultures.

The principal ideologue of the new national policy was the Slovene E. Kardelj. In 1958 he undertook to revise the traditional Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist position on the national question by arguing in various publications that the nation played a positive role regardless of the form assumed by the state. In other words, the nation was a vital feature of both the capitalist and the Socialist stages of development, and the erosive impact of revolutionary upheaval on national consciousness was much less than had been believed. The continuity of national development was relatively unaffected by revolutionary changes in the nature of class relations. But the nation Kardelj had in mind was not the Slovene but the Yugoslav. The republics did not perform any progressive economic function, he asserted, and the fact that they had cultures of their own did not make them national entities. Regionalism and particularism were reactionary forces. Among Communists it was generally believed that Bosnia, with its mosaic of Serbo-Croatian speakers of Catholic, Orthodox and Moslem faith, would serve as a melting pot and provide, on a mass basis, the first example of the new Yugoslav national consciousness. Said the Party program adopted at the seventh congress in 1958: the future of national relations lies in the development of

[7] An exemplary discussion of the language issue in Yugoslavia is to be found in Michael B. Petrovich, "Nationalism and Communism in Yugoslavia", an unpublished typescript of 92 pages. A short version of the common dictionary was published in 1960, together with the first volume of the longer work.

Socialist relations and as a Socialist community of peoples develops there will emerge a Yugoslav national consciousness.

1960-1969: EXPERIMENT WITH A COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

The current period is characterized by abandonment of the policy of Yugoslav nationalism and the emergence of a genuine federalism.

As has already been suggested, the decentralization brought about by the economic reform of 1951 gave rise to autarkic forces. With the passage of time these gathered strength. By 1965 there were five steel mills with a combined production of 2.2 million tons, although the break-even point for a single mill was two million tons. There were a half-dozen automotive manufacturing or assembly plants, total production being on the order of 50,000 units.[8] Railway administration had been republicanized so that there were different sets of tariffs and even different signal systems. Markets were sometimes fenced off by administrative measures; firms based in other republics were not permitted to open local outlets or establish manufacturing subsidiaries. Perhaps most significant of all was the port situation. Interwar Yugoslavia had developed Rijeka, on the Adriatic coast, as its principal harbor. Rijeka, however, was located on the territory of the Croatian Republic, as was indeed 90% of the Adriatic coast. The Slovenes began building a port at Koper, on their ten miles of Adriatic shore. Landlocked Bosnia supported the construction of a port at Ploče, near the mouth of the Neretva river close to the tongue of its territory which touched the sea. Serbia and Montenegro together proposed to develop Bar, on the territory of Montenegro, although the rail line from Belgrade to Bar had to be built through 200 miles of some of the most difficult mountains in Europe. Such duplication of expensive port facilities was uneconomical for a country short of capital resources.

But that was not all. At least the Adriatic ports provided Yugoslavia with cheap transportation to the world market. And most of Yugoslavia's bauxite and water power were located in the mountain ranges which towered over the Adriatic coast. This same region was also the center of the

[8] Jack Baranson, "Automotive Industries in Developing Countries", International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Report No. EC 162, pp. 45-49; Prvoslav Ranković, "The Establishment and Development of the Automotive Equipment Industry in Yugoslavia", United Nations Industrial Development Organization Report (15 August 1968), 59 pp.

increasingly important tourist trade, so that the infra-structure developed here would serve many purposes. Yet development of the Adriatic coast would benefit Croatia more than any other republic and, at the same time, would tend to give the Federation a markedly Western orientation. Consequently, Serbia pushed the development of a set of ports along the Danube river, at Novi Sad, Zemun, Belgrade, Smederova, all of them Serbian towns looking down the Danube to the Black Sea and the East. One of the purposes of the joint Romanian-Yugoslav Iron Gates project was to raise the maximum tonnage of barges passing through the locks from 1500 to 2000. The commercial future of the Danube is not bright. Thus competition in port facilities was also an expression of the traditional rivalry between Croatia and Serbia, and had foreign policy overtones. Overall, the rivalry for investment funds, aside from being wasteful, exacerbated national antagonisms and raised the potential for conflict.

One feature of the new economic nationalism was the increasing unwillingness of the northern, more advanced, republics, to continue subsidizing the economic growth of their southern fellows. The northerners argued that to do so was to waste scarce resources. Most of the factories built in the south could be kept in operation only with further subsidies. Even the advantage of a cheap, unskilled labor force was negated by the existence of workers' councils, which insisted on forcing wages up to the northern level. Dinar for dinar, most investment gave a much better return in the north, which possessed most of the skilled labor, the high density transportation net, proximity to important foreign markets, and so on.[9] The northerners began to advocate a second economic reform, one which would take investment out of the hands of the party apparatus and the state bureaucracy, at whatever level, and leave it to be ruled by the free play of market forces.

The south made the traditional appeal to social justice. The investment monies coming from the north were only its proper due; they represented the surplus value which northern industry had got by its exploitation of southern agriculture and southern raw materials. Proof of this charge was to be found in the discrepancy between the prices of manufactures, which tended constantly to creep up, and the prices of agricultural commodities and other raw materials, which tended to decline. Any infant industry needed protection in one form or another. If the subsidies from

[9] For a good illustration of the weakness of such southern industry see Jack C. Fisher, *Yugoslavia: a Multinational State, Regional Difference and Administrative Response* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1966), p. 11.

the north were discontinued, the southerners would be condemned to remain forever hewers of wood and drawers of water. The south therefore advocated retention of the economic and political status quo.[10]

The opposition to a new economic reform was led by Aleksandar Ranković, Tito's official heir apparent. Aside from being party secretary in charge of cadres, Ranković was *de facto* boss of both the Serbian party and the federal security police; through the latter he exercised considerable control over the diplomatic service. Indeed, the security service was the one federal agency still dominated by the Serbs. It would, of course, be inaccurate to suggest that all Serbs were supporters of Ranković. On key issues the conservative leader could control neither the Serbian central committee nor the Serbian parliament, for both these bodies included strong representation of managerial and professional groups. But the most important element in the Ranković following was ethnically Serb, and the Serbs in the apparatus and the police who followed him were mainly former Partisans who had come originally from such backward areas as Bosnia or the Lika region in Croatia. Often semi-literate mountaineers, they felt threatened by the emergence of new elite elements who had been born too late to serve in the war but who had acquired professional education they themselves lacked. Until very late in the game Ranković also had the support of the southern republics.

In 1965 the revisionist forces proved strong enough to put through legislation which called for the marketization of the economy. Ranković used the party apparatus and, above all, the security police to sabotage the implementation of the new legislation. A year of heavy factional in-fighting ended in July 1966 with the removal of Ranković and his principal lieutenants from public life, the downgrading of the security police, which was not only deserbianized but split into two separate organizations, and the pensioning of large numbers of Partisan veterans.

The decision in favor of marketization was ultimately Marshal Tito's. No doubt his choice was influenced by a variety of factors, but two stand out.

The economic reform of 1951 had given rise to an economic nationalism which threatened not only the efficiency of the economy but also the unity of the state. By shifting economic decision-making from a decentralized political system to the economy itself, the republics and the localities would lose much of their ability to interfere with the allocation

[10] For an account of current national attitudes toward the economic reform see Paul Lendvai, *Eagles in Cobwebs: Nationalism and Communism in the Balkans* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1969), pp. 140-148.

of investment. The leadership was thus brought to a third version of its basic belief, i.e., that economic improvement would solve the national problem. In the period of the first five-year plan they had believed that rapid industrialization would reduce the disparity between regional living standards and thus erode national antagonism. In the 'fifties they had held the view that, in the long run, industrialization, reinforced by the development of Socialist relations would reduce divergencies of language and culture to secondary importance; meantime they sought to hasten this millennium by promoting an official Yugoslav nationalism. Now, in 1966, after two failures, they would try what came to be called the Socialist market.

But in addition to considerations of state unity, factors of state sovereignty were also involved in the decision to remove Ranković. In the early days of forced industrialization the Yugoslavs had imported the fuels and the raw materials they did not possess at home from the Soviet Union and had paid for these imports with shipments of their newly manufactured wares. Prior to the Cominform excommunication about 75% of Yugoslavia's total foreign trade was exchanged with the Socialist countries. Excommunication was, however, followed by blockade, and the Yugoslavs quickly discovered that most of the items they now manufactured could not be sold in Western markets at competitive prices. Belgrade thereupon hit on the idea of a grouping of non-aligned, developing nations, a grouping which would not only serve the political purpose of bolstering Yugoslav neutrality in the cold war, but in addition could be made to serve as a source of raw materials and a market for (second-class) manufactured wares. To cultivate these markets Belgrade extended generous long-term credits to various African and Asian governments, as well as sending them numbers of technicians and planners. Unfortunately, by the 1960's it had become evident that the developing countries were interested in exchanging their raw materials for Yugoslav manufactures only as long as the exchange was subsidized by Yugoslav credits granted on favorable terms. Since relations with the European Socialist countries had meanwhile improved substantially, one solution to the Yugoslav problem would have been to apply for full membership in Comecon, the trading organization of the Socialist states. This would re-establish the basic relationship of 1945-1948, i.e., the barter of Yugoslav manufactures for Soviet raw materials. Such a return to the Socialist fold would make it possible, even necessary, to retain the system of central planning (which was one reason the Ranković forces were pro-Soviet). But the Comecon solution carried with it also the probability of economic

dependence on the USSR and therefore the risk of some degree of political dependence as well. To preserve the country's independence the Yugoslav leadership had accepted in 1948 the not inconsiderable dangers of excommunication.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to trade equally with both East and West. Trade with Comecon countries was barter trade, carried on primarily for political reasons. The Socialist markets were so hungry for manufactured wares of any kind that they would swallow almost anything the Yugoslavs produced, without much regard to quality of servicing. Barter trade with Comecon to any great extent, therefore, would perpetuate the inefficiency of Yugoslav industry relative to that in the West, and end by limiting trade with the West to the sale of enough Yugoslav manufactures at below-production cost to procure requisite quantities of hard currency. If Yugoslavia wished to preserve her hard-won independence *á la longue*, she would have to carry on the bulk of her foreign trade with the capitalist West, and to do this she would have to increase the efficiency of her manufacturing establishment to such a point that her wares were competitive in the West. Hence political as well as economic considerations motivated Marshal Tito's decision to proceed with the second economic reform, even at the cost of downgrading the Serbs and appearing to abandon the southern republics.[11]

As far as the national problem is concerned, Marshal Tito's decision only hastened a process which by 1966 was already far advanced: the decline of Yugoslav national consciousness within the CPY itself and the gradual replacement of a single, nationally integral party with a set of six organically related but nationally distinct parties which carried on the business of the country by negotiating with each other. The beginning of this process may be traced to the year 1959, when the central committee of the CPY ceased reaching its decisions by unanimous vote.[12] This was the first public sign that a process of national differentiation had begun within the Party itself. In March 1962, a plenum of the central committee was for the first time rent by national antagonism. The Ranković forces, though in the minority on the question of reform, refused to make any concessions whatever to the majority. The Politburo, in a subsequent

[11] For a discussion of the relationship of economic reform and sovereignty see Alvin Z. Rubenstein, "Yugoslavia: Reforms, Non-Alignment and Pluralism", *Problems of Communism*, (March-April 1968), pp. 31-41.

[12] Shoup, p. 209, n. 65.

circular letter to Party organizations, in effect admitted it could no longer be certain that its directives would be executed. The Eighth Party Congress, in 1964, formally rejected the notion of a Yugoslav nationalism as harmful and adopted a new party statute which stipulated that, in the future, republican would PRECEDE rather than follow federal party congresses. The new procedure was actually carried out in the convening of the ninth congress in March, 1969. That congress adopted the principle of equality, i.e., that all republics were to be equally represented in all federal institutions, whether those of the state or those of the party, and both provinces equally but with smaller delegations than those of the republics. Thus the new executive bureau, created at the ninth congress, in addition to President Tito, was composed of two Slovenes, two Croats, two Montenegrins, two Macedonians, four Serbs (two representing Serbia and one each Bosnia and the Vojvodina), one Moslem, representing Bosnia, and a Shiptar from Kosovo. Neither Moslems nor Shiptars had appeared at this level before.[13] Thus the higher organs of the Party became deliberative bodies in which delegations of the various republics and provinces met each other on equal footing. Nothing quite like this arrangement has been seen in any other Communist party.

The changing character of the Party was, to be sure, reflected in the evolution of Yugoslav constitutional law. A new constitution, adopted in 1963, was in part an attempt by the reformers to democratize the system so as to weaken the Ranković forces. But the 1963 constitution also marked the formal proclamation of a new concept of federation. Yugoslavia was described as a community of nations. Member nations could withdraw. Non-member peoples could apply for admission. "In pledging itself to comprehensive political, economic and cultural cooperation with other peoples and states, Yugoslavia, as a Socialist community of nations, holds that this cooperation should contribute to the creation of new democratic forms of associations between states, nations, and peoples, which will correspond to the interest of the nations and social progress, and in this respect it is an open community."[14] Just as the constitution of 1946 had been an imitation of the Soviet model, so the constitution of 1963 borrowed heavily from the organic law of the United States. The 1963 document did not pretend to regulate the internal

[13] "The New Executive Bureau", *Yugoslav Life* (Belgrade), XIV (April, 1969), p. 5, cols. 3-6; Slobodan Stanković, "Yugoslav Party Congress Round Up. Part One: Presidium and Executive Bureau", *RFE Research Communist Area* (17 March 1969), 8 pp.; *idem.*, "Yugoslav Party Congress Round Up. Part Three: Party Statutes Liberalized", *loc. cit.* (26 March 1969), 5 pp.

[14] Hondius, p. 252.

affairs of the constituent republics. Instead, each of the republics adopted its own constitution, independently of the Federation. Each of the republics, as well as the Federation, created a constitutional court, as distinct from already existing supreme courts, which would rule on the constitutionality of legislation and protect the rights of individuals.

The Constitution of 1963 created a pentecameral parliament, with four chambers representing various professional groupings and elected indirectly, and one, the federal chamber, chosen directly on the basis of single-member constituencies. The membership of the federal chamber was reinforced by delegations elected by the republic and provincial chambers; these delegations, which were supposed to meet as a separate house whenever matters affecting the equality of the republics came up, were a continuation of the chamber of nationalities. In fact, however, the delegations rarely met as a separate house. After the removal of Ranković, however, a series of constitutional amendments, in May, 1967, and December, 1968, greatly enlarged the role of the chamber of nationalities. The federal chamber was abolished and replaced with a new social political chamber, elected federation-wide on the same basis of single-member constituencies. In order not to make the legislature hexicameral, the political organizational chamber was dropped altogether, leaving three syndical bodies, the chambers of health, culture and economics. Meantime, the chamber of nationalities was given a wholly separate existence and its membership enlarged from 70 to 140 delegates. Virtually the entire jurisdiction of the former federal chamber was now vested in the social political and nationalities' chambers jointly: the basic rights of citizens, foreign policy and national defense, state security, domestic policy, the federal budget, and the appointment and dismissal of the government. On all these matters the two chambers sit jointly. Aside from having exclusive responsibility for the rights of the nations, nationalities, republics and provinces, the chamber of nationalities also has the final say on the budget, in the sense that if none of the other chambers can agree on the budget, then the version of it adopted by the chamber of nationalities becomes law. Constitutional amendments can be adopted by the chamber of nationalities and two of the remaining houses, but the change is officially proclaimed by the chamber of nationalities.[15] In 1967 simultaneous translation was installed in the assembly

[15] For the text of the 1968 amendments see JPRS, *Translations on Eastern Europe: Political, Sociological, and Military Affairs*, No. 47,697, (21 March 1969), pp. 175-185. In the matter of amendments one of the two additional chambers must be that normally vested with jurisdiction in the question at hand. See Hondius, pp. 329-332 for the 1967 amendments.

rooms of the Yugoslav parliament, and thereafter each delegate spoke in his own language rather than in Serbo-Croatian. The only other parliamentary body in Europe to pursue a similar practice is the Swiss.

The reorganization of the central government was accompanied by an expansion of the rights and responsibilities of the republics. They were responsible for the execution of federal law within their territories. They had their own prosecutors and they shared with Belgrade control of a much-reduced security police. They also shared responsibility with the federal government for civil defense, and after the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia each was authorized to recruit and train a militia which, in time of war, would come under the command of the federal military.[16] The republics even came to have an institutionalized influence in foreign policy. Each organized a committee for international relations as well as a commission for foreign cultural relations. These committees and commissions brought the republic's point of view to bear on the foreign office in Belgrade and saw to it that their fellow-nationals were properly represented in the federal foreign service. It is not uncommon for republican officials to participate in negotiations between Yugoslavia and a foreign power when the interests of the republic are directly concerned, and the federal government mediates between the republic and such international institutions as the Bank for International Reconstruction and Development. Republican authorities are encouraged to entertain relations with their counterparts across the Yugoslav frontier, and the republics are responsible for the social security status of those who go abroad in search of employment.[17]

The shift from official Yugoslav nationalism to the conception of the Federation as a community of nations placed the Moslem population of Bosnia, some one million strong, in a new light. This population spoke Serbo-Croatian, but its literature was partly in Arabic, and under the Ottoman imperium it had regarded itself as Turkish, partly because of the Ottoman practice of identifying religion, law and nationality, and partly because the Bosnian Moslems were a land-owning class lording it over a semi-serf population of Serbian and Croatian peasants. In the interwar period, when Bosnia was joined with a variety of other provinces

[16] Twenty per cent of all army recuits are to carry out their military duty in their own republics, in contrast to the policy of the 'fifties, when a deliberate effort was made to have each recruit serve in another republic than his own.

[17] Slobodan Stanković, "Yugoslav Foreign Policy To Be Decentralized", *RFE Research: Communist Area* (31 January 1968), 5 pp.; Zdenko Antić, "Slovenians Oppose Government Decision on Road Building", *RFE Research: Communist Area* (1 August 1969), 5 pp.

to form the Yugoslav state, some of the Moslems had chosen to emigrate to Turkey. During World War II they had at first heeded the exhortations of the supreme mufti of Jerusalem and given their support to independent Croatia and to the Axis forces generally. A Moslem SS division was organized. As prospects for Axis victory grew dim, some of the Bosnian Moslems entered the ranks of the Partisans, but the bulk of them remained hostile to Communism, as the first post-war elections within the Moslem religious community demonstrated. Under Communism their sheriat courts were abolished (1946) and their women unveiled (1950-1951). In the 1948 census they were given the choice of registering as Serbs, Croats or Yugoslavs, the official view being that they constituted a religious and not an ethnic minority. In the 'fifties, of course, they were treated as Yugoslavs and it was assumed that the new Yugoslav nationalism would find its earliest expression in Bosnia with the merger of the three Serbo-Croatian-speaking populations. In the census of 1961, however, the Moslems were recognized for the first time as an ethnic group, a status accorded them more formally by the Bosnian constitution of 1963. The Fourth Bosnian Party congress, meeting in 1964, declared that the Moslems possessed the right of self-determination. Still another South Slav nation was coming into being. (Incidentally, in 1967, the Macedonian Archbishopric declared itself autocephalous, i.e., independent of the Serbian patriarchate. In the Orthodox world, the formation of a separate church has long been the hallmark of national independence. The Serbian and Greek churches promptly declared the new body schismatic, while the Patriarchate of Constantinope refused to recognize it. The Macedonian church remains an outcast in the Orthodox communion.)[18]

The abandonment of Yugoslav nationalism and the conversion of the republic into a genuine federation were accompanied by an improvement in the standing of the minorities. As early as 1959 the term "minority" was officially abandoned as prejudicial, and replaced with the word "nationality". In areas where integrated schools existed, students of national origin, e.g., Serbs, were required to study the language of the local nationality, e.g., Magyar.[19] A dual language administration was introduced in the Hungarian-speaking area, and efforts were made to

[18] "Serbian Church Rift Deplored by Greeks", *The New York Times* (14 September 1967), p. 45, col. 1.

[19] With respect to education, most complaints concerned members of the nations rather than representatives of the nationalities. It was the policy of each republic not to provide for instruction in the languages of the other nations, no doubt on the ground that the educational interests of each nation was looked after by its republic.

improve bilingualism in Kosovo. More important still, the nationalities, instead of being regarded as potential sources of dissidence and conflict, were now to be thought of as bridges of communication with Yugoslavia's neighbors. The half-million Magyars of the Vojvodina, for example, were to serve as a conduit to Hungary. To this end the local frontier was opened, each side establishing retail outlets on the territory of the other. With the removal of Ranković the security forces in Kosovo were handed over to Shiptar cadres, much to the apprehension of the Serbian minority in that province. The Shiptars were permitted to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the death of Skanderbeg and to fly the Albanian national flag. The propaganda war between Radio Prizren and Radio Tirana became less bitter. The frontier with Albania, for years closed to all traffic except that of espionage agents, was opened to a limited tourist trade, permitting Kosovars at long last to visit relatives and friends in Albania.[20] There was some improvement in the situation along the Bulgarian frontier also, but cultural exchange between Skopje and Sofia was fitful, frequently running afoul of the Bulgarian contention that no such language as Macedonian existed, that Macedonian national heroes were in fact Bulgarian, and the like.[21] Belgrade also managed to open the frontier to the Slavophone population of Greek Macedonia, but it was twice closed by Athens.[22]

Improvement in the status of minorities inevitably led to an upgrading of provincial government, a change precipitated by a series of student demonstrations which began at the bilingual Priština campus of the University of Belgrade in October 1968. The demonstrations, which spread to various other localities in the province, were repeated in November, in December spread to the Shiptar minority in the Macedonian Republic, and in most cases degenerated into riots. The principal demand of the demonstrators was that republican status be granted to

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Thus there was little provision for instruction in Macedonian in Serbian schools, or for Serbo-Croatian in Slovenian schools. The educational interests of the nationalities, on the other hand, were looked after by the appropriate republics, principally Serbia, but overall general compliance with the dominant republican language and way of life became the rule.

[20] L[uigi] Z[anga], "Kosovo-Metohija: a Nationality Case Study", *RFE Research: Communist Area* (30 October 1967), 8 pp. Only 13% of security officials in Kosovo were Shiptars prior to the removal of Ranković. By 1968 the percentage was over 40. Petrovich, p. 60 and p. 61, n. 58.

[21] "'Le Monde' Interviews President of Communist League of Macedonia", *Yugoslav News Bulletin* (New York), No. 437 (25 November 1968), pp. 3-4.

[22] Richard Eder, "Greece Ends Yugoslav Accord That Eased Border Crossings", *The New York Times* (16 May 1967), p. 12, cols. 3-4.

Kosovo, and that the boundaries of the new federated republic be extended to include the Shiptar minority in Macedonia, which comprises a compact mass of 200,000 persons adjacent to the Albanian frontier.[23] Whether one speaks of autonomy, or educational facilities, or publications, the Shiptars of Macedonia were by no means as well off as their brothers in Kosovo. The demand for a Kosovar Republic put the Yugoslav leaders in a very difficult position. On the one hand they did not wish to risk their good relations with the Macedonians, nor provide an excuse for the revival of Bulgarian territorial claims. On the other, republican status could not be granted to Kosovo and withheld from the Vojvodina, but to make both concessions would surely appear to the Serbs as the partition of Serbia.

The outcome was a compromise arrangement, in which the boundaries of Kosovo remained unchanged, the title of republic withheld, but the substance of republican standing accorded. These changes were also embodied in the constitutional amendments of December 1968. The adjective "Socialist" was added to the provincial title. The competencies and functions of the provincial governments were no longer derived from the Serbian republic but were original and were set forth in separate provincial constitutions, which replaced earlier statutes. The execution of federal law within the province was now the responsibility of Priština and Novi Sad, whose parliaments had the same legislative authority as those of the republics, except in matters affecting Serbia as a whole. The provinces henceforth had their own supreme courts and public prosecutors and, if ever the constitution of the Serbian Republic should be amended to permit it, these supreme courts could assume constitutional functions. *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*![24]

THE INTERPRETATIVE PROBLEM

The material presented in the foregoing pages lends itself to the formulation of contradictory hypotheses. One may point to the failure of the Yugoslav peoples to develop a Yugoslav national consciousness, despite the systematic efforts of the Communist Party, and to the continuing devolution of authority to lower instances, and particularly to the repub-

[23] Peter R. Prifti, "Kosovo in Ferment", Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, (June 1969), 37 pp.

[24] "First Provincial Legislation", *Yugoslav Life*, XIV (April, 1969), p. 3, cols. 1-2; Kŏca Joncić, "Autonomous Provinces in the Yugoslav Constitutional System", *ibid.*, XIV (February, 1969), p. 2, cols. 1-6, p. 3, cols. 1-6. Cf. also note 14.

lics, as greatly increasing the possibility that the Federation will break up in the course of some future crisis and will in the meantime suffer from intensification of domestic quarrels.[25] Or one can argue, on the contrary, that Yugoslavia is developing a truly multi-national state which will make it possible for the nations and the nationalities of the country to work out their differences peacefully, and which in the long run will be mutually advantageous enough to cause these diverse peoples to stand united in time of crisis. Let us attempt briefly to summarize some of the arguments which support each of these hypotheses, beginning with the pessimistic one.

As a consequence of ending Serbian hegemony within its own ranks and then of fighting for the Yugoslav idea in a bloody civil war, the CPY came to be the paladin of a Yugoslav national consciousness. But the efforts of the Party to propagate this consciousness among the population at large were a miserable failure, and even the Party itself broke up into its component national and republican units. Thus, after some 20 years of Communist rule, the national problem re-emerged. The failure of the Party was due not only to the stubbornness of traditional national sentiment but, more particularly, to the identification of national with economic differences, so that the interests of, for example, the Slovenes ran contrary to the interests of, say, the Macedonians, on so fundamental an issue as investment priorities. In a very real sense, therefore, the communist rulers now find themselves face to face with the very problem which wrecked royal Yugoslavia.

The fact that the national situation has not got out of hand so far is due in very considerable part to the political virtuosity, not to mention the charisma, of Josip Broz Tito. He alone had enough prestige and skill to persuade the Serbs, representing 43% of the population, to accept the disgrace and dissolution of the Ranković faction, and the pensioning off of thousands of Partisan heroes. There is at present no apparent successor to the Marshal: both within and without Yugoslavia there is virtual unanimity that Kardelj could only serve as a transition figure. The Marshal's departure from the political scene may well lead to either a breakdown of law and order or a breakup of the Federation. There are elements in the country which are already pushing the current evolution in the direction of confederation. At any rate, the unilateral repudiation of the Novi Sad agreement in 1967 by the principal cultural institutions

[25] More or less typical of this first view is Victor Zorza, "The Yugoslav Situation: Unstable, Confused", *The Sunday Star* (Washington, D.C.), (7 September 1969), p. E4.

of Croatia set off a heated dispute between Serbs and Croats, the last of which has not been heard.[26]

Of all the sub-problems which, together, make up the Yugoslav national problem, perhaps the thorniest is that of the Shiptars. Numbering all told over a million souls, the Shiptars not only constitute the single largest non-Slavic minority in the Federation, but they are numerically far more important than the Montenegrins and roughly of equal strength with both the Macedonians and the Moslems. The Shiptars have the lowest living standard of any Yugoslav population (just over $200 per capita per annum as compared with a Federal average above $500). They have the densest population (104 inhabitants per square mile as against a federal average of 73), the highest rate of population increase (28.5 per thousand per annum as against a federal average of 10.3), and the highest illiteracy rate (41% as compared with 20). Until recently they have been the most poorly treated of all the populations inhabiting Yugoslavia, and their claim to unification, in a Kosovar Republic, not to mention their unspoken urge for union with Albania, threatens the vital interests of the Yugoslav state while conforming to the very principles upon which it is based.[27]

Despite the success of the regime in industrialization and in raising living standards, the Yugoslav economy remains fragile. If the nearly 400,000 migrant workers now employed in Western Europe are counted,[28] this country of 20 million people has nearly a million unemployed. Despite the not inconsiderable gains in efficiency brought by marketization, Yugoslav manufactures are still far from competitive in the free markets of the West and, as long as this is so, the economy will remain critically dependent upon Western subsidies. Such success as has been achieved would probably have been impossible without the *de facto* hard currency subsidy provided over many years by the United States. In any event, the size of the Yugoslav market is such that, in the long run, and perhaps in the short, only associate membership in the EEC, so as to draw Yugoslavia within the tariff walls of the Common Market, would make it possible permanently to stabilize the achievements of this friable system. Such membership, however, appears out of the question in any

[26] Petrovich, pp. 42-50.

[27] Prifti; L[uigi] Z[anga], "Migration of Experts a Serious Burden for Kosovo", *RFE Research, Communist Area* (26 March 1969), 4 pp.

[28] Of these 327,000 are employed in the Common Market and, in turn, the overwhelming majority of these are at work in the Federal Republic of Germany.

foreseeable future. Meantime, a major downturn in world trade could do irreparable damage to the Federation.

The arguments in support of the positive hypothesis must assuredly commence with the proposition that, whatever the explanation — the multi-national character of the interwar party, exclusion from the Cominform, the leadership of Marshal Tito, U.S. subsidies — the Yugoslav experiment in ethnic federalism has some remarkable achievements to its credit. The most important of these is the ending of Serbian hegemony, originally accomplished in the underground party during the interwar period and then transposed to the state as a whole as a consequence of the party's accession to power.[29] Serbian hegemony made interwar Yugoslavia ungovernable. The opposition to Serb domination led to the breakdown of parliamentary government, which produced the dictatorship of King Alexander and led in turn to the assassination of the king. The Serbian hegemony explains in some considerable part the indifferent behavior of the Croatian elements in the royal army in 1941. But within the interwar state, as distinct from the Party, Serbian hegemony was never broken.

Despite a century of struggle, the hegemonic organization of the Habsburg monarchy (to which, in some ways, Yugoslavia is a successor) was never overturned. The Magyars wrung equality from the dominant Germans only as a consequence of the defeat of the Habsburg military in the Seven Weeks' War of 1866. The constitutional expression of the new relationship was the dual monarchy. But after 1867 the Germans and Magyars together resisted every demand of the Slavic populations for a trial monarchy or some other form of equal status; as a consequence the two ruling peoples must bear major responsibility for World War I. Indeed, 1914 began as a preventive war aimed at destroying Serbia as a political entity, since the dissatisfaction of the South Slavs in the dual monarchy with their status as second-class citizens made of the Serbian kingdom a threat to the very existence of the monarchy. The Serbian Black Hand chose Archduke Franz Ferdinand as a priority target, precisely because the heir to the Habsburg throne was an advocate of trialism. The leaders of the Black Hand feared that should Franz Ferdinand succeed to the throne and initiate a trialistic experiment, the South Slavs of the monarchy would lose interest in unification with Serbia. The hegemony of the Austrians and Hungarians was ended only

[29] The Serbs are still strongly overrepresented in the Bosnian, Vojvodinian and Kosovar parties and in the Yugoslav officers' corps. For party membership, see the 1958 figures given in Shoup, pp. 270-272.

with the physical destruction of the Habsburg state,[30] just as the Serbian hegemony in interwar Yugoslavia came to an end only with occupation and partition by the Axis. Communist Yugoslavia, on the other hand, has succeeded in working out a system of substantial equality among its nations, as illustrated by the ethnic quota system now applied to federal institutions, or by official recognition of three new Slavic peoples.[31] Communist Yugoslavia is thus free of the flaw which proved fatal to both the Habsburg and the Karageorgević monarchy.

A second achievement of Communist Yugoslavia is greatly improved treatment of non-Slavic minorities. The neglect and even discrimination of the earlier years has been replaced with a policy of encouraging non-Slavic cultures as a means of improving relations with neighboring countries. This conception of minorities as a bridge is new in the annals of Eastern Europe. Ethnic Hungarians, whether inside or outside the homeland, readily admit that they could wish for their minorities in Slovakia and Romania the same treatment as that accorded the Magyars of the Vojvodina.[32] The improvement of the situation of the Shiptar minority in the last three years has been notable. Shiptar control of the police, the restoration of Albanian national symbols, and the upgrading of the constitutional position of the province have all contributed. The riots of the fall of 1968 were followed, not by repression and increased control, but by concessions and ameliorative measures. The situation along the Albanian frontier is now better than at any time since 1948. In Yugoslavia, even the Gypsies have now formed an association for the promotion of their interests, perhaps the first of its kind in the history of the Romany in Eastern Europe.[33] The change in minority policy is at least in part a reflection of the leadership's thinking on the national problem. As long as they believed that the Slavic peoples would merge into a single Yugoslav nation, whether as the result of rapid economic development or of the maturation of Socialist relations, then the minorities were of secondary importance. But once the leadership had been forced to abandon the Yugoslav national idea, and accept a multiplicity

[30] Cf. Wayne S. Vucinich, "The Serbs in Austria-Hungary", *Austrian History Yearbook* (Houston, Texas), Vol. III, Pt. 2, (1967), pp. 3-47, particularly the concluding paragraphs.

[31] The Montenegrins, the Macedonians and, most recently, the Serbo-Croatian-speaking Moslems.

[32] Cf. David Binder, "Hungarian Minority Tensions in Slovakia Worry Budapest", *The New York Times* (23 June 1968), p. 17, cols. 3-4.

[33] "Yugoslav Gypsies Form Association To Press for Equal Rights", *The New York Times* (27 April 1969), p. 12, cols. 1-5. The Kutzo-Vlachs appear to be the only non-Slavic minority not to have an organization of its own.

of South Slav nations, there was virtue in extending the practice of equal treatment to all populations, whether Slavic-speaking or not.

A Yugoslav poll on the national question, perhaps the first public opinion poll dealing with a vital issue to be undertaken by a Communist state, tends to confirm the observations offered in the preceding paragraphs. Some 2500 respondents, chosen at random from all quarters of Yugoslavia, were asked in 1964 whether they considered relations between the peoples of the Federation as good, satisfactory, or bad. If we lump together the 'good' and the 'satisfactory' responses of each national grouping, and place them in rank order, we get the following table.[34]

Nation or Nationality	% of those asserting that relations among the peoples of Yugoslavia were either good or satisfactory
Magyars	93.2
Macedonians	88.6
Moslems	86.7
Shiptars	80.5
Croats	79.1
Montenegrins	78.9
Slovenes	78.9
Serbs	77.7

The reader will note first of all that the overwhelming majority of Yugoslav citizens regard inter-ethnic relations as either good or satisfactory; the median percentage is 80.5. He will further note that the two largest non-Slavic minorities and the two newest of the three new nations find themselves in the upper half of the listing, with the Magyars in the van and the Shiptars, still under the rule of the Serbian security police, at the time of the poll, at the median. Above all he will note that the Serbs, the former master people, find themselves at the very bottom of the listing, a function of resentment over loss of privilege.

It seems reasonable to believe that ethnic multiplicity in itself played a decisive role in what has turned out to be the rather extensive pluraliza-

[34] Sergije Pegan, "Opinions on Relations Between the Nations in Yugoslavia", in Firdus Dzinić (ed.), *Yugoslav Public Opinion Concerning Current Political and Social Questions* (Belgrade, Institute of Social Sciences, 1964; as translated from the Serbo-Croatian by Joint Publications Research Service, Washington, D.C.), pp. 77-104. Except for the Slovenes, the overwhelming majority of each group classified interethnic relations as 'good'. In the Slovene case the percentages were 58.7 'good' and 20.2 'satisfactory'. The 1964 Yugoslav poll appears to have been executed with a methodological sophistication above the U.S. average. The fact that a genuine poll could be undertaken is in itself evidence of the pluralization of Yugoslav society.

tion of Yugoslav society. In the long run the Slovenes and Croats refused to continue the subsidization of the developing nations of the south. The arguments between north and south on the issue of investment are reminiscent of those between Soviet Russia and Communist China over the extent of Soviet industrial assistance, or those between the USSR and Romania over the industrial complex at Galaţi. The difference in outcome is to be explained by the numerical (and other) weaknesses of the Yugoslav disputants, as well as their inclusion within the framework of a single state, making it possible, for example, for unemployed Macedonians to find work in Slovenian factories. To get rid of central investment, the instrumentality by means of which the north was brought to subsidize the south, it was necessary to dismantle the central planning system and to marketize the economy, that is, to let investment be determined by economic criteria. Synchronous with this development, curiously enough, was the failure of the Party's effort to indoctrinate the diverse Slavic populations with a Yugoslav national consciousness, and the subsequent reversal of the process through which the Party had acquired a Yugoslav outlook. Furthermore, in order to defeat the Ranković faction, which became the defender of central planning and investment, it was necessary to downgrade and de-Serbianize the security police, set up constitutional courts, convert parliament into a national forum, and so on. Thus it came to pass that Yugoslav federalism became genuine, that instead of a monolithic political and economic power centered in Belgrade there were various centers of power, six republics, two autonomous provinces, the federal government, major enterprises, and so on. Successful ethnic federalism may also help account for the generally imaginative character of Yugoslav policy, with its workers' self-management, joint enterprises, free ports, positive coexistence, nonaligned blocs, and the like. In the Yugoslav case, in other words, ethnic multiplicity may now have developed a positive feedback. Certainly, the outbursts of ethnic anger which we hear, whether the Croatian denunciation of the language agreement of Novi Sad (1967) or the Shiptar demonstrations in Kosovo and Macedonia (1968), are probably best regarded as incidents in a set of on-the-whole successful dialogues. Even the duplication of ports and industries, while costly, is proof of the genuine character of Yugoslav federalism and, as long as duplication does not lead to monopolistic practices, may be considered a necessary price for the psychic security of the nations involved.

Finally, in respect of the positive hypothesis, there is the fact that ethnic equality gives each nation and nationality a stake in the preserva-

tion of what has turned out to be a very successful political system. There can be no doubt that Yugoslavia is one of the more successful Communist states, whether we measure success by reference to the maintenance of national independence, the impact on European and extra-European affairs, the deepening of Socialist legality, or the advance of living standards. Moreover, the nations and nationalities have also to keep in mind the alternatives to the present Federation. If the Yugoslav market is demonstrably too small for the current level of technology, and Yugoslavia must seek integration in the world market, would a Slovenian market prove notably superior in this respect? What kind of a Bosnian settlement might be envisioned should Croatia and Serbia re-assume the status of sovereign and independent states? Would the Magyar minority really prefer incorporation into Hungary in the present circumstances?

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. During the three-month period of the Czechoslovak crisis, that is, during July, August, and September 1968, some 69,261 new members joined the CPY, or three times more than had joined during the first six months of 1968. In the Republic of Serbia, 32,141 or 84% of those joining were under 25 years of age. This is to be compared to the 23,234 youngsters who joined the Party in all the republics throughout the whole of 1967, or with the drop between 1961 and 1966 in the total number of Party members under 25 from 244,077 or 21.6% of the membership to 120,234 or 11.5%. In other words, the Party underwent a rejuvenation as a consequence of the new threat to the Federation. (In the critical year of 1948 there were 197,791 admissions, or six times as many as in 1947.)[35] In this connection, it is remarkable that the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia caused Tirana momentarily to cease its attacks on Belgrade and to declare that, in the event of a Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia, the Albanian army would fight alongside the Yugoslav.

To the present writer the arguments which support the positive hypothesis seem clearly to outweigh those buttressing its negative counterpart. Barring such a catastrophe as a major economic depression in the West, the Yugoslav Federation appears to have achieved a workable solution of the national question. To grasp the full significance of any such assertion it might be useful to think of the SFRJ as an East European analogue of the EEC, that is, as a new, multinational state structure still

[35] Zdenko Antić, "Yugoslav Party Membership Has Considerably Increased This Year", *RFE Research: Communist Area* (18 December 1968), 4 pp.

in process of evolution — in the case of the EEC from the bottom up, in the case of the SFRJ from the top down. In neither case are the individual nations treated as archaisms to be replaced in stages by a new and more inclusive supranationalism. Rather, the existing nations with their distinctive cultures are taken as given and are being integrated into a federal or even confederal community (as a consequence, it is true, of pressing economic and, in the last analysis, military need). Certainly, a new and additional loyalty is emerging, but it is not national in character. Rather, it is loyalty to an abstract principle, in the one instance to a European conception, in the other to a Socialist dream.[36] To formulate the same proposition in more immediate terms, there is, on the basis of this reading of the evidence, no reason to expect that Tito's departure will create an unmanageable or even a disorganizing succession crisis. As an historic personage, the Marshal is irreplaceable, but as the symbol and the arbiter of ethnic equality his going will rather mean that some institutional substitute will have to be worked out. Perhaps in forming the new, ethnic-parity executive committee, the Marshal had, among others, the succession problem in mind.

[36] See the argumentation of Tito on this point as presented by Hondius, p. 243.

HUEY LOUIS KOSTANICK

BALKAN DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND POPULATION HEARTLANDS

The Balkan peninsula juts out from southeastern Europe into the Mediterranean between the Adriatic and Black Seas. This position at the meeting place of Europe, Asia and Africa has given it a transitional role in history, a role associated with easy peripheral accessibility that has brought in a volatile infusion of neighboring peoples, cultures and empires which have left marked centrifugal influences on the peninsula. No less have internal forces tended toward factionalism, imperialism and divism between political entities, creating a legacy of conflicting territorial claims that make the Balkans probably the leading area in the world of 'problem areas', meaning those areas of a state claimed by another state.

These internal territorial conflicts are based to a great degree on the ethnic complexity of the Balkans, complexity born of different races, languages, religions and customs. The erosive clash of the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires brought to the fore the necessity of specific identification of ethnic groups for political purposes both within the empires and against the empires. Thus the Balkans became, in a sense, a world laboratory for ethnic group identification, just as territorially it is a classical model of problem areas.

Because the long history of battle for national independence is so absorbing, it becomes a temptation to view the Balkans as an area of static equilibrium — a sort of museum piece of history, often enshrined in period pieces of colorful musical comedy such as Franz Lehar's *Merry Widow*. Yet, in truth, the same historical processes are in operation now as in the past and are producing changes as strong and as fundamental as those in the past.

TRANSITIONAL TERRITORIAL ROLE — THE CULTURAL IMPRESS

Although the end of World War I brought the emergence of the present Balkan states and the end of the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and Russian

empires, the cultural imprint of these and earlier occupiers still remains on the Balkan landscape, both physically and culturally. Yugoslavia is a classical example of this as is evident in a transect from northwest to southeast. Slovenia, in the northwest, with the adjacent portions of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was under Austrian administration. The cultural heritage is still evident in architecture, cuisine, language, railroad patterns and other cultural characteristics. Similarly the Hungarian imprint was left on northeast Yugoslavia, and Turkish influences are clearly seen in southeast Yugoslavia. Both Italian and Roman traces persist in Dalmatia and Istria. In broader regional terms, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece all show marked heritage from the Turkish period and Romania still carries within itself areal vestiges of Hungarian, German and Russian occupation.

Since World War II, the dominance of Communist regimes in Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria has created a new ideological empire which, while technically not analogous to the previous empires, may still in time again create a new historical impress on the landscape that will produce a new contrast between those countries and the non-Communist states of Greece and Turkey. One of the changes on the landscape that is already noticeable is the consolidation of smaller land holdings into large collective farms in Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria and in certain parts of Yugoslavia and Albania. Urban influences are also discernible in 'socialist' architecture, such as the State Printing House in Bucharest, and in the ubiquitous 'Park of Rest and Culture' and 'Palace of Culture' that dot the cities of Communist-ruled Eastern Europe, as well as the more ephemeral posters and banners that have been so prominent a part of the Communist city.

Sharp distinction must be made between the spread of Communist ideology as opposed to Soviet political domination. Immediately after World War II it appeared that the Soviet Union would gain hegemony of the whole Balkan peninsula through successful Communist penetration of Greece, which would have given the Soviet Union access to the Aegean Sea.[1] At the same time political pressure was placed on Turkey through activity in the Azerbaidjan in Iran. Had both sections of the pincer

[1] Hugh Setson-Watson, *The East European Revolution* (New York and Washington, D. C., Praeger 1956), 318-328. Also Robert Lee Wolff, *The Balkans in Our Time* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 264-265 and 317. For a vivid account of the Athens battle of 1944-1945 see L. S. Stravrianos, *The Balkans since* 1453 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), 820-830.

movement worked, the Soviet Union would have gained probable control of the Turkish Straits and thus easy entrance to the eastern Mediterranean which would have put corresponding pressure on the British strategic control points of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. This was plainly a power push for Soviet control of the peninsula. But the Azerbaidjan effort was stopped and so was the guerrilla effort in Greece, where aid was first given by the British and then following 1947 by American military and economic aid under the Truman doctrine. Thus in 1947, there seemed to be a clear confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States in terms of power politics. Had this continued, it would have meant division of the peninsula into two power blocs with Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania in the Soviet sphere of influence and Greece and Turkey in the sphere of influence of the United States.

This would have been a classical pattern of division of the Balkan peninsula into clearly delimited zones dominated by foreign powers, but, in fact, this did not happen because in 1948 there was a political break between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, which broke Soviet domination although the supremacy of the Communist structure has still remained in Yugoslavia.[2] This schism was extended by the subsequent shift in the late 1950's of Albania from alliance with the Soviet Union to alliance with Communist China,[3] and in the early 1960's by the assertion of greater independence from the Soviet Union by Romania.

Thus in short order the Balkan Peninsula changed from apparent polarized East-West domination to an area of diverse political entities, which show constantly greater independence and individuality. The extent of change in relationships is exemplified by the signing of a treaty of friendship between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia in 1953[4] which led to a short exchange of state visits with each other until the deterioration of relations between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus.

Hence the Balkan Peninsula still demonstrates its transitional character for not only is it a contact zone of East-West confrontation, it also reflects the conflicts within the Communist group from orthodoxy to 'Titoism' and from alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe to alliance with Communist China.

[2] Wolff, *op. cit.*, 352-448.
[3] Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Balkans* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 125.
[4] Seton-Watson, *op. cit.*, 389.

REGIONAL IDENTITY

Like the rest of Eastern Europe, the Balkans has undergone drastic political, social and economic changes since World War II. In addition to the separate cultural factors of national identity, Communist ideology and Russification, one must add the additional process of 'modernization', which is the impact of modern technology as differentiated from a specific ideology. The end result is that each country is undergoing differential development that makes it increasingly difficult to make generalizations for 'the Balkans'. In fact because of the changing regional relations in Europe as a whole it becomes most pertinent to ask "What is the Balkans?"

Theoretically, the Balkan peninsula would be the land south of a line drawn between the northern end of the Adriatic and Black Seas, yet this seemingly ready line of identification does not conform to the political units nor to the ethnic grouping that exist now or in the past. Therefore the precise areal definition of what constitutes 'the Balkans' has been a subjective one based upon different points of view in relation to existing geopolitical situations. The problem is similar to that of the concept of 'Central Europe' (*Mitteleuropa* or *Zwischeneuropa*)[5] which has undergone considerable change over a period of time.

Some authors continue to use 'the Balkans' as an area name, but others prefer the term 'Southeast Europe'.[6] This manner of using directional titles has created geographical confusion to the reader because the list of such titles now includes the entire gamut from western, eastern and southern Europe to central, southeast and even east-central Europe.[7] The ultimate value of these multiferous sub-divisions is debatable, but what they do indicate is that Europe is a complex entity which can be studied from different points of view and with different geographic orientations. It is even possible to take an ideological point of view and use an area designation of 'the people's democracies' of Europe focusing on the Communist-dominated countries west of the Soviet Union.[8]

[5] George W. Hoffman, *A Geography of Europe*, 3rd ed. (New York: Ronald Press, 1969), 272-276.

[6] R. R. Betts, *Central and South East Europe, 1945-1948* (London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950), 227 pp.

[7] R. H. Osborne, *East-Central Europe: An Introductory Geography* (New York and Washington, D.C.: Praeger), 384 pp.

[8] Ludwik Straszewicz, ed., *Geografia gospodarcza europejskich krajów demokracji ludowej* (Warszawa: Pánstwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne): Part I, *German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary* (1966), 355 pp.; Part II, *Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania* (1968), 441 pp.

Not only is there a question as to what name to use for the region, there is also discrepancy as to what specific countries to include in the Balkans. The narrowest definition would be to limit the Balkans to the three countries of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania.[9] Other authors include Romania[10] and Greece[11] as integral parts of the region. Some justification may also be made that Hungary is in many ways a Balkan culture and that, since European Turkey is part of the Balkan peninsula and since the history of the Balkans is so closely linked to the Turkish empire, perhaps all of Turkey should also be added.[12] Thus the gamut of choice ranges from the smallest nucleus of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, to the greater Balkans concept of Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece and Turkey.

Without attempting to make a definitive area definition, it should be noted that the use of the entire area as a general unit best shows the trends and scale of significant political, economic and social changes that have characterized the Balkans since World War II.

SIGNIFICANT DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

The most significant demographic trend in the Balkans since World War II has been the decrease in the birth rate with a corresponding decrease in the annual increase in population. Prior to World War II, western Europe had lower rates of birth than did eastern Europe, but in the postwar period, the situation became reversed with the highest growth rates in western Europe and smaller rates in the rest of Europe.

In the 1960-1967 period, the average rate of population increase for Europe was 0.9%, but that of western Europe was 1.1%, while southern Europe was 0.9%, eastern Europe, 0.6% and northern Europe, 0.7%.[13] In this United Nations classification, some of the Balkan countries are

[9] George W. Hoffman, *The Balkans in Transition* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1963), 124 pp.

[10] Dragos D. Kostich, *The Land and People of the Balkans: Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1962), 160 pp. Also Wolff, *op. cit.*

[11] Stavrianos, *op. cit.* Also Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Balkans.*

[12] Charles and Barbara Jelavich, eds., *The Balkans in Transition: Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics since the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 451 pp.

[13] United Nations, Statistical Office: *Demographic Yearbook, 1967* (New York: United Nations, 1968), 97.

grouped in the eastern Europe category, namely Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, while Albania, Greece and Yugoslavia are placed in southern Europe and Turkey is listed under southwest Asia.

Although the regional trend in the Balkans is toward a decrease in annual population increase, there is still considerable difference in the individual country rates. In the 1963-1967 period, Hungary showed only a 0.3% annual increase, one of the smallest in Europe.[14] The extent of the decline in Hungary is highlighted by the fact that in the 1953-1959 period, it was 0.6%.[15] Three countries showed an intermediate grouping: Romania at 0.6%, and Bulgaria and Greece both at 0.7%, still below the average for Europe. But Yugoslavia had a rate of 1.2% and Turkey and Albania had the very high rates of 2.5 and 2.8%, respectively.[16]

These rates are directly associated with the corresponding natural increases based on the relationship of rates of birth and death. In 1967, Hungary had a natural increase of 3.8 per thousand resulting from a crude birth rate of 14.5 and a high death rate, 10.7 per thousand. Bulgaria was next with 6.0, based on crude birth of 15.0 and crude death rate of 9.0 per thousand. Greece followed with a birth rate of 18.5 and death rate of 8.3 to create a natural increase of 10.2 per thousand. Yugoslavia showed a somewhat higher natural increase of 10.8 per thousand with a birth rate of 19.5 and death rate of 8.7 per thousand. But Romania had a higher birth rate of 27.1 and a death rate of 9.3 to produce a natural increase of 17.8 per thousand. In contrast to all of these, in 1966 Albania had a birth rate of 34.0 per thousand and a low death rate of 8.6 to make a natural increase of 25.4 per thousand. And Turkey had the even higher birth rate of 43 per thousand with a death rate of 16.0, thus having the highest natural rate of increase of 27 per thousand.[17]

The extent of the decline in both birth and death rates is best evidenced by comparative statistics in previous periods. In 1881-1885 Hungary had a birth rate of 45.0 per thousand and a death rate of 33.5. By the 1921-1925 period, this had dropped to 29.4 and 19.9. In sharp contrast, this fell in 1962 to a birth rate of 12.9 per thousand and a death rate of 10.8 to create the phenomenally low natural increase of 2.1 per thousand. An even more spectacular decline is shown in the deaths of infants less

[14] *Ibid.*, 111.
[15] United Nations, Statistical Office: *Demographic Yearbook, 1960*, 113.
[16] United Nations: *Demographic Yearbook, 1967*, 111.
[17] *Ibid.*, 121 and 122.

than a year old. In the 1901-1905 period the incidence was 217.8 per thousand; in 1967, only 37 per thousand.[18]

In 1890, Bulgaria had a birth rate of 34.9 per thousand and a death rate of 21.0. By 1920, this had increased to 39.9 and 21.4. By 1966, the birth rate had dropped to a peace-time low of 14.9 with a death rate of 8.3 per thousand.[19]

Yugoslavia also reflects the decline in both rates with a rather even decline since 1921 from a birth rate of 36.7 per thousand and a death rate of 20.9 to 18.9 and 8.6 respectively in 1968.[20]

Romania showed the same pattern of constant decline in both birth and death rates until 1966. For example, in 1930 the birth rate was 34.1 per thousand and the death rate, 19.3, which dropped in 1966 to 14.3 and 8.2. But in 1967 and 1968 the birth rate nearly doubled and the death rate also rose to 9.3 and 9.6.[21] Curiously enough, the same change is reflected in the deaths of infants less than a year old. In 1930, this was 175.6 per thousand which by 1965 had dropped to 44.1. But in 1966 and 1967 this rose to 46.6 and jumped in 1968 to 59.5 per thousand.[22]

Greece shows a somewhat different pattern. In the immediate period after World War I, the birth rate was about 21.0 per thousand, then by 1936 moved up to 30.0 and stayed high until the end of World War II, when a decline set in, to a low of 17.7 per thousand in 1965.[23] A great difference also appears in the death rate, in that before World War II, the rate ranged between 13.0 and 18.0 per thousand, but by the end of World War II had dropped to nearly 8.0 per thousand and has stayed near the same level since then.[24] In the years 1963 and 1964, the combination of low birth rate, low death rate and an increase in emigration produced the very low population increases of only 0.37% and 0.36%, among the very lowest in Europe.[25]

Albania shows even greater contrast to these previous situations in

[18] Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: *Statisztikai Évkönyv, 1967* (Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó Vállalat, 1968), 10.

[19] Narodna Republika B'lgariya, Tsentralno Statistichesko Upravlenie Pri Ministerskiya S'vet: *Statisticheski Godishnik na Narodna Republika B'lgariya, 1968* (Sofiya), 21.

[20] Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija, Savezni Zavod za Stastistiku: *Statistički Godišnjak Jugoslavije, 1969* (Beograd, 1969), 82.

[21] România, Direcţia Centrală de Statistica: *Anuarul Statistic al Republicii Socialiste România*, 1969 (Bucureşti, 1969), 69.

[22] *Loc. cit.*

[23] National Statistical Service of Greece: *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1968 (Athens, 1969), 27.

[24] *Loc. cit.*

[25] Greece: *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1968*, 17.

that the birth rate since World War II is higher than it was before World War II. In 1938 it was 34.7 per thousand and dropped to 28.1 in 1941. In 1946 it was at a low of 27.1 and rose to 43.8 in 1955, then slowly fell to 35.3, still a very high figure for Europe. During the same period, the death rate decreased from 17.8 in 1938 to a low of 8.4 per thousand in 1967. Thus Albania has a high birth rate and a rather low death rate to produce a high natural increase, which in 1967 was 26.9 per thousand.[26]

These raw statistics raise questions that are both intriguing and difficult to answer. In the case of Hungary, the high death rate in the past decade is clearly linked to the large exodus of young people during the 1956 revolution thereby leaving a larger proportion of older people in the population structure. But it is more difficult to explain why Albania and Greece have death rates that are only half as high as that of Turkey.

It is also clear that, for the area as a whole, population losses during World War II and the smaller birth rate during World War II are significant factors in the general post-war decline. Similarly the recent availability of contraceptive devices and the possibility of legal abortion also help explain the general decline in birth rates but do not provide clear answers as to why the differences between individual countries. Nor can one attribute these differences primarily to political ideology, because Hungary, a Communist country, and Greece, a non-Communist country, both have low birth rates compared to Albania, a Communist country, and to Turkey, a non-Communist country.

Perhaps what is needed is not to explain each deviation or change year by year but rather to focus upon long range trends and to place them within a conceptual framework that relates to the end result, rather than to focus on individual population factors. Clearly, there are involuntary controls of population such as war or any number of diseases that an individual cannot himself choose to avoid. But just as clearly there are voluntary controls of population that an individual may choose or not choose, such as contraceptive devices and abortions. This voluntary element of deciding whether to have children or not to have children might best be designated as the 'family climate'.

In the past it appears that circumstances in the Balkans were conducive to the creation and maintenance of large families. Contraceptives were difficult to obtain, if not completely non-existent. The high death rate of infants and of still-births encouraged the birth of more children. Farm life itself encouraged large families not only for labor but for companion-

[26] Republika Populllore E Shqipërise, Drejtoria E Statistikës: *Vjetari Statistikor i R. P. Sh., 1967-1969* (Tiranë, 1968), 32.

able family life. Large-scale emigration, especially at the turn of the century, was another incentive for large families on the assumption that even if some left, there would still be children in the 'old country'. Furthermore church and state encouraged family-hood as did cultural traditions, because in much of the Balkans, perhaps in all the Balkans, manhood was associated with family virility — a man who had fathered many children deserved village respect for that if for no other reason. Thus for centuries the 'family climate' favored large families.

Yet it must be also recognized that some of these same factors in certain circumstances favored less childbirth. In Greece, for example, the long history of emigration has been a negative factor because parents recognized the probability that their children would emigrate permanently overseas.

But over the past half century it appears that regional environmental factors have tended to create a 'family climate' favoring small rather than large families. Some of the countries, like Hungary for example, have not only made it easy to obtain contraceptives but have also permitted legal abortion. There also seems to be some correlation between rise in standard of living and drop in family size. In Yugoslavia in 1968 the lowest birthrates were in the Voivodina, 13.8 per thousand; Serbia Proper, 14.9; Croatia, 15.2; and Slovenia, 17.4; compared to 23.1 in Bosnia-Hercegovina; 25.6 in Macedonia and 37.4 in the Kosovo. Conversely there are more divorces in the areas of higher standard of living ranging, in 1968, from 179.4 divorces per thousand marriages in the Voivodina to only 26.3 per thousand marriages in the Kosovo. If the marriage pattern conformed to this premise, one could predicate a classical 'model' conducive to small families, but actually the marriage rate is the opposite of what one might expect — the highest being 9.0 per thousand inhabitants in both the Voivodina and in Serbia Proper in comparison to only 7.3 in the Kosovo and 6.7 in Crna Gora.[27] Part of the explanation for this lies in the fact that many of the divorced people remarry thus raising the marriage incidence.

Another factor that must be considered in population increase is the age of marriage of the bride and groom. In Bulgaria in the past decade the largest category of brides was under the age of 19, with almost an equal number being married in the 20-24 year old category. The leading category for grooms was the 20-24 year old bracket with the 25-29 year old unit next with about half the number of marriages.[28] Rumania

[27] Jugoslavija: *Statistički Godišnjak Jugoslavije, 1969*, 332-333.
[28] Bulgaria: *Statistical Yearbook 1968*, 11.

shows the same pattern of brides mainly below the age of 20 and grooms in the 20-24 category.[29] The same is true of Yugoslavia with the brides generally marrying at a younger age than the men.[30]

But in Greece both men and women marry at a later age, similar to the situation in Ireland. In 1967, the largest category for women was the 20-24 year group totaling some 31,595 out of 81,706 marriages. The next largest category was the 25-29 group, which was just slightly larger than the 15-19 group. For men, the predominant group was 25-29 years of age totaling 26,705 out of the 81,706 marriages. The next group was 30-34, which was slightly larger than the 20-24 group.[31] Thus, in Greece, clearly both men and women marry some five to ten years later than in the other Balkan countries.

Why then do Greek men and women marry at a later age? The question is easier to ask than to answer, but some causes seem reasonably clear. The poverty of the countryside is often quoted by peasants as a reason to delay marriage and also the fact that the young men in great part either emigrate out of Greece or go to the towns so that the villages suffer a dearth of eligible young men. Another reason that is given is that a woman is expected to bring a sizeable dowry to the marriage. Not only does it take time for a woman to accumulate a large dowry, but an older man who is well established can demand more than a younger man, hence the dowry system tends to perpetuate older marriages.

Statistically, marriages in Greece were indicated in 1967 in three categories: urban, semi-urban and rural. Out of a total of 80,765 in all Greece, 44,056 were urban, 8,841 semi-urban, and 27,868 rural. This would indicate an urban predominance, but this is a very inconclusive generalization because more than half of the urban marriages, 26,522, were in Athens. And actually outside of Athens itself, rural marriages predominated over urban marriages even in Macedonia, where Salonika with its large population had a large number of marriages.[32] Since the age of marriage in the cities is also comparatively older as it is in the countryside it is probable that the low natural rate of increase in Greece will continue as it is.

The relationships of ethnic groups to population increase must also be raised. This question is particularly pertinent to the Balkans where each country has large numbers of minority groups. The large number

[29] România: *Anuarul Statistic al Republicii Socialiste România*, 1967, 98-99.
[30] Jugoslavija: *Statistički Godišnjak Jugoslavije, 1969*, 340.
[31] Greece: *Statistical Yearbook, 1968*, 29.
[32] *Ibid.*, 28.

of ethnic groups in the Balkans precludes detailed discussion here but because the administrative divisions of Yugoslavia, the republics, are based on ethnic grounds, they well illustrate ethnic differences, especially in terms of natural increase. In the 1950-1954 period the natural increase per thousand inhabitants by republics was as follows: Bosna-Hercegovina, 24.3; Crna Gora, 22.1; Croatia, 11.5; Macedonia, 23.9; Slovenia, 11.9; and Serbia, 15.0, which was further divided into Serbia Proper, 14.8, the Voivodina, 10.9, and the Kosovo, 25.5. In 1968 they were: Bosna-Hercegonina, 16.5; Crna Gora, 14.3; Croatia, 5.1; Macedonia, 17.6; Slovenia, 6.7; and Serbia, 9.3, which was divided into Serbia Proper, 6.6, the Voivodina, 4.6, and the Kosovo, 28.5.[33] This shows that in all administrative units except one there had been sizeable decreases in natural increase but that in that one, the Kosovo populated mainly by Albanians, the natural increase had not only not declined, it had been augmented so that it was some seven times as great as the Voivodina and over five times as great as Croatia.

This example highlights the problem of differential growth of ethnic groups within Balkan countries. In general, the minority groups are growing faster than the majority groups of individual countries. In the future this may increase internal frictions in the countries that have large and well identified minority groups, such as the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the Hungarian and German minorities in Romania.

These demographic trends of decreasing birth and death rates, higher divorce rates and differential ethnic growth rates in the Balkans are all similar to general demographic trends in the world at large. Yet the basic fact remains that in the Balkans as in the world there is still an increase of population each year, and, even at these reduced rates, there is growing population pressure in all the Balkan countries. This is being expressed both by increasing area densities and by internal migrations, mainly to urban areas.

URBAN MIGRATION

All of the Balkan countries show increasing density of population. Bulgaria had a density of 48 persons per square kilometer in 1921; 60.9 in 1941 and 75.2 in 1967.[34] Yugoslavia had 49.0 in 1921, 56.8 in

[33] Jugoslavija: *Statistički Godišnjak Jugoslavije*, 1969, 333.
[34] Bulgaria: *Statisticheski Godishnik na Narodna Republika B'lgariya*, 1968, 19.

1948 and 72.5 in 1961.[35] In 1821 Greece had only 19.8 per square kilometer, 39.5 in 1920, 56.8 in 1940 and 63.6 in 1961.[36] Rumania had 60.1 in 1930, 66.8 in 1948 and 80.4 in 1966.[37] Hungary has had the highest with 53.9 in 1869, 85.9 in 1920, 100.1 in 1941 and 107.1 in 1960.[38] Albania showed the greatest post-war increase in density from 39 in 1945 to 68 in 1967.[39] Turkey has the lowest country density of 42 persons per square kilometer but if a geographical division is made of Turkey, a surprising contrast appears because Asiatic Turkey has only 40 per square kilometer but the European portion has the very high density of 118 persons per kilometer.[40]

Although these country densities offer some comparisons in terms of population growth, the reality is that there is geographical concentration of people into a relatively small portion of each country. This is highlighted by Greece where it is estimated that more than a third of the population live on less than 5% of the land and about a half live on less than 15% of the total territory.[41]

This increasing concentration of population is best indicated by the changes in the ratio of urban to rural population. But these ratios must also be used with caution because each country makes its own definition of what constitutes urban and rural classification. Not only do these definitions often change with different censuses, but some of the countries have added a third classification, semi-urban, which is hard to combine with either urban or rural.

As might be expected, Albania is still predominantly rural. In 1923 the ratio was 84.1% rural and 15.9% urban. By 1967, this had become 66.7% rural and 33.3% urban.[42] Bulgaria in 1920 had an urban ratio of 19.9%[43] but by 1965 nearly half the country was classed as urban, 46.4%.[44]

In the census of 1961, Greece introduced a three-category classification, wherein 'urban' was defined as municipalities and communes in which the largest center had a population of 10,000 or more inhabitants. The

[35] Jugoslavija: *Statistički Godišnjak Jugoslavije, 1969*, 82.
[36] Greece: *Statistical Yearbook, 1968*, 16.
[37] Romania: *Anuarul Statistic al Republicii Socialiste România, 1967*, 67.
[38] Hungary: *Statistical Yearbook, 1965*, 7.
[39] Albania: *Vjetari Statistikor i R. P. Sh., 1967-1968*, 3.
[40] United Nations: *Demographic Yearbook, 1967*, 109.
[41] Bernard Kayser, *Géographie Humaine de la Grèce* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 15.
[42] Albania: *Vjetari Statistikor i R. P. Sh., 1967-1968*, 27.
[43] United Nations: *Demographic Yearbook, 1960*, 385.
[44] Bulgaria: *Statistical Yearbook, 1968*, 3.

'semi-urban' category was for those municipalities with a largest population center between 2,000 and 9,999 inhabitants, and the 'rural' category was for those in which the largest center had less than 2,000 inhabitants. Because semi-urban is a statistical rather than functional division, it makes it difficult to include this in either the strictly urban or strictly rural category. Using the 1961 classification, in 1928 the urban percentage was 31.1; semi-urban, 14.5%; and rural, 54.4%. Corresponding figures for 1961 were 43.3% urban; 12.9%, semi-urban; and 43.8%, rural.[45] This shows the increase in urban population and the decrease of both the semi-urban and rural categories.

For Romania the proportion in 1930 was 21.4% urban and 78.6% rural population. By 1956 this had changed to 31.3% urban and 68.7% rural and in 1966 to 38.2% urban and 61.8% rural.[46]

But for Yugoslavia the urban ratio is still surprisingly small. According to the censuses of 1948 and 1953, it was only 16.2 and 18.5%.[47] By the 1961 census, this had increased to only 28.0%.[48] Even Turkey had a higher ratio of urbanization, which rose from 24.2% in 1927[49] to 32.2% in 1960 and 34.4% in 1965.[50]

Again these raw statistics must be viewed with caution. Actually the process of urbanization is not quite the same as one imagines in western Europe and the United States. Instead, in the Balkans there is a marked functional difference between the city as represented by a small agricultural segment of population and the large rural agglomeration which is primarily agricultural in function but statistically is large enough to surpass the usual urban definition of any settlement of more than two thousand inhabitants.

Therefore some Balkan 'cities' are, in reality, large agricultural villages. It is clear that all the Balkan countries are undergoing complex internal migrations, of which one product is urbanization. But, most unfortunately, there is a dearth of factual data available on the specific details of individual migration. While it is possible statistically to see the end results of migration, it is difficult, if not actually impossible, to see the processes of movement involved. There is a multiplicity of cross-migrations not only from village to village and village to city, but also

[45] Greece: *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1968*, 21.
[46] România: *Anuarul Statistic al Republicii Socialiste România, 1967*, 67.
[47] United Nations: *Demographic Yearbook, 1960*, 389.
[48] United Nations: *Demographic Yearbook, 1967*, 198.
[49] United Nations: *Demographic Yearbook, 1960*, 385.
[50] Turkey, State Institute of Statistics: *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, 1969* (Ankara: State Institute of Statistics Printing Division, 1969), table 1.

from city to city and from city back to the village. Distinctions must also be made as to area migrations both within regions and between regions.

The extent of such migration is evidenced by studies of the 1961 census in Yugoslavia which indicate that only 7% of the 340 towns had at least two-thirds of the inhabitants born in the town, that some 60% of the towns had between one-third and two-thirds of the population native-born, and that 33% of the towns had a native-born population of less than one-third. Stated conversely, nearly one-third of all the towns in Yugoslavia had two-thirds of their inhabitants born elsewhere.[51]

Not only are towns growing by migration from the countryside, there is some indication that birth rates in the towns have not decreased as fast as in the countryside, so that in fact there is somewhat of a greater natural increase in the cities, thus accentuating the growth of cities. In Yugoslavia, for example, there was a 14.0 per thousand inhabitants increase in total population between the 1948 and 1953 censuses, but the urban increase was 38.2 per thousand. There was an even greater increase from the 1953 census to the 1961 census where the total population increase was 10.9 per thousand but the urban increase was 43.5 per thousand.[52]

This trend is also illustrated by Bulgaria. Until 1948 the natural increase in the countryside was higher than in the cities. In 1939 the rural increase was 9.0 per thousand population compared to the urban rate of 4.7 per thousand. By 1948 this difference had narrowed to 12.2 for the rural areas and 11.6 for cities. In 1949 this reversed to 13.2 urban and 12.8 rural and the difference has grown progressively to 8.9 urban and 3.3 rural in 1967.[53]

This trend can also be expressed by the specific growth of individual cities in Bulgaria. In the period 1946 to 1965, the population increase in Bulgaria was 15.2%. But the population of the city of Sofia increased by 69%, nine cities increased over 200% and 36 cities increased between 100 and 200%. By contrast, only three cities decreased in population.[54]

Urbanization is, then, one of the striking demographic trends in the Balkans. But the different countries show quite different areal patterns of urbanization.

[51] Ivanka Ginić, *Dinamika i Struktura Gradskog Stanovništva Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Štampa Radiša Timotić, 1967), 25.
[52] *Ibid.*, 130.
[53] Bulgaria: *Statistical Yearbook, 1968*, 10.
[54] Ljubomir Dinev, "Nyakoi Izmeneniya v Razpredelenieto na Naselenieto na N. R. B'lgariya", *Geografiya*, Godina XVI (1966), Knizhka 1, 4.

PATTERNS OF URBANIZATION

The towns of the Balkans are not new. Most of them date back not only to medieval times but to the classical period as well. Thus history has helped mold urban characteristics over a long period of time. Secondly, ethnic groups have occupied their present territories over a considerable span so that ethnic influences are related to urban structure. Thirdly, most of the Balkan countries have existed for some time, and even though Yugoslavia and Albania date back only to the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, certain territorial units had administrative continuity, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina over centuries, so that there has been sufficient time for a political imprint to be implanted on the urban scene. Therefore the general areal pattern of towns today represent a historical selection and development not only in terms of political, social, economic and military factors but of the attractions or limitations of natural conditions as well. Therefore although it must be recognized that each country has its own mosaic of areal distribution of cities, three distinct patterns are recognizeable.

Greece constitutes one type in which a prime city dominates the country. According to the census of 1961, Athens alone had 52% of the urban population of Greece and 22% of the total population of the whole country.[55] The second largest city is Salonika, which in 1961 had only some 20% of the population of Athens. In addition to these two, there is only one other city with a population of over 100,000 people. That is Patras, whose conurbation included some 102,000 compared to the 1,853,709 of Athens and the 378,444 of Greater Salonika.[56] Athens is a classical example of the powers of attraction of a capital city, where all factors, political, economic, social, military, historical, physical, and even its location in the geographical center of the state of Greece, favor constant aggrandizement of the populace. It is difficult to see how regional planning to aid the other cities can hope to cope with the magical allure of the very name of Athens.

Sofia in Bulgaria is also a dominant capital city, but, in 1965 its population of 801,000 represented only 21% of the urban population and 9.7% of the total population of the country. There were four other Bulgarian cities that had populations of more than 100,000 inhabitants — Plovdiv, Varna, Ruse and Burgas. But there were 27 cities in the category of 25,000 to 99,999 inhabitants and 34 in the 10,000 to 24,999 class, which

[55] Bernard Kayser, *op. cit.*, 28-29.
[56] Greece: *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1968*, 22.

shows the dispersed pattern of cities outside of Sofia.[57] This is the second urban type where there is a prime city but also a number of secondary centers which show a regional influence. Albania with the city of Tirana, Turkey with Istanbul, Romania with Bucharest, and Hungary with Budapest all represent this second urban type.

But in Yugoslavia there is no single dominant city. To be sure Belgrade, the capital, is the largest city, but its population of 585,234 in 1961 formed less than 4% of the total population. And the second city, Zagreb, was only about 25% smaller with its population of 430,802. In addition there were five other cities with a population larger than 100,000 inhabitants, namely Ljubljana, Novi Sad, Rijeka, Sarajevo and Skopje.[58] This lesser urban concentration may be expressed in another fashion by indicating that of the 348 towns listed in the 1961 census, only 14 had more than 50,000 inhabitants and they included only 41.4% of the urban population. This means that the majority of Yugoslav towns are relatively small, actually more than two thirds of them have less than 10,000 inhabitants.[59]

In a sense the urban pattern of Yugoslavia is a decentralized one in that many geographical regions contain large local centers. The capital cities of the individual republics highlight this decentralization. They represent location and growth under different administrative situations, but their strength has been their usefulness as local urban centers for different ethnic groups. The creation of the administrative system of republics in postwar Yugoslavia has given them renewed growth and vigor as ethnic capitals.

This concentration of population in the republic capitals is shown by the fact that the eight administrative capitals of Yugoslavia in 1961 contained only 8.8% of the total population but included 31.3 of the total urban population. The respective figures for the republic capitals are: Sarajevo in Bosna-Hercegovina, 4.4 and 22.4; Titograd in Crna Gora, 6.2 and 28.6; Zagreb in Croatia, 10.4 and 33.6; Skopje in Macedonia, 11.8 and 33.8; Ljubljana in Slovenia, 8.4 and 30.8; Belgrade in Serbia Proper, 12.4 and 43.3; Priština in the Kosovo-Metohija, 4.0 and 20.2; and Novi Sad in the Voivodina, 5.5 and 14.2%.[60]

POPULATION HEARTLANDS

These three urban types stress the areal patterns of urban development and concentration. But all of the countries also have rural areas that

[57] Bulgaria: *Statistical Yearbook, 1968*, 6-7.
[58] United Nations: *Demographic Yearbook, 1967*, 228.
[59] Ivanka Ginić, *op. cit.*, 22.
[60] *Ibid.*, 116.

show differential densities of both population and settlement. These rural areas may have extremely high density of population and sometimes are located near and associated with major cities. This is the situation near Zagreb, where the nearby Zagorje has the highest density of rural population in Yugoslavia.

In some of the Balkan countries certain areas show such a decided concentration of population, both rural and urban, that they constitute population 'heartlands' on the basis of their demographic, political, economic and social significance.

Greece in particular shows such territorial demographic concentration. Although there is a surprisingly even distribution of peoples and settlements throughout peninsular and insular Greece, on the bases of density of population and on a higher rate of population increase, a zone, sometimes called the 'fertile crescent', extends from the Attic plain of Athens to the plains of Macedonia with the city of Salonika, and projects northeastward into western Thrace.[61] This zone poses the whole question of planned development because the inexorable growth of Athens raises the issue as to whether the government should foster economic development in the poorer regions. The likelihood is that even if the growth of Athens is limited in some form, it is still this 'heartland' zone that will show the greatest growth.

Yugoslavia also has a territorial 'heartland'. This extends in a crescent-shaped arc from the northern Adriatic coast through eastern Slovenia into the Drava and Sava lowlands of the Voivodina and southward through western Serbia into the Kosovo.[62] This is a long area which does not have a consistently high density throughout its span, but this qualitative designation does show the area of increasing population concentration in the past half century. Therefore, it too is the probable zone of greatest future growth.

In Romania, the basic pattern of population is most directly associated with the Transylvanian Mountains, which constitute a zone of low density of population. In contrast the Transylvanian Basin, the Hungarian lowland to the west, the Moldavian plains to the east and the Wallachian plains to the south all contain large urban and rural popula-

[61] Bernard Kayser and Kenneth Thompson, *Economic and Social Atlas of Greece* (Athens, 1964), sections 201-206.

[62] Institut Društvenih Nauka, Centar za Demografska Istraživanja, *Šema Stalnih Rejona za Demografska Istraživanja* (Beograd, 1963), 73-76. Also Dragan Rodić *Geografija Jugoslavije*, II Deo. (Beograd: Naučna Knjiga, 1967), 51-52.

tions. But the greatest zone of concentration is in the central Wallachian plain west of the cities of Bucharest and Ploeşti.[63]

Hungary which consists mainly of plains areas forms a great contrast to the other countries because of the high density of population throughout almost all of the regions of the country. But Budapest does act as the nucleus of a major area of concentration along the upper Danube. In addition there is a secondary center in the lower Tisza river valley northeast of Szeged.[64]

In Bulgaria the situation is quite the opposite from Hungary because the mountains divide the country into a series of isolated regional centers. The two largest of these are the Sofia basin and the upper Maritsa valley with the city of Plovdiv.[65] Although these are separated by mountains, they do form a population axis which will probably continue to grow at a faster rate than the other parts of the country.

In Albania the settlement pattern is much simpler than in the other Balkan countries. The coastal plain on the west stretching from the town of Shkodër to Vlorë is heavily populated with the greatest density between the coastal port of Durrës and the capital, Tiranë.[66]

CONCLUSIONS

In the period since the end of World War II, new demographic trends are changing markedly the structure and growth of population in the Balkans. New political regimes, changing technology and decreasing isolation all play roles in higher standards of living and generally decreasing birth and death rates. Although there are differential rates of population growth in the different countries, all are experiencing growing urbanization and an increasing concentration of people into population 'heartlands', which are experiencing higher rates of growth than other national regions. These Balkan 'heartlands' appear to offer the most attractive conditions for increased settlement, therefore they constitute the pattern of the future wherein there will be increased concentration in these same regions rather than the creation of new 'heartlands'.

[63] Victor Tufescu, ed., *Atlas Geografic Republica Socialistă România* (Bucuresti: Editura Didactica Si Pedagogica, 1965), 58-61.

[64] Márton Pécsi and Béla Sárfalvi, *The Geography of Hungary* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1964), 163-166.

[65] *Geografski Atlas na B'lgariya* (Sofiya: Glavno Upravlenie po Geodeziya i Kartografiya, 1966), 12.

[66] Albania: *Vjetari Statistikor i R. P. Sh., 1967-1968*, 27.

S. VRYONIS

EPILOGUE*

The field of Balkan studies constitutes a relative late-comer to the ranks of accepted academic endeavor in the university world. A sure indication of this is that though the 20th century is the century of scholarly congresses, the first international congress of Balkan studies took place (in Sofia) only in 1966. Smaller conferences and collaborative volumes on the Balkans had, of course, materialized earlier than the Sofia Congress. The two volumes of the *Revue International des Etudes Balkaniques* (1935-1936) set a meritorious example for scholars, an example which was imitated only in recent years, first in Germany and then in the United States. The Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft published two excellent volumes containing broad interpretative essays on the whole range of Balkan history, and in 1963 the University of California Press published the papers from the first American Balkan Conference, held at Berkeley in 1960.

The conference which the UCLA Russian and East European Studies Center sponsored in October 1969, is in the tradition of these earlier conferences and constitutes the second meeting to concentrate on a broad Balkan theme in the United States. In formulating the various subjects the organizing committee attempted to cover broad sectors of the experience and manifestations of civilized man: archaeology, language, ethnology, social evolution, religion, art, music, literature, oral poetry, economics, political ideology. To the degree that it was possible, an effort was made to deal with these broad categories, common to civilized men, rather than to view the area exclusively in terms of each distinct ethnic group. There are, of course, many aspects which were not covered, and some aspects were treated as manifested in one particular ethnic

* Concluding remarks delivered at the closing session of the Conference.

group. In response to this, one can only plead the inevitable divergence between utopia and reality. Limits of money, time, knowledge, and ability have ever stood as barriers to the attainment of the ideal.

These various aspects (discussed in the conference), along with others, constitute culture in the broadest sense. But what is culture, in specific reference to the papers of this conference? One should, perhaps, begin to define culture by saying what it is not. During the discussions one commentator remarked that "Balkan culture is something which will soon be relegated to museums". To him culture is represented by a series of physical artifacts which, when no longer utile, serve no other function than to amuse the idle museum visitors. This view of culture is a clear and classic illustration of the static concept of culture which has, too often, plagued the historian, classicist, and others. All such scholars see culture as a static phenomenon. The condition of a given society at a particular moment in time, e.g. Periclean Athens, Justinianic Byzantium, or medieval France under Charlemagne, represents the culture par excellence of that society. Because of their static concept of culture such scholars tend to see any fundamental change in some aspects of that culture as proof of the discontinuity and even of the death of that culture. They have, traditionally, inferred these cultural breaks in terms of the disruption of political institutions, the changes within a language, and/or the decline of ethnic 'purity'.

But as we all know, the present-day concept of culture is something much more comprehensive and complex, a concept for which we are primarily indebted to anthropology. From the time that Tylor, the renegade classicist turned anthropologist, founded this discipline and posited the definition of culture, this term has always implied a dynamic and holistic concept. Culture includes all the manifestations of human activity, which manifestations or aspects are in a constant state of adjustment. Obviously the adjustments demanded in one period may be more radical than those required in another. In this respect the organizers of the conference arranged the topics in a chronological order so as to span some of these periods when radical adjustments were necessary and when the tempo of change accelerated:

1. The period of the neolithic culture in the Balkans.
2. The arrival and evolution of the earlier Indo-European peoples (Greeks, and predecessors of the Rumanians and Albanians).
3. The coming of the Slavs and Bulgars (6th-7th centuries).
4. The transition from Byzantine to Ottoman hegemony.
5. The impact of western Europe.

All these periods represent fundamental transitions, accelerations of change, in the history of the inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula.

The title of the conference reads, "Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change". Scholars who share the older, static view of culture, would either be amused or distressed at the inclusion of two such words in any description of these five chronological categories in Balkan history. They would find the two terms mutually exclusive within the context of the history and culture of the Balkan area, and would argue somewhat as follows. The language and peoples (and therefore the culture) of the Balkans today have nothing to do with those of late antiquity. There has been a brutal and complete cultural rupture in the Balkans between these two periods. All has changed — τὰ πάντα ῥεῖ. A cursory glimpse at the contemporary Balkan situation would seem to confirm this view. The political, economic, and social institutions, literature, art, religion, and language today are quite different from those in evidence during the late ancient and early medieval period. Thus the older style scholarship posits 'continuity OR change'.

The conceptualization of historical and cultural phenomena as phenomena which result from EITHER change OR continuity is the traditional characteristic of the static view of culture. In such conceptualizations change excludes continuity, and continuity excludes change. Thus we are reduced to the dilemma of τὰ πάντα ῥεῖ, or τὰ πάντα μένει. But this is a false dilemma. Rarely does it occur that a historical culture changes suddenly and completely, and it occurs just as rarely that such a culture remains exactly as it is without any change. In the cultural evolution of the Balkans the historian is faced with a case of continuity AND change at the same time. Continuity and change constitute the seeming paradox of culture. Continuity represents the old, change the new ingredients. They are as two vector forces, and culture is the resultant force. One can transform this language from the realm of the physical to that of the metaphysical by saying that continuity is thesis, change is antithesis, and culture represents the synthesis.

The differences in the culture of the Balkan peoples of today and of antiquity are, naturally, very great. This is also true of the cultures of other peoples when one compares their state at two chronological periods widely separated by time. Rather one must follow the changes in the various cultural manifestations at every chronological step, and particularly at great junctures, such as those which we have tried to span in this conference. When one proceeds to an examination of cultural conditions in successive phases, rather than in two widely separated periods, the

examination reveals less change and stronger elements of continuity in cultural evolution. When the historian examines Balkan culture in the time of Diocletian and then compares it with the culture of the Balkans in the period after the Second World War he must take into account the accumulated effect of 1,700 years of development.

One may conceive of this long cultural evolution in the Balkans as a complex series of smaller evolutions within the spheres of ethnology, languages, literature, political institutions, etc.

The conference papers have not only presented substantial evidence in support of the thesis of 'continuity AND change', in the historical evolution of the peoples inhabiting the Balkans, but they have pushed back in time the starting point of elements in this culture. The establishment of a much longer neolithic epoch (sixth-seventh millennia) with a culture which was not merely derivative of the Near Eastern neolithic culture, suggests that the economic bases of this cultural evolution in the Balkans are older than formerly imagined. By a reconsideration of the linguistic evidence it seems likely that the Indo-Europeanization of the Balkan peninsula is a phenomenon of the fourth or third millennium, and not of the second millennium. Thus basic constituents in the linguistic and ethnic components of the Balkan cultural evolution were, in all likelihood, present at a very early date. In the realms of language and ethnography there were of course, two major changes. These resulted from the migration of the Slavs and Bulgars in the 6th-7th centuries of the Christian era and from the invasion of the Turks in the 14th-15th centuries. Of these newer peoples in the Balkans it was the Slavs who effected the most significant changes as they imposed their language upon the inhabitants and regions of the north and central Balkans. But in the areas of present-day Rumania, Greece and Albania, the Slavs were absorbed and almost completely transformed linguistically. Thus there was no complete ethnic or linguistic rupture in the Balkans as a whole. In addition the Slavs and Bulgars were gradually transformed by the religious, economic, political, and other cultural institutions of the older Balkan populations, especially by those institutions and influences emanating from Byzantium. Thus, despite the significant linguistic and ethnic change in the central and northern Balkans, which the Slavs effected, cultural continuity was assured not only by the survival of the pre-Slavic peoples in Greece, Rumania, and Albania, but also by the Byzantinization of the life of the new-comers.

In the sphere of religion we witness the same type of amalgamation. Christianity, in its external appearance, is markedly different from

paganism, and its triumph in the Balkans might lead one to believe that it brought a complete break with the pagan past. But though Christianity did triumph it did so only through compromise which incorporated, on a large scale, Graeco-Roman, Slavic, and other pagan elements on the folk level, and the tools, language, and concepts of pagan Greek philosophy on the formal level. Balkan Christianity remained, throughout, a remarkable hybrid. At the next stage Islamization affected only a minority of the Balkan population and even there the resultant Islam was heavily colored by elements from the pagan and Christian pasts of the Balkan converts.

The same type of evolution, containing old and new elements and therefore embodying both continuity and change, is discernible in literature, painting, and folk poetry. Byzantine literature and painting, with discernible roots in the Graeco-Roman past, became the models for literature and painting throughout the Orthodox Balkans. The removal of the Orthodox political hegemony and appearance of a Muslim state did not break the continuity in these domains of intellectual and artistic production. The style and conceptualization of western Europe was first accommodated to these of the Balkans via Balkan artists and literati who integrated them into the Byzantino-Balkan traditions of religious painting and literature. Even the late 19th century South Slavic Modernist poetry retained indigenous elements in its adaptation of western poetic movements and genres. In the realm of South Slavic poetry it has been argued that the Balkan Muslim epic is an outgrowth of the Slavic ballads.

Enough has been said about the dynamics of cultural evolution in the Balkans over the centuries to illustrate that alongside the many and great changes there were strong elements of continuity. In the broadest sense it is not possible to posit a brutal rupture in the cultural development of the Balkan peoples in the long period from late antiquity to the present. There was never a time, in the long period we are considering, when the changes in all these aspects or facets of culture coincided and coincided in such a fashion as to obliterate completely all significant traces of that which preceded.

The validity of such a view will always rest on what you and your colleagues will think and ascertain, collectively, in your research.

All intense intellectual endeavor takes on the character of an intellectual Odyssey. But it is not only the goal (Ithaca) itself which is important. This is best illustrated by the differing symbolism of Ithaca which one finds in Kavafis and Kazanzakis. Kavafis, in his poem *Ithaca*, exhorts

the reader not to hurry his trip to Ithaca. Rather, he says, you should stop and linger at all the mysterious ports, savoring their exotic goods. If, at the end of the journey, you find Ithaca poor, rocky, and barren, do not be disappointed. Ithaca gave you this adventure. The purpose of all Ithacas will thus become clear to you.

In Kazanzakis the arrival of Odysseus at Ithaca is only the beginning of the hero's adventures. He found Penelope old, ugly, and frigid. Ithaca was boring and too small to contain his energies and ambitions. So Odysseus, having slain the suitors, set out for other lands and even more grandiose advantures.

Our own Balkan conference can be substituted for Ithaca in either of the versions of Kavafis or Kazanzakis with results differing according to the desires of each of us.

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